302-

PRINCIPLES

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

PRINCIPLES

OF

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY

H. ~~enry~~ C. ~~harles~~ CAREY

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA:

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

LONDON:—TRÜBNER & CO.

PARIS:—GUILLAUMIN & CO.

1859.

330.1
C274p
vol. 3

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1858, by

H. C. CAREY,

in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY

CONTENTS

OF

VOL. III.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

PAGE

§ 1. Every act of consumption also an act of production — the one being, therefore, the measure of the other 17

§ 2. Production consists in the direction of the forces of nature to the service of man. For obtaining command of nature, man must qualify himself by first obtaining command over his own latent powers. Identity of the physical and social laws 19

§ 3. Man the ultimate object of all production. Demand, the cause of supply. The more numerous the men, and the greater the power of combination, the greater the demand 21

§ 4. Production grows as the power of the trader and transporter declines. That decline a consequence of diversification in the demand for human powers 23

§ 5. Labor-power the most perishable of all commodities. Perishes, unless the demand follows *instantly* upon its production 25

§ 6. Waste of labor one of the conditions of early society and scattered population. Errors of Mr. Malthus and his disciples 28

§ 7. Wages and productive power of England, at various periods 31

§ 8. Wages and production of the people of Scotland, of the past and present, 37

§ 9. The more continuous and steady the societary motion, the more instant the demand for, and the economy of, labor. That continuity the test of real civilization. Diversity of employments indispensable to its existence. Waste of power in, and consequent poverty of, all purely agricultural countries 38

§ 10. Continuity in the demand for labor, with growing commerce, to be found in those countries in which raw materials and finished commodities most approximate in prices 42

§ 11. The more that matter tends to take upon itself its highest form, the more continuous and steady must be the societary motion, and the greater the economy of force 43

§ 12. Errors of modern economists in regard to productive and unproductive labor. All labor productive which tends to enable man more thoroughly to direct the forces of nature to his service — wealth consisting in the existence of that power of direction. The greater the power of man over nature, the more rapid the progress of accumulation 44

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF ACCUMULATION.

§ 1. Power of accumulation, in both the natural and social world, in the ratio of the circulation 48

§ 2. Capital, the instrument by means of which man is enabled to direct the natural forces to his service. Power of association grows, as he obtains increased command over the instrument. Declines, as it obtains command over him 50

§ 3. Movable capital declines in its proportions, as compared with that which is fixed — that decline being an evidence of advancing civilization. Commerce grows with this change of proportions 51

§ 4. Centralization increases the proportion of movable capital — that change being an evidence of declining civilization. Historic illustrations. Increase of movable capital in all the present free-trade countries 54

§ 5. Fixed capital increases in its proportions, as the prices of raw materials and finished commodities more and more approximate — declining as they recede from each other 59

§ 6. Errors of modern economists in regarding *saving* as the cause of the growth of capital 60

§ 7. That growth due to the economy of human effort. That economy a consequence of diversification of employments, and consequent combination of action. Waste of human power in all the countries which follow in the train of Britain. Resistance to the British system, and its effects 62

§ 8. Errors of Adam Smith in regard to the origin of capital 68

§ 9. Inconsistencies of British economists 71

§ 10. Capital grows with the growth of local centres, with constant increase in the power of production, and in the rapidity of circulation. Summary of the definitions thus far given in the present work 73

CHAPTER XL.

OF CIRCULATION.

§ 1. Division of land a consequence of increase in the power of combination among men 75

§ 2. Little circulation of either land or man, in the earlier stages of society. Large proportion then borne by movable to fixed capital 75

§ 3. Circulation increases in its rapidity, in the direct ratio of the tendency of capital to become fixed and immovable. Historic illustrations 78

§ 4. The more rapid the circulation, the greater the tendency towards the creation of local centres, towards the development of individuality, and towards having society assume its natural form 80

§ 5. Circulation diminishes in its rapidity as land becomes consolidated, and movable capital increases in its proportions. Phenomena presented for examination by Greece, Italy, and Spain 81

§ 6. Circulation becomes more rapid as employments become diversified, and land becomes divided 83

§ 7. The more perfect the security of property, the greater is the tendency towards having it become fixed, land then becoming divided. Social phenomena exhibited by France 84

§ 8. Tendency of British policy to promote increase in the proportions of movable capital, at the expense of that which is fixed. Consequent sluggishness of circulation, in all the countries subject to it 89

§ 9. Circulation becomes more rapid in the ratio of the tendency towards approximation in the prices of rude products and finished commodities. That tendency grows in all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert and of France, while declining in all of those that follow in the train of the Ricardo-Malthusian school 92

§ 10. Tendency of the British colonial system to produce stoppage of the circulation. Its effects, as exhibited in the past and present of the United States 95

§ 11. Increase in the proportion borne, in the United States, by movable capital, and consequent sluggishness of circulation. Their growing dependence on the movements of the trader 101

§ 12. The more rapid the circulation, the greater the force exerted. Force increases in all the countries that follow in the train of Colbert, while declining in those which adopt the doctrines of the British school 102

§ 13. Difference between Adam Smith and the modern British economists. The one regarded *commerce* as the handmaid of agriculture. The other looks to *trade* as master of the societary movement 103

§ 14. The more rapid the circulation, the more equitable the distribution. Identity of the physical and social laws 105

CHAPTER XLI.

OF DISTRIBUTION.

§ 1. Of wages, profits, and interest. Large proportion assigned to capital, in the early stages of society 109

§ 2. Capitalist's proportion diminishes, as the cost of reproduction declines 110

§ 3. General law of distribution. Laborer's share increases in both its proportion and amount. That of the capitalist increases in amount, while diminishing in its proportion. Tendency of this law to produce equality in the condition of mankind. Its harmony and beauty 111

§ 4. Universal application of the law that is here propounded 114

§ 5. Labor's proportion increases, as the prices of rude products and those of finished commodities tend to approximate to each other 116

§ 6. That tendency found in all the countries in which employments become more diversified. The reverse of this found in all the countries that adopt the doctrines of the British school 118

§ 7. Capital accumulates most rapidly where the rate of profit is lowest. That rate declines as human effort is more and more economised 119

§ 8. Tendency of the law of distribution towards the production of harmony and peace among the communities of the world 120

§ 9. British economists hold that capital increases most rapidly when and where profits are highest 122

§ 10. How the rate of interest is affected by increase in the quantity of money. Errors of Mr. Hume 125

§ 11. Erroneous views of Adam Smith in regard to the natural law regulating the charge for the use of money 126

§ 12. Absence of consistency in the doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school, 128

§ 13. The value of man rises as the *rate* of profit, interest, and rent declines, 129

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

§ 1. Of the rent of land. Large proportion of the landlord in the days of early cultivation. That proportion diminishes as labor becomes more productive, but the amount of rent increases. The laborer's share increases in its proportion, with large increase in its amount — both thus profiting by increase in the power to command the services of nature 131

§ 2. Mr. Ricardo's theory of rent. Teaches the reverse of this, the landlord's proportion increasing as agricultural labor becomes less productive 134

§ 3. That theory based upon the false assumption that cultivation commences on the rich soils, and that labor becomes less productive as men increase in number and in power. The reverse of this proved by all the facts of history, 136

§ 4. Error of Mr. Ricardo in regard to the origin of rent. No such rent as that indicated by him has ever been, or can be, paid 141

§ 5. The ultimate slavery of man the natural tendency of the Ricardo-Malthusian theory—rent rising as labor becomes less productive. That theory and the facts compared 143

§ 6. Simplicity, and universal truth, of natural laws. Complexity and error of Mr. Ricardo's theory 150

§ 7. Growth of rent supposed by Mr. Ricardo to be retarded by improvements in cultivation. Interests of the landlord supposed to be promoted by diminution in the supply of food, and increasing poverty of the laborer. Facts and theories not in harmony with each other 151

§ 8. Mr. Ricardo's theory one of universal discords. Its inconsistencies, and its tendency to the production of wars of classes and of nations. Harmony and beauty of the real laws 153

§ 9. Capitalists' proportion declines, and that of the laborers increase, as the societary circulation becomes more rapid Historical illustrations 155

§ 10. The more rapid the circulation, the greater the tendency towards equality and freedom among the people, and towards strength in the State 159

§ 11. Mr. Ricardo's theory of distribution based upon the assumption of an imaginary fact. His successors continue to maintain that theory, although the fact has disappeared. Inconsistencies of modern economists 160

§ 12. Attempt to maintain the theory by means of imaginary suspension of great natural laws 166

§ 13. Revolutionary tendencies of the system. War among nations, and discord among individuals, grow with the growth of monopoly of the land. That monopoly a necessary consequence of the British policy. With every stage of its progress, the more must the people suffer in the distribution between themselves and the State 167

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

§ 1. Of distribution between the people and the State. Small security obtained at the cost of heavy contributions, in the early stages of society. As employments become diversified, and men are more enabled to combine together, security increases, and is obtained at diminished cost 171

§ 2. Necessity for indirect taxation in the early period. Diminishes as fixed property increases in the proportions borne by it to that which is movable ... 173

§ 3. Commerce tends to become more free, as the proportion of movable to fixed property declines. Phenomena presented for consideration by France and the United States 174

§ 4. Tendency towards increase of indirect taxation, an evidence of declining civilization. Phenomena presented for consideration by Greece and Rome, 178

§ 5. Indirect taxation of Holland, Turkey, Sicily, and other countries that are becoming more subject to the dominion of the trader 180

§ 6. Substitution of indirect for direct taxation, in Great Britain 185

§ 7. Labor and land the ultimate payers of all contributions for the support of government. The more direct the application to them, the lighter the burthen of taxation 186

§ 8. The real payers of British taxes, the land and labor of the various countries which furnish the raw materials consumed in British workshops. Consequent exhaustion of all those countries 188

§ 9. Revenue system of the United States. The countries in which direct taxation tends to supersede those which are indirect, are those which have protected themselves against the British system. Failure of the United States in this respect 191

§ 10. The more direct the taxation, the less will be its proportion to production, 192

§ 11. Revenue system of Central and Northern Europe. Tendency towards direct taxation 193

§ 12. The more rapid the circulation, the less the power for interference with commerce, by means of indirect taxes, and the greater the tendency towards improvement in the condition of man 195

§ 13. Why not, then, at once abolish all indirect taxation? Because the power of direct taxation — being an evidence of that high civilization which is marked by the near approach of the prices of rude products and finished commodities — cannot be exercised in any country that has not prepared for it, by placing consumers and producers in close proximity to each other 198

§ 14. The more perfect the power to apply directly to the land and labor of the country, the greater is the strength of the State 201

§ 15. Preference of British economists for indirect taxation 202

§ 16. Wide difference between the doctrines of modern economists, and those of Adam Smith 205

§ 17. Protection looks to increasing the value of land and labor, and thus creating the power of direct taxation. Interferences with commerce for merely revenue purposes, look to the permanence of indirect taxation. The first tends towards concentration and freedom. The last, towards centralization, and the extension of slavery among mankind 206

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF CONCENTRATION AND CENTRALIZATION.

§ 1. Concentration tends to development of the individual faculties, to increase in the power of association, and to the promotion of commerce 209

§ 2. Doctrines of Adam Smith, in regard to concentration and centralization .. 213

§ 3. The more rapid the societary circulation, the greater the tendency towards concentration, harmony, and peace 215

§ 4. Centralization tends to diminish as land and labor acquire value 218

§ 5. Centralization grows with the growth of the trader's power 219

§ 6. Of all oppressions, none comparable with that of trading centralization .. 220

§ 7. Centralizing tendencies of the British system 223

§ 8. Theory of the American system, that of concentration and local action. Practice of the government, that of centralization 224

§ 9. Concentration tends towards the creation of power for direct taxation. Centralization tends towards war and indirect taxation 226

§ 10. How concentration increases the rapidity of the circulation. Centralization tends in the reverse direction 228

§ 11. Absenteeism of the capitalist, and growing competition for the sale of labor, the necessary attendants of centralization 231

CHAPTER XLV.

OF COMPETITION.

§ 1. In the absence of competition for the purchase of labor-power, the laborer becomes enslaved. That power the only commodity that cannot be preserved, even for an instant, beyond the moment of its production 233

§ 2. The more the competition for the purchase of labor, the more rapid the circulation, the larger the production, and the greater the power of accumulation, 234

§ 3. Competition for the *purchase* of labor tends toward freedom. The trader desires to produce competition for its *sale* 235

§ 4. Trading centralization seeks to produce competition for the sale of raw materials and labor. Therefore adverse to the growth of value in land or man. Stoppage of the circulation the mode by which it produces the effect desired. How it operates in the free trade countries of the world..... 237

§ 5. Effect of trading centralization upon the condition of the British people, 242

§ 6. How protection produces competition for the purchase of labor. The free-trade system looks to producing competition for its sale. Results of American experience 246

§ 7. Increasing competition for the sale of raw materials, in all purely agricultural countries. Growth of competition for their purchase, in the protected countries of Europe 247

§ 8. Trading centralization deteriorates the condition of the laborers of the world. Necessity for resistance thereto 248

§ 9. Freedom of commerce grows in those countries which have adopted measures of protection against the British system 251

§ 10. Harmony of the real interests of all mankind. All nations interested in the adoption of measures tending to promote competition for the purchase of raw materials and labor..... 251

§ 11. The two communities which claim to be leaders in the cause of freedom, those whose measures tend to produce competition for the sale of labor — thus extending slavery. The despotic countries of Europe, on the contrary, those whose measures look to competition for its purchase — thus extending freedom..... 253

§ 12. Competition for the control of nature's services raises the value of both land and man 254

§ 13. Competition for the purchase of labor produces demand for the higher human faculties, and thus raises the standard of man. Competition for its sale produces the reverse effect 255

§ 14. Competition for the purchase of labor tends to strengthen custom into law, in favor of the laborer. Competition for its sale tends to the annihilation of customary rights, in favor of the capitalist. The former grows in all the countries that have protected themselves against trading centralization. The latter grows in all subjected to it. In the one, the societary circulation becomes more rapid. In the other, it becomes more sluggish, with constant growth of the disease of over-population 257

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF POPULATION.

§ 1. That the earth may be subdued, man must multiply and increase. — Tendency to assume the various forms of life greatest at the lowest point of organization. Fecundity and development in the inverse ratio of each other. Man, the being of highest development, should, therefore, increase but very slowly. Time required for the duplication of population. However long that period, if the procreative tendency is a fixed and positive quantity, always liable to be excited into action, the time must arrive when there will be but standing-room for the population. Is it so? *Can* the Creator have subjected man to laws, in virtue of which he must become the slave of nature and of his fellow-man? 263

§ 2. Physical science testifies that order, harmony, and reciprocal adjustment, reign throughout all the realms it has yet explored. Modern economists have mistaken facts for laws. Laws are rules, permanent, uniform, and universal, in their action. Theory of Mr. Malthus deficient in all these characteristics. The procreative function, in common with all others, placed under the law of circumstances and conditions. Law of human life must be assumed to be in harmony with the Creator's design. Are war and pestilence required for correcting errors of the Creator, or has the Creator so adjusted the procreative tendency as to provide the means of correcting human error? No instance, throughout nature's realm, in which the laws of the subject break the harmony of the scheme of creation. Not the divine order, but man's disorder, that limits his earthly life so far within the period of utility and enjoyment 265

§ 3. Power of progress in the ratio of dissimilarity of the parts and perfection of organization. Man, therefore, the being most susceptible of change — passing from the merely animal man, and becoming the real MAN, responsible to his family, his fellow-man, and his Creator. Responsibility grows with the growing power of association, and with division of the land 273

§ 4. Growth of population modified by the development of that feeling of responsibility which comes with the ownership of land. Facts presented for consideration by the countries of Central and Northern Europe — those in which employments are becoming more diversified, and in which the prices of rude products and finished commodities most tend to approach each other 276

§ 5. Phenomena exhibited by the purely agricultural countries — those which follow in the lead of Britain. Recklessness and poverty consequent upon absence of diversity in the modes of employment, and consolidation of the land. Adaptability of the procreative power to the circumstances in which a community is placed 281

§ 6. Consolidation of the land, and the disease of over-population, necessary consequences of a policy which looks to the cheapening of labor, and of the rude products of the earth. British system tends to the production of these effects. Its results, as exhibited in the condition of the English people 287

§ 7. Pioneer life favorable to increase of numbers. The American system, here as every where, one of contrasts — localization being the theory, and centralization the practice. Effects, as exhibited in the duration of life 293

§ 8. Reproductive function not a constant quantity. Adjusted to the various conditions of the race. Nature's pledge of harmony between the rate of procreation and subsistence. General predominance of the nutritive and sexual functions. Antagonism of the animal propensities and higher sentiments. Special opposition between the nervous and sexual functions. Fertility of the drudges of an imperfect civilization. Infertility of the hunter tribes. Activity of the intellect checks procreation. Cerebral and generative powers of man mature together. Fecundity in the inverse ratio of organization. Facts presented by physiology. Cerebral power of woman abated by the uterine function. Various effects of the different mental and moral qualities. Relation of fecundity and mortality. A self-acting law of population secures harmony in the growth of numbers and of food. Prospective changes in the ratio of procreation, tending to promote the highest welfare of the race 296

§ 9. In the physical world, the most important effects due to the slow but steady action of minute and almost unseen machinery — the coral insect making changes that are permanent, while the elephant leaves behind him no evidence of his existence. So, too, in the social world — the Creator having there provided such machinery for carrying into full effect the purposes of man's creation. Wars, pestilences, and famines, not required. Over-population theory an effort to account for the consequences of human error, by means of supposed error of man's Creator 308

§ 10. Harmony in the social, as in the physical world, a result of the equal action of opposing forces. The more perfect the balance, the greater the tendency towards development of the real MAN, and towards harmony between the demands upon the earth, and her power to meet demands 312

CHAPTER XLVII.

OF FOOD AND POPULATION.

§ 1. Population makes the food come from the rich soils of the earth—depopulation driving men back to the poorer ones. Increase in the regularity of the supply of the necessaries of life, consequent upon the increased demands of a population that is growing in numbers and in power. Diminution in the waste of human force that attends increase in the supply of food 313

§ 2. Substitution of vegetable for animal food. Causes the action of man upon nature to become more direct—thereby diminishing friction, and increasing power 316

§ 3. Similar substitutions in reference to other of the most important needs of man. The mineral world, too, co-operates in diminishing man's dependence on the animal one—each such substitution being accompanied by diminution in the demand upon man's physical powers, and in the quantity of food required to supply the daily waste. Man grows in value, with every stage of progress in this direction 317

§ 4. Tendency of the lower animals to disappear. Consequent diminution in the supply of carbonic acid. Increased demand for supplies of that acid, which attends the extension of cultivation. Consequent necessity for increase in the number of men. Wonderful beauty of all natural arrangements 319

§ 5. That man may profit by those arrangements, he is required to conform to that law of nature which demands that the consumer and the producer take their places by each other. Increase in the supply of all the necessaries of life, in those countries of the world which obey this law. Population pressing upon subsistence, in all those by which it is violated 320

§ 6. Rapid increase in the supply of food to the people of the United States, when their policy has been obedient to this law 321

§ 7. Destructive effects of British policy, in causing the exhaustion of the countries that follow in the lead of her economists. Tendency, in all of them, towards centralization, slavery, and death 324

§ 8. Simplicity and beauty of the laws which regulate the demand for food, and its supply. Perfect harmony, throughout nature, in the adaptation of means to ends 325

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF COLONIZATION.

§ 1. Early colonization. Tendency to increase accompanied by a tendency to spread, in both the vegetable and social world. Local and central attraction, 328

§ 2. Nature goes on adding perfection to perfection, from the poles to the tropics. Richer soils of the world as yet unoccupied—nature being there all-powerful. With the growth of wealth and population, man is enabled to turn against her such of her forces as he has mastered—passing, steadily, from triumph to triumph, and subjugating more fertile soils 330

§ 3. Manufactures always precede, and never follow, the creation of a real agriculture. The country that exports its soil, in the form of rude products, must end in the export of men. The more equal the balance of the opposing forces, the greater the power to cultivate the richer soils. Trading centralization tends to annihilation of local centres, exhaustion of the soil, and destruction of the value of land and man. Protection has for its object the establishment of counter-attraction 333

§ 4. Variable policy of the United States. General tendency towards exhaustion of the soil, and the production of a necessity for emigration. Diminu-

tion of power for maintaining the attraction of local centres. Errors of Ricardo-Malthusian teachers. Declining power of association throughout the Union 337

§ 5. Error in one community tends to the production of error in all. British warfare on the manufactures of other nations tends to the production of slavery, abroad and at home. Extraordinary emigration from the British islands 342

§ 6. Tendency towards over-population, and a necessity for emigration, in the direct ratio of the separation of the prices of raw materials and finished commodities. British policy looks to widening the space between them. Countries which follow in the lead of England, are those which furnish the facts required for demonstrating the truth of Malthusian doctrines 346

CHAPTER XLIX.

OF THE MALTHUSIAN THEORY.

§ 1. Constant tendency, according to Mr. Malthus, in all animated life, to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it. Facts, however, prove that supply is, every where, a consequence of demand — the quantity of food prepared for beings of every kind, being practically unlimited. Increase of numbers, and of power, attended by increased ability to make demand, as shown in all the advancing nations of the earth. Laws of nature vindicate the ways of God to man 349

§ 2. Misery and vice attributed to deficiency in the powers of the earth to furnish food to increasing numbers. May they not, on the contrary, be attributed to failure in man to qualify himself to make demands upon the earth? Facts of history prove the difficulty to lie with man himself, and not in errors of the Creator 352

§ 3. Mr. Malthus gives facts, and calls them science. Science demands principles — asking, Why it is, that such things are? Failure of Mr. Malthus to establish "the one great cause" of the various facts observed. Cause and effect constantly changing places with each other, throughout his work. His *Principle of Population* a mere form of words, indicating the existence of an altogether imaginary fact 354

§ 4. His great and universal remedy for the disease of over-population. Inapplicable in the cases by him described. Prudence and foresight recommended by writers, who commence by destroying in their readers all feeling of hope in the future. Injurious character of the teachings of the Malthusian school. Real moral restraint comes with the development of individuality, resulting from diversity in the demands for human powers. British system tends to prevent that development, and thus produces the disease described by Mr. Malthus 360

§ 5. Responsibility grows with the growth of the gifts of God to man. Poor laborer the slave of circumstances, yet held responsible for his acts. Tendency of the Malthusian doctrine to shift responsibility from the rich and strong, to the poor, the weak, and the uninstructed 364

§ 6. The nearer the consumer to the producer, the larger the production, the more equitable the distribution, and the greater the tendency to the development of the feeling of responsibility among the poor and the rich. Recklessness grows as the producer and consumer are more widely separated.—British teachers misled by facts that are consequent upon errors of British policy. Unchristian character of the Malthusian theory 366

CHAPTER L.

OF COMMERCE.

§ 1. Relations of the sexes. Woman a slave to man, in the early stages of society. Her condition improves as wealth and population grow, and as the real MAN is more developed. The more rapid the societary circulation, and the greater the tendency towards the creation of a scientific agriculture, the more does the sex tend towards occupying its true position 368

§ 2. Condition of woman in Greece, Italy, and France, at various periods. Centralization tends to its deterioration. Phenomena observed in Central and Northern Europe. Woman rises in the scale as land becomes divided, and man becomes more free 372

§ 3. Saxon women sold to slavery. General improvement in the condition of the women of England. Loss of the rights of property secured to them by the early English law. Deterioration of the condition of the sex, in all the countries that follow in the train of England 374

§ 4. How the condition of English women is affected by trading centralization. Growing competition for the *sale* of female labor. Consequent low wages, and necessity for resorting to prostitution. Protection tends to produce competition for its *purchase* — thereby benefiting the sex throughout the world.. 378

§ 5. Extraordinary contrasts presented by the condition of the sex in the several portions of the American Union. Theory of the government favorable to the creation of local centres, and to the elevation of the sex. Its practice, tending towards centralization, adverse thereto, and hence the rapid growth of female crime and prostitution 383

CHAPTER LI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

§ 1. Relations of the family. Weakness of the family ties, in the early stages of society. Responsibility, in both parent and child, grows with the growth in the diversity of employments — with division of the land — and with the approximation of consumers to producers 386

§ 2. Education in Central and Northern Europe. Growing feeling of responsibility for proper training of youth, as manifested in all those countries in which employments are becoming more diversified..... 388

§ 3. Reverse of this exhibited in those which follow in the train of England — employments there becoming less diversified. Condition of English children. Absence of provision for general education. Child-murder. Children regarded as mere instruments to be used by trade. Contrast to this, presented by the condition of the children of Northern and Central Europe. Destructive tendencies of English policy. Consequent necessity for a theory of over-population 391

§ 4. Extraordinary contrasts here again presented by the American Union. Growing centralization, and rapid growth of juvenile crime 397

§ 5. That education given in the school may prove useful, it is needed that there be demand for the faculties there developed. That there may be such demand, it is required that there be diversity in the modes of employment. That the latter may exist, there is needed an exercise of the power of the State 399

CHAPTER LII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

§ 1. Commerce of the State. Solidarity of the human race. Two-fold nature of man. Correspondence between the structure and functions of the individual man, and the aggregate man denominated Society. Co-ordinating office of the brain. Its power limited by the necessary liberty of the individual organs. Various degrees of subordination of the parts. Checks and balances of the system, correspond to those of civil government. Necessity for exercise of the power of co-ordination grows, in individuals and societies, as the organization becomes more complete. Local centres of the physical and social systems. Power and duties of the brain. Correspondence of those of civil government. Government among spontaneities. Order and liberty combined and secured. Graduated and federated system of government, in the human body, analogous to the political organization of that social one which constitutes the United States 401

§ 2. Social science here branches into political economy — the one treating of natural *laws*, and the other of the *measures* required for enabling those laws to have full effect. Relation of science and art, as exhibited by M. Comte. Necessity for exercise of the power of co-ordination. Duties to be performed, in reference to the social body, the same with those that, in the physical one, are assigned to the brain. The more perfect the co-ordination, the more complete, in both, the development of all the parts, and the more harmonious the action of the whole. Tendency to the creation of local centres. The more perfect the balance of opposing forces, the greater the tendency towards human freedom. Duty of the co-ordinating power limited to the removal of obstacles to association 409

§ 3. Universal tendency towards association. Joint-stock companies. Acts of incorporation. Limitation of liability. Correspondence of the societary action with the natural laws instituted for man's government. Monopolies. Early appearance, among the Greeks and Romans, of corporations for politi-

cal and commercial purposes. Limitation of liability throughout the Roman empire. With growing centralization and declining civilization, limitation disappears. Consequent disappearance of local governments, followed by ruin of the empire. Gradual revival of local institutions. Effect of their re-appearance, in facilitating commerce, promoting the development of individuality, and aiding in the re-establishment of regular government. American civil polity distinguished by the prevalence and diversity of corporations. Organization necessary to association. Societary movement becomes more rapid as the power of combination becomes more complete. Power of the trader declines as men are more enabled to associate. Buying and selling an array of hostile interests — all idea of harmony or equity being excluded. Harmony grows as the producer and the consumer take their places by each other—discord, on the contrary, growing, as they become more widely separated 415

§ 4. Colbert and his policy. His full appreciation of the necessity for the exercise, by the State, of a power of co-ordination. Hume, on the necessity for preserving with care the manufactures of a nation. Adam Smith no advocate of the indiscriminate adoption of the system of *laisser faire*. Say, Rossi, Mill, and others, on the duties of a government, in reference to diversification of the pursuits of the people over whom it is placed 424

§ 5. M. Chevalier. His approval of the protective system. Within certain limits, governments, being the personification of nations, are but performing a positive duty, when they favor the taking possession of all the branches of industry whose acquisition is authorized by the nature of things. Holds that French agriculture has ceased to be protected. Inaccuracy of the view thus presented. Accuracy of his views in reference to the small product of American agriculture. Heavy taxation of American farmers, and comparative exemption of those of France. Freedom of trade enjoyed by the latter, as compared with the restrictions on the former. Causes of these differences, 425

§ 6. The world word-governed — unmeaning phrases being made objects of world-worship. Tyranny of governments whose theory is that of *laisser faire*. Governments oppressive in the ratio of failure to exercise their powers of co-ordination. Errors of modern economists. Gigantic communism a consequence of the British system. Real import of the doctrine of *laisser faire*. Necessity for exercise of the co-ordinating power grows with the growth of wealth and numbers. The more perfect the power of association within the State, the greater the power of its people to contribute to the commerce of the world 435

CHAPTER LIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

§ 1. Commerce of the World. In societies, as in the individual man, the power to maintain commerce is in the ratio of development — that becoming more complete, as the power of co-ordination is more discreetly exercised 445

§ 2. Organized bodies grow from within. Brute matter increases only by aggregation. The more perfect the development of human faculties, the higher the societary organization, and the more complete the self-dependence. Reverse of this exhibited in all purely agricultural communities 446

§ 3. Power for maintaining exterior commerce grows, as the community becomes more self-dependent. Rapid growth of commerce in the protected countries of the world. Its decay in the unprotected ones 447

§ 4. Limited internal commerce of the States of the American Union. Slow growth of the power to maintain foreign commerce 449

§ 5. Obstacle to the development of commerce with distant people, found in the tax of transportation. Central and Northern Europe gradually freeing themselves from the necessity for its payment. Consequent rapid increase of the intercourse with distant lands. Increase of that tax in all the countries that follow in the train of England. Real freedom of trade consists in the maintenance of direct intercourse with the outside world. Centralization opposed to this, and hence the resistance of all the advancing communities of Europe. Object of protection, that of establishing perfect freedom of commerce throughout the world 451

§ 6. Ultimate object of all production found in the real MAN. The higher his development, the greater the tendency towards the substitution of the commerce of taste and intellect, for that which requires for its maintenance mere brute force. Growth of local centres, and increase of local attraction, in all the countries which follow in the lead of Colbert. Decline of local attraction in those which adopt the teachings of the British school. Peace and harmony come with the proper exercise of the power of co-ordination. Subordination of all the parts becomes more complete as the societary organization becomes more perfect 452

CHAPTER LIV.

OF THE SOCIETARY ORGANIZATION.

§ 1. Throughout nature, dissimilarity of the parts, evidence of the perfection of the whole — the highest organization presenting the most numerous differences. The higher the organization, the more complete the subordination of the parts. The more perfect the subordination, the more harmonious and beautiful the interdependence of the parts. The more complete that interdependence, the greater the individuality of the whole, and the more perfect the power of self-direction 455

§ 2. The more perfect the co-ordination of the parts, the more complete the development of each and all. The more numerous the societary differences, the more perfect the subordination, and the more complete the interdependence — order and freedom growing with every rise in the standard of the societary organization. Historical illustrations 457

§ 3. Subordination becomes more complete, as competition for the *purchase* of labor is increased — the laborer then becoming free. Growth of insubordination attendant upon growing competition for the *sale* of labor—the laborer then becoming more enslaved. The first of these, found in all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert. The last, in those which adopt the doctrines of the British school. Phenomena exhibited in England and the United States 461

§ 4. Throughout the physical and social world, harmony of movement — interdependence — a result of that local attraction which preserves a perfect independence. Subordination grows with the growth of the power of self-direction and protection. Harmony a result of the equal action of opposing forces. Its growth in all those countries, in which the co-ordinating action is in accordance with the principles of Social Science 463

CHAPTER LV.

OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

§ 1. Identity of the physical and social laws. Harmony, the universal result of the unrestrained operation of natural laws. Identity of individual and national interests throughout the world 466

§ 2. Agriculture, the last developed of the pursuits of man. The laborer in the field, the last that is emancipated. Minute machinery, by means of which nature performs her greatest operations, the last that is observed. Advantages of peace and harmony, last to meet their full appreciation. Science, the interpreter of nature. Having recorded her processes, it accepts them as true. Social Science treats of the laws, in virtue of which man is enabled to obtain power over nature and over himself. Careful study of those laws would enable all, from the farmer and the laborer, to the sovereign and the statesman, to see that advantage would result from full obedience to the great precept, which requires that men should do by others as they would that others should do by them 468

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

§ 1. By means of his bow, Crusoe reduced to his service the force of elasticity — a great power always existing in nature, and waiting appropriation at the hands of man. His canoe enabled him to command another important force, the supporting power of water; to which, when he had made a sail, he added a third, the propelling power of wind — each addition to his power increasing his supplies of food, while diminishing his labor. At a later period, we see him using his stick to make holes in the ground, with a view to obtain the aid of certain properties of the earth and atmosphere; and now it is that the earth gives him back five, ten, or even twenty grains in return for the single one he had given to her.

As thus yielded, however, they do not constitute the thing he seeks — not being as yet food for man. That they may so become, it is necessary that they be first converted into meal, for the accomplishment of which object he calls to his service another natural force — that of gravitation. Still, however, there has been no production of the thing he is seeking to obtain —food. The meal is scarcely more fitted to answer his purposes than the wheat had been; and therefore is it that he seeks the assistance of a further force—that of friction. Rubbing together a couple of pieces of wood, he obtains heat, and ultimately fire; and now it is that he produces bread, the commodity he needs.

What, however, was the ultimate object of all these labors? Why did he give so much time and mind to the construction of the bow and the canoe, to the making of holes in the earth, to

the taking of fish, the pounding of grain, and the conversion of both into the forms in which they could be regarded in the light of food? That object was the attainment of muscular power in himself — for doing which it was required that he should subject to decomposition the matter that nature had before composed. This he does by passing it through his stomach, where it is subjected to the action of other natural forces — being there prepared again to enter into the composition of fish or birds, wheat or rye, apples or potatoes. We have here a never-ending round; but, among all these operations, to which of them may we apply the term production? Where does production end, and where are we to find the beginning of consumption?

The canoe is consumed in producing fish, the bow in producing birds, the air and earth in producing wheat, the wheat in producing flour, the flour in producing bread, and the bread in producing man. He, in turn, being consumed in producing all these things, passes finally into soil, ready to take his part in furnishing anew the materials of which birds, beasts, fishes, wheat, rye, and potatoes are composed. One man, however, as we are told, is a producer of cotton, while another produces cotton cloth, which passes to a third, who produces calicoes; yet all these men are engaged in different portions of the same work — that of *reducing to the service of man the forces of nature*, by enabling those existing in the earth and atmosphere to take that form in which they will best afford the protection required against the winter's cold.

Again: a man is called a producer of coal; whereas, he has simply changed its place — bringing to the head of the shaft what before was at its foot. In doing this, however, he has taken but a single step towards the end for whose attainment coal is sought. Man needs power, and to have power there must be motion, which requires heat. To have heat he must consume the coal — the act of consumption becoming thus an act of production. Having obtained heat, he has now to consume it in the act of consuming water and producing steam. That done, he consumes the steam in producing water; and thus on and on, in an endless round, in which production and consumption are so entirely part and parcel of each other, that distinction between the two has ceased to exist.

Further: one man produces coal, and another iron ore, both

of which must be consumed before either can command those services of nature which are obtained from the use of a bar of iron. They are consumed, but, in place of a malleable bar, we find a brittle lump of metal of slight utility. That, in its turn, being consumed, it is now that we obtain a bar. That, again, consumed, we next obtain strips of iron fitted for yielding knives. Before, however, the knife can be obtained, we are required to consume other iron in producing steel; and it is when both the iron and the steel have been consumed, that we find in their place a parcel of knives and forks. All the acts of consumption here described, are part and parcel of one great act of production.

Having made holes in the earth with his stick, Crusoe obtained corn. Having consumed the corn, he obtained muscular force, by means of which he obtained a spade. That, in its turn, being consumed in making deeper holes, he thus enabled the earth to consume more of the elements with which the atmosphere was charged — giving him, in return, more corn, by help of which he has greater force. The more corn he consumed, the more of its elements he could return to the land, and the greater was the power of the soil to increase its consumption of other elements, by means of which to produce more food. These are all, therefore, but acts of motion, each of which is required for the production of the other. Man, however, can cause no motion to exist. All he can do is, so to engineer the forces of nature as to make them serve his purposes. Serve him they will, if he will put himself in the way of being served. The waters of Niagara, and the great coal-beds of the West, are ready to grant their aid to him, if he can but be induced to qualify himself for subjecting them to his power, and thus adding to his wealth.

§ 2. That man may qualify himself for obtaining command of the forces of nature, it is required that his own latent powers be stimulated into action — a result to be obtained only by means of association and combination with his fellow-men. The solitary Crusoe could make a bow; but when he attempted to fell a tree, out of which to make a canoe, he failed. His strength was insufficient for building a dam, in default of which the water passing from the hill remained as useless as it had been before his appearance on the island. Deficient in the power required for convert-

ing ore into iron, and iron into instruments, he might have been surrounded with coal and iron, and yet have perished for want of an axe or a spade. Forced, too, to divide his labor among a variety of employments, he was unable to obtain complete control of those faculties in which he most excelled. With the arrival of Friday, employment became divided — each now taking that department for which he was best fitted. More neighbors coming, new divisions of employment now arise, and from year to year it becomes more obvious that each and every of them has a distinct individuality — qualifying him to do some one thing better than it could be done by other members of the little community.

Individuality being thus developed, commerce arises, and society is formed — each and every act of commerce consisting in the consumption of two efforts of physical or mental power, and the production of two results, both of which are in their turn consumed. The more *instant* the consumption, the greater must be the motion — the greater the tendency to increase of force — and the more perfect the steadiness of the movement.

Throughout the material world, production and consumption are but parts of the same operation—oxygen and hydrogen being consumed in producing water, and water being consumed in the reproduction of its elements. In both cases motion is produced, yielding power whose measure is to be found in the rapidity of the movement. So is it, too, in the physiological world — life being a constant round of production and consumption, and health and vigor being throughout, attendant upon rapidity of digestion. So, everywhere, is it in the social world — the power there existing being dependent, altogether, upon the circulation of the physical and mental efforts of the persons of whom it is composed. When it is rapid, the force is great; when it is sluggish, there can be but little force exerted. Seeking evidence of this, the reader may compare the sluggish Sparta with the lively Athens — Turkey, Italy, or Portugal, with Northern Germany— India, with her hundred millions of people, with France and her thirty-six millions — or Carolina with Massachusetts.

Production consists in *the direction of the natural forces to the service of man.* The more they are so directed, the greater is his wealth — wealth consisting in the power to command their service.

The more they are so directed, the greater is the tendency of matter to take upon itself new and higher forms — terminating in that of man.

The greater the number of men, the greater is the power of association — the more rapid is the development of individual faculty — and the more does man acquire power over nature. That, in its turn, is attended with increased facility of combination, and increased capacity for comprehending the wonderful powers of nature — with corresponding increase in his power to reduce them to his service. With every step in this direction, the latent utilities of matter become more and more developed, with constant diminution in the value of all commodities required by man, and increase in his value when compared with them. Wealth tends, therefore, to increase at a constantly accelerated pace — every stage of its growth being accompanied by an increase in the rapidity with which production and consumption follow each other, and in the further power of progress.

§ 3. The ultimate object of all production is MAN. Made in the image and likeness of his Creator, he was endowed with faculties fitting him to obtain power over the material world; and, for their development, commerce with his fellow-man was imposed upon him as one of the conditions of his existence. That commerce consists in the exchange of physical or intellectual effort among men — each with every other. The man who is strong of arm seeks to exchange with him who is swift of foot; and he who has taken fish desires to exchange with his neighbor who has spent his time in snaring rabbits. In the infancy of society, however — there being little commerce — the human faculties, whether physical or intellectual, remain latent, waiting demand; precisely as is the case with the natural forces which so much abound. Power exists everywhere, susceptible of being made to contribute to man's purposes; but coal and ore, elasticity and steam, await his coming for their development.

Everywhere in the social, as in the physical, world, it is demand that causes supply. The isolated settler, having taken as many birds as he can consume, finds no inducement to exertion, and his faculties remain unused. The wild man of the West secretes the produce of the chase; while Castilian men deposit their grain in

caves of the earth — awaiting demand. Both waste their days in idleness, because the producers of the commodities for which they would gladly give their products, are so far distant, that commerce with them cannot be maintained.

The Russian farmer, unable to send his wheat to the distant market, and unable, therefore, to obtain the clothing needed for his family and himself, wastes the power for which there is no demand. The people of Carolina are enriched by seasons in which their land is rendered comparatively unproductive; whereas, they are impoverished by fruitful seasons — the major part of their produce being then required for the payment of storage, commissions, and freights. To them, therefore, any unusual effort, resulting in increase of crop, would be cause of loss, and not of profit. — So, too, is it with the intellectual faculties — never in demand among a people wholly engaged in labors of the field. Leibnitz and Newton, Watt and Fulton, would have lived and died unknown, miserable cattle-drivers, had their lot been cast among the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the plains of Africa. That the Carolinian or the Russian — the man of physical or of mental force — may find inducement to exertion, it is required that there be that demand for individual faculty which promotes association, and thus gives rise to commerce — those who spin the wool and weave the cloth taking their places by the side of the men who plant the cotton and sow the grain, in accordance with the advice of Adam Smith. Raw materials and finished commodities will then approximate — the former gaining power to command the precious metals in exchange, and the latter losing it. The farmer and the planter growing rich, agriculture will then become a science. Land and labor will then rise in price, while cloth and iron will decline — such being the inevitable effects of an increase in the rapidity with which the demand for labor and its products follows their production.

§ 4. In the physical world, the less the friction the greater is the effect of any given force. So, too, is it in the social world — power there growing with every diminution of friction, and diminishing with its increase. Friction, here, results from the necessity for employing the trader and transporter — men whose

profits increase with every stoppage of the circulation, while diminishing as it becomes more rapid. Poverty and slavery advance steadily in the lands in which friction is increased, as in Ireland, India, and Jamaica; while wealth and freedom advance as steadily in those in which it declines, as in France, Denmark, and Northern Germany.

The men who traffic and transport make no addition to the quantity of commodities to be consumed. The wagoner who carries the products of the farm, gives nothing in exchange for the part that he and his horses consume on the road; whereas, were he and they employed in supplying other commodities, production would increase, and the power of consumption would be augmented. The trader at the shipping-port, the shipmaster and his sailors, the foreign trader, and the wagoner who hauls the produce to the place of consumption, all abstract their shares — giving nothing in return. At the place of production, corn will feed, and wool will clothe, as many persons as they can do at that of consumption; and the more direct the exchanges, the more instantly does consumption follow upon production, with large increase of force.

To the men who live by trade and transportation, increase in the rapidity of circulation is most undesirable — diminution of friction being attended with loss of power in themselves. Half a century since, the people of India converted their cotton into cloth — the loom being everywhere in close proximity to the field in which the wool was grown. Now, on the contrary, years elapse between the production of cotton and rice and their consumption, in the form of cloth, at the place at which they had been grown — during all which time they are subject to charges for freight, storage, and commissions. The traders and transporters are thus enriched, but the producer of rice is unable to obtain shirts, and the producer of cotton often dies of hunger, because of inability to obtain a handful of rice. — The more effectually the slave-owner can prevent all intercourse with the world except through himself, the more perfect is his power to determine what shall be his own proportion of the food and cotton, and how much he will leave to be divided among his people.

The more effectually the trader can compel resort to the market

he controls, the greater will be the tendency to the accumulation of large "stocks on hand," and the more perfect will be his power to determine how much cloth or iron he will consent to furnish in exchange for any given quantity of corn, cotton, or sugar.— The more effectually the ship-owner can prevent intercourse among the men who produce corn and sugar, the greater must be their demand for ships, and the greater must be his power to determine what shall be the proportion of the cargo allotted to him for carrying it to market. — The slower the motion of society, the longer will be the period intervening between production and consumption, and the greater will be the power of the soldier, the slave-owner, the trader, and the ship-master. Therefore it is that they occupy so important a position in all societies in which — there being no diversity of employment — there is little development of individuality among those who labor, or those who live by the labor of others.

The helot could have existed nowhere but in Sparta, whose population was by law debarred from all association among themselves. The negro slavery of Carolina could not continue to exist in any but a purely agricultural population. Italian slavery had its origin in the fact, that year after year, and century after century, there was a decline in internal commerce — with steady diminution in the rapidity with which consumption followed on production. Peon slavery in Mexico must continue so long as the absence of all diversity of employments shall continue to cause so great an interval as now exists, between the production of the power to labor and the existence of a demand for the production of human effort. So is it in Jamaica and Trinidad, in Africa and India, in Portugal and Turkey, and in all countries in which, from any cause, the plough and the loom are prevented from taking their natural places by each other. Man seeks commerce, which is but another word for association with his fellow-men. Precisely as that is obtained, does he advance in his power to direct the great forces of nature to his service, with constant development of individuality — constant increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation — and in the force and influence of the community.

The greater the power exercised by the trader and the soldier, the slower will be the circulation, and the larger will be the pro-

portion of the people engaged in blocking the wheels of commerce. Whatever tends to augmentation of their number or their force, tends to lessen the utility of raw materials, and to destroy the value of land and labor. Whatever tends to lessen their number or their power, tends to produce the reverse effects—the value of man then rising rapidly, as a consequence of increase in the rapidity with which consumption follows on production.

The trader and transporter are a *necessity* of society in its earlier stages, when friction is always great. The more it can be increased, the greater is their power; and therefore it is that, while passively wasting their own forces, they are so invariably engaged in actively sacrificing those of the community at large. Wherever their power is most complete, there is the greatest friction between the producer and the consumer, the greatest waste of muscular and intellectual power, and the smallest amount of commerce; as is shown in the countries that have above been named.

§ 5. The commodity at the disposal of all men, and the one in return for which they expect to obtain supplies of the various necessaries and comforts of life, is muscular and mental effort, or labor-power. Of all, it is the most perishable—being lost for ever if not put to use, or, in other words, profitably consumed, at the *instant* of production. Of all, too, it is the one that least bears transportation — perishing, as it does, in the act of being removed. The man who is distant but a mile from his farm or shop, sacrifices ten or twenty per cent. of his powers on his way to and from the scene of his daily labor. Trebling or quadrupling the distance, the amount of waste becomes so great, that the labor productively applied proves insufficient to yield the fuel necessary to maintain the action of his system, and the machine is brought to a stop—its owner perishing for want of food. Bring the consumer and the producer together, and then instant consumption follows the instant production—all the power yielded by the food being thus economized. Society then tends to take upon itself the natural form, with constant decline in the proportion of those who live by means of appropriation, and increase in the proportion of those engaged in the work of adding to the quantity, and improving the quality, of commodities required for the use of man.

The quantity of human effort produced being dependent altogether upon the demand for its production, the demand is in like manner dependent on the power, on the part of others, to produce commodities or things to be given in exchange — thus making demand for its consumption. The whole constituting but a single circle, the more rapid the motion, the greater must necessarily be the inducement to the production of effort, and the greater the power of all to consume the commodities or things to the production of which that effort must be given.

Production and consumption being, therefore, but measures of each other, both must increase with every augmentation in the number of persons who can draw support from any given surface. That number increases as man is more and more enabled to direct the forces of nature, and to subdue to cultivation the richer soils—every stage of progress being attended with increase in the power to associate, accompanied by rapid development of the faculties by which he is distinguished from the brute. It decreases, on the contrary, as he abandons the effort to obtain control over nature, and gives himself, whether as soldier, trader, or carrier, to obtaining power over his fellow-man—every step in that direction being attended by decline in the development of his faculties, and he, himself, declining towards the condition of the beast of prey, compelled to live on the spoils of others.

Looking to Athens after the battle of Salamis, we see a diminution of population and of wealth, consequent upon the devastations of Persian armies; and there, at once, we find, in diminished consumption, evidence of diminished productive power. Servile followers swell the trains of men like Themistocles and Cimon, Alcibiades and Pericles, while, with few exceptions, the whole people devote themselves to the management of the affairs of others — acting in the capacities of judges and jurors, and gladly accepting as compensation for their services, an obolus per day. Later, we find them in the receipt of gratuitous distributions of corn sent by distant states, anxious to secure their protection against others more rapacious, even, than Athenians. Pauperism becoming thus a *privilege* of freedom, thousands of citizens, heretofore reputed free, are reduced to slavery, preparatory to an effort for enslaving the whole body of artisans, to whose efforts Athens had been so much indebted. The power of voluntary

association having gradually declined, it was now to be abolished by investing a body of middlemen with legal right to be the sole medium of exchange between the men who produced shoes, boots, and coats, and those who needed to consume them. Production steadily diminished, and with it the power of consumption, until at length the richest soils were abandoned — those which yet were occupied being cultivated by hordes of slaves.

In Italy, as in Greece, the period of the greatest glory was that of the greatest poverty and wretchedness — the productive power having steadily diminished. With the gradual extension of dominion, land accumulated in the hands of the few who were rich, at the cost of the many who were otherwise; until, at the close of the last Punic war, the flower of the Latin race seems entirely to have disappeared — their places having become occupied by slaves, the property of traders, through whom those who labored were required to make all their exchanges with each other. As a necessary consequence, the number desiring to consume, increased with a rapidity corresponding with that which marked the decline in the powers of those who were required to produce. All who yet claimed to be free, flocked to the great central city, there to be amused and fed. Pauperism at home grew with the growth of power abroad — the gratuitous distribution of food having followed close upon the destruction of Carthage — upon the attainment of exclusive dominion over the countries bordering on the Mediterranean — and upon the elevation of the Scipios to the high position they since have occupied in the books that pass for histories. As great men increased in number, and as land became more and more consolidated, the slaves increased in their proportion to the numbers claiming to be free, while the latter became more and more pauperized and brutalized — thus producing that wretched populace which held itself at all times ready, on condition of participation in the plunder, to lend its aid to a Marius or a Sylla, a Pompey or a Cæsar, a Tiberius or a Nero, a Caligula or a Domitian.

Turning now to the Netherlands of the Middle Ages, we find a steady growth of numbers, attended by a development of individuality such as was scarcely elsewhere known in Europe. Increasing power of combination was accompanied by a constant increase

in the ability to direct the forces of nature to man's service — exhibited in the extension of cultivation over rich soils that, in the days of Cæsar, had been a mass of swamps and forests. In no part of Europe did consumption so rapidly follow on production; and in none did any similar population exercise so great an amount of power, at home or abroad.

Looking next to France, their immediate neighbor, we find a state of affairs directly the reverse of that above described. From the days of Charlemagne almost to the Revolution, she has abounded in wandering vagrants — peers and paupers — men whose hand was against every man, while every man's hand was against them. At home, her history is a record of almost unceasing civil war; while abroad she has been the constant disturber of the public peace. Nowhere in Europe has centralization more existed, and nowhere have its effects in arresting the circulation of society been more fully and disastrously exhibited. Always seeking dominion abroad, at home she has been always wasting power that, properly applied, would have made of the country a garden — yielding abundant support to a population thrice greater than that by which it now is occupied.

§ 6. An unceasing waste of labor being one of the conditions of early society and a scattered people, the advantage resulting from the growth of wealth and population is nowhere more fully exhibited, than in the equal manner in which employment is distributed throughout the year. Where a whole population is limited to scratching the earth in quest of food, large numbers are required in harvest, for whose services there is no demand at other times. As employments become diversified, the workshop absorbs the labor that before was wasted, and the circulation of society becomes more regular—enabling the farmer to increase his cultivation, which before was limited within his power to make the harvest; as is now the case in the planting States.

In England, at the close of the fourteenth century, there were employed, in securing the crop of corn from 200 acres, 250 reapers and thatchers on one day, and 200 on another. On another occasion, 212 were hired, for a day, to cut and tie up 13 acres of wheat and one of oats. Admitting these acres to have

yielded even a dozen bushels each, it would follow that 212 persons were employed to harvest 168 bushels of grain—an operation that could now with ease be accomplished by a single man.

The wages then paid to reapers, "during the first week in August, were 2*d.* per day, and from that time to the end of the month, 3*d.*, without food. To weeders and haymakers, 1*d.*" Were we to estimate wages, during the year, at a penny, we should, however, err greatly, because employment was only occasional—leaving a large portion of the labor-power wholly without demand.

In proof of this, we may take Ireland as she now stands—occupying a position analogous to that of England, when the latter exported wool and imported cloth. In a collection of papers relative to that country published, some twenty years since, by order of the government, the average price of wheat for two years is given at 52*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, and the wages of common laborers at 8*s.* — enabling them to obtain nearly a bushel and a half for a week's labor. Almost simultaneously, however, with the publication of these tables, appeared the work of a highly intelligent English traveller, who had visited Ireland with a special desire to understand the condition of her working population; and by him we are told that, while 10*d.* per day, without food, is the highest rate of wages, 6*d.* is often "willingly accepted;" but that, "with diet, 6*d.* is the sum usually given." *

Small as is this sum, it would yet give 3*s.* a week and board; and to him who, centuries hence, may study such subjects, it will appear difficult to reconcile even this with the picture of a nation "starving by millions," almost simultaneously exhibited to the British public. Examining the question more closely, however, he would find that employment had, as a rule, been only occasional, and that while, at one place, "seventy-five per cent. of the working population" were "not in constant employment," at another "a couple of hundred laborers" could be had "at 4*d.*, even for a temporary employment;" and that the average amount at the command of the laborer, for the support of his family and himself, did not exceed 4*d.* Summing up the result of his observations, our traveller—and he is not at all to be suspected of any disposition to underrate the position occupied by the laborer —

* Inglis: *Ireland in* 1835.

says that "in a country where not one-half of the people are in constant employment, it would be unfair to state 'the average amount' obtained by a laborer throughout the year, to be more than one-half of the year: during that half, his wages cannot be fairly stated at more than 8*d.* for four months; and for the other two months — seed and harvest times — 1*s.* The 104 working days, at 8*d.*, are £3 9*s.* 4*d.*; and the 52 days, at 1*s.*, added to this, make £6 1*s.* 4*d.*; which is all the laborer, 'obtaining an average amount of employment,' may earn in a year; and this sum, divided by 365 — the number of days which the laborer has to support himself and his family — gives him, per day, not quite FOURPENCE! I am quite confident," he continues, "that if the whole yearly earnings of the laborers of Ireland were divided by the whole number of laborers, the result would be under this sum —FOURPENCE a day for the laborers of Ireland!"

The more careful examination that has been suggested would thus bring to light the fact, that the average earnings of the laborer were reduced to £6 1*s.* 4*d.* per annum, of which 35*s.* were to be allowed for rent of his cabin; and that only £4 6*s.* 4*d.* remained to supply himself with food and clothing, the latter of which was necessarily much higher than in England—all the wool of Ireland being required to pass through English factories before it reaches the Irish consumer of cloth; and the limited amount of commerce compelling the trader to claim a large proportion of the price of the cloth in exchange for his services. In these facts he would find an explanation of the apparent discrepancy; and in them we find the key to that which has so much misled economists in reference to English wages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Employment was to the last degree temporary, as may be seen from the vast numbers required to do a little work in harvest — the wages of a single day having been required to furnish means of support for many days, if not even weeks. When it was permanent, wages were exceedingly low. In 1444, when the common laborer has been supposed to have received two pecks of wheat per day, his allowance was 15*s.* per annum, with clothing of the value of 3*s.* 4*d.*, and meat and drink. The cloth of russet, or blanket, then used by the laborers, sold at 2*s.* per yard — the whole wages of the laborer, therefore, not exceeding nine yards of cloth, and his own food. Where, then, could he obtain

the means of support for a family, if so unfortunate as to have one?

The power of man to avail himself of the great natural forces then scarcely at all existing, he was required to cultivate the poorest soils—those yielding the smallest return to labor. Population being, necessarily, widely scattered, there was little power of association, or combination. Labor not being in demand, the force yielded by the consumption of food was, to a great extent, wasted — yielding no result. Consumption followed slowly on production, because—all being farmers—all had hides or wool to sell, and few had cloth to give in exchange for either.

Mr. Malthus and his followers having been led into serious error by their omission to notice the fact, that where population is widely scattered there can be little commerce — and that where such is the case there can be no steady demand for human labor—it has been deemed necessary to give this explanation of the causes of their difficulty, with a view to satisfy the reader that the true course to be adopted in reference to the power of production is, to take the actual consumption, as exhibited in the contemporary accounts of the condition of the people, and of the wages actually paid for permanent employment.

§ 7. In the period that followed the Norman conquest, so many English slaves were exported to Ireland, that the market of the latter was glutted with them; and, down to the reign of King John, there was scarcely a cottage in Scotland in which they might not be found. In this latter, no slave could purchase his liberty with his own "proper gudes or geir, because all the cattell and gudes of bondmen are [were] understood to be in the power and dominion of the master." At the close of the thirteenth century, a slave and his family were sold for 13*s.* 4*d.* In England, a few fish, principally herrings, a loaf of bread, and some beer, constituted the allowance in harvest-time, whence we may readily imagine how small it must have been during the rest of the year. Meat and cheese were then considered as rarities not entering into the consumption of the laborer. A valuation of the personal property at Colchester, the tenth city, and one of the most thriving towns in England, exhibits the condition of the tradesmen and artificers of that period, and enables us to form

some idea of the situation of the common laborer. In most houses, a brass pot, from 1*s.* to 3*s.* in value, seems to have been the only culinary utensil then used. A cobbler's stock in trade was valued at 7*s.*; a butcher's stock of salt meat at £1 18*s.*, and that of another at £1 — the equivalent, perhaps, of two quarters of wheat. Almost every family was provided with a small store of barley or oats — rye appearing to have been little used, and wheat scarcely at all. Some families possessed a cow or two, but more kept hogs, of which two or three were the usual stock. From the small provision of fuel, it is inferred that but few houses were provided with chimneys. By a subsequent valuation, in 1301, the household articles are ascertained to have rarely exceeded 20*s.* in value. Bread, milk, and beer then constituted the usual diet of the townsmen. In 1339, a gift was made of a *nief*, (or female slave,) with all her family, and all that she possessed, or might subsequently acquire. In 1351, under Edward III., appeared the Statute of Laborers, by which the wages of haymakers and weeders were fixed at a penny per day, payable either in money or in wheat at 10*d.* a bushel, at the option of their employers. The effect of thus granting an option may be readily understood, when it is known that, during the fourteenth century, wheat varied between 2*s.* and £4 per quarter. When it was high, the laborers would be paid in money, which would not procure them food; and when low, they would receive corn, which would not purchase clothing. No person was to quit his village in search of work in summer, if he could obtain employment at the above wages, except the people of Staffordshire, Lancashire, and a few other counties. Laborers were to be sworn twice a year to observe these regulations—offenders being punishable with three or more days' imprisonment in the stocks. In 1360, the Statute of Laborers was confirmed by Parliament—the observance of it being enforced under penalty of imprisonment, and burning in the forehead with an iron. It was optional with the master to hire by the day or year, but the laborer was "compellable to work for the statute wages, by the day or the year."

How far the employers availed themselves of this option, may be seen from the fact already noticed, that 250 reapers were employed to cut 200 acres of corn. The masters had it in their power to compel the men to engage by the year when they

required it, but they were not bound to grant engagements in that way unless they deemed it to their interest so to do. Harvest-time over, no employment could be obtained, and the result is seen in the facts, that "many became staff-strikers, and wandered in parties of two, three, or four from village to village;" while great numbers "turned out sturdy rogues, and infested the kingdom with frequent robberies." In 1388, the wages of labor were again regulated — a plough-driver being allowed "7*s.* per annum, with food, but without clothing, or any other perquisite." The wages of a year would thus purchase seven yards of russet cloth, the price of which was fixed at 1*s.* per yard. Eden, from whose work these facts are drawn, says that we may form an idea of the bad husbandry of the period, and of the "consequent misery of the laborers," from considering the diminutive produce of arable land—five and six bushels per acre being then the usual yield of wheat. The population having then been less than two and a half millions, the power of association could have existed but in a very slight degree. The powers of the land were then as great as now, and so were those of the mind of the men who occupied it, but both were latent — waiting the further growth of numbers for the production of those differences without which there can be neither combination of action, nor commerce. Towns and cities having, however, gradually grown, employment was by slow degrees becoming more diversified, and commerce was increasing — these regulations being only evidences of the necessity then experienced, on the part of great landholders, for obtaining legal aid in their efforts to compel the laborers to accept from them a smaller remuneration for their services than could be obtained elsewhere. The insurrection of Wat Tyler followed close on the heels of the regulation last referred to. It failed, but the language then held by the working-people towards those who governed them, is evidence of the important change then in course of being effected. Half a century later, another act of Parliament fixed the wages of a servant in husbandry at 15*s.*, with meat and drink, and an allowance of 3*s.* 4*d.* for clothing; but that, in its turn, was followed by the insurrection in which Jack Cade was so much distinguished. The Wars of the Roses following, we find the people generally siding with the House of York, as opposed to the great proprietors, whose lands had heretofore been cultivated by men whose

commerce with each other was maintained through the medium of their masters.

The destruction of wealth and population attendant upon these wars was little calculated to promote the interests of commerce; yet a succession of laws in relation to forced labor, furnishes evidence of constantly increasing difficulty experienced by the landowners in commanding the people's services under a system so nearly akin to serfage. In 1496, a new statute fixed the year's wages at 16*s.* 8*d.*, with an allowance of 4*s.* for clothing; but so ineffectual did it prove, that within twenty years afterwards it became necessary to provide that persons refusing to work were to be imprisoned, and every vagabond, "whole and mighty in body," was to be tied to the cart's tail and whipped "till his body was bloody by means of such whipping." How numerous were those vagabonds, and how great was the difficulty of obtaining regular employment, is evident from the fact, that out of a population of only three millions, there were executed, in the reign of Henry VIII., no less than seventy-two thousand "great and petty thieves"—the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people having become intolerable to the poor countrymen, and having obliged them to a perpetual watch of their sheepfolds, pastures, woods, and cornfields.

Early in the reign of Edward VI., new laws were passed for putting down "idleness and vagabondrie," by which it was enacted that "if any man or woman, able to work, should refuse to labor and live idly for three days, he or she should be branded with a red-hot iron on the breast, with the letter V, and should be adjudged to be slave, for two years, of any person who should inform against such idler." Further, the master was directed to "feed his slave with bread and water, or small drink, and such refuse meat as he should think proper" — compelling "his slave to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in such work and labor (how vile soever it be) as he should put him unto" — adding thereto, that "if he runs away from his master for the space of fourteen days, he shall become his slave for life, after being branded on the forehead, or cheek, with the letter S." The punishment for running away a second time was death. A subsequent clause of the same statute enacts, that "although there be no man which shall demand such loiterer, or loiterers, yet,

nevertheless, justices of the peace shall be bound to inquire after such idle persons; and if it shall appear that any such shall have been vagrant for three days, he shall be branded on the breast with a V, made with a hot iron." A master was also authorized to "put a ring of iron about the neck, arms, and leg of a slave, for a more knowledge and surety of the keeping of him." Such was the condition of the people, at a time when they are supposed by advocates of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine to have "lived in much the same manner as husbandmen in the north of England did in the last century, and the Scotch peasantry do in the present."

A writer of the reign of Elizabeth, when the population could not have exceeded three and a half millions, says: "The bread throughout the land is made of such graine as the soil yieldeth; nevertheless, the gentilitie commonly provide themselves sufficientlie of wheat for their own tables, whilest their household and poor neighbours, in some shires, are inforced to content themselves with rie or barleie; yea, and in time of dearth, manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither, and some acorns among; of which scourge the poorest doo soonest tast, sith they are least able to provide themselves of better. I will not saie," he continues, "that this extremitie is oft so well to be seen in time of plentie as of dearth; but if I should, I could easily bring my triall." He further adds, that the artificer and laborer are "driven to content themselves with horsse corne, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and lintels."

In enumerating the disorders of the kingdom, an eminent justice of the peace in Somersetshire says, in 1596, that "forty persons had there been executed in a year, for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand; thirty-seven whipped; one hundred and eighty-three discharged;" and that, "notwithstanding these great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to trial"—the magistrates having been awed, by the associations and the threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders. Sir F. Eden says, and very truly, that "it is probable that these disorders were, in a great measure, owing to the difficulty of finding regular employment for the surplus hands not required in agriculture."

Such was the real cause of difficulty. England still continued an almost purely agricultural country — exporting food, and importing almost every description of manufactures from the wealthy people of the countries bordering on the Rhine. There was, therefore, little power of association, little development of individuality, and little power among her people to avail themselves of the priceless treasures of fuel, and of ore, beneath their feet. In the absence of manufactures, agriculture could make but little progress; and hence it was, that the English husbandman was poorly clothed and badly housed, while eating "barley and rye, brown bread," and "preferring it to white, as abiding longer in the stomach, and not so soon digested" — the rich and great, meanwhile, living in houses destitute of glass windows, and the drawing-room of the queen herself being supplied with rushes in place of carpets.

Cultivation was then, in a great degree, confined to the poorer soils—constantly diminishing in their yield, because of the necessity for sending their products to the distant market. The supply of food increased but little, and the circulation of society was languid—consumption following slowly after production. Population, however, gradually increased — with a growing power of combination, whose effect is visible in the fact, that, from this time forward, we meet with no more laws requiring the laborer to work at wages fixed by act of Parliament.

At the opening of the eighteenth century, we find a population of about five millions — having scarcely more than doubled itself in three hundred years. With increased numbers, there had been increase of power to command the services of nature, accompanied by material increase in the quantity of commodities at the laborer's command. Even then, however, employments were but slightly diversified. Corn was habitually raised for exportation, while the manufacture of iron continued in its rudest state— the major part of the demand having been supplied from Northern and Eastern Europe. The consumption was, therefore, very small; and so did it remain until near the middle of the century, when coal was applied to smelting the ore — man thus obtaining power to an extent that until then had been unknown. The steam-engine followed, and, with every increase of power, the producer and the consumer were brought in closer proximity with each other.

Corn ceasing to go abroad, the manure ceased to be lost to the land on which it had been grown. The demand for human services becoming more regular, capital accumulated rapidly, with corresponding increase of population — the growth of the latter half of the century having been four times greater than that of the earlier one. Matter was thus gradually taking upon itself the highest form — that of man — with constant increase in the power of association, in the development of the various faculties of individual men, and in the rapidity with which consumption followed on production.

§ 8. When the population of Scotland was less than a million of souls, and when, of course, there existed little power of combination, their situation was such, that not less than "two hundred thousand of her people were begging from door to door." Man was then the slave of nature — so deplorable being his condition, that Fletcher of Saltoun could see no remedy but in making him the slave of man—an idea repeated in the present day, in relation to the people of England, by one of the most distinguished British writers.*

Famines were then frequent and severe — extending their ravages throughout the country. From 1693 to 1700, emphatically termed the "seven ill years," the distress was so great that extensive parishes were nearly depopulated. Those of 1740 and 1782–83 were particularly severe — numerous persons dying of want.† Elsewhere, we are told, the farmers were reduced to such extremity, that "they were obliged to bleed their cattle, in order to subsist some time on the blood." Even within the last seventy or eighty years, their situation was such that "nothing but the frugal, penurious manner in which the peasantry then lived, could have enabled them to subsist—paying any rent whatsoever. Their clothing was of the coarsest materials; their furniture and gardening utensils were often made by themselves; their food, always the produce of their farms, was little expensive—consisting chiefly of oatmeal, vegetables, and the produce of the dairy: if a little animal food was occasionally added, it was generally the refuse

* Carlyle: *Latter-Day Pamphlets.*
† Sinclair: *Statistical Account of Scotland,* vol. vi. p. 121.

of the flock, unfit to be brought to market." * The state of the country was rude beyond conception. The most fertile tracts were waste, or indifferently cultivated. The education, manners, dress, furniture, and tables of the gentry were not so liberal, decent, and sumptuous as those of ordinary farmers are at present. The common people, clothed in the coarsest garb, and starving on the meanest fare, lived in despicable huts with their cattle. †

Less than a century since, the slaughter of bullocks for the supply of cities like Glasgow or Edinburgh, was small — the custom of families being to purchase in November what would now be reckoned a small, miserable, half-fed cow, or ox, the salted carcass of which was the only butcher's meat they tasted through the year. ‡

With the growth of population and of wealth, cultivation has been extended over the richer soils, with steady increase in the diversification of employments, and in the rapidity with which consumption and production have followed on each other. The effect is seen in the fact, that the product of agricultural labor has increased sixfold, while the population has only doubled — giving an average for each individual at least thrice greater than before had been obtained. §

§ 9. Society, or commerce, consists in an exchange of services. At times, these services are direct, as when one man carries a load for another. At others, they are indirect — being applied to changing wool into cloth, in which latter form the man who needs a coat, purchases the wool and the labor that has been given to effecting its conversion.

The power to perform service is a consequence of a consumption of capital in the form of food. If not applied on the instant that it is produced, it is lost for ever. The less promptly the demand follows the supply, the greater, therefore, must be the waste of power. The more instant the demand, the greater must be the economy of power, and the greater the amount of force.

Highest among the tests of civilization must, therefore, be

* Rev. Mr. Smith: quoted by McCulloch, *Statistics of the British Empire*, vol. i. p. 509.

† Rev. Dr. Playfair: quoted in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lvi. p. 57.

‡ *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxxvi. p. 173. § Ibid. vol. lvi. p. 60.

found that continuity in the motion of society which enables all to find demand for their mental and physical powers; and highest among the nations of the world must become that community in which rapid circulation produces this effect.

That it may be produced, diversity of employments is the one and *indispensable* condition. Without that, there can be no regularity of demand — no continuity of motion — no economy of human effort—no increase of force. Proof of this is supplied in the brief sketch of English history that has above been given—in the movement of Sparta, as compared with that of Athens—in that of France of the Middle Ages, as compared with the Netherlands—and in that of every other country of the world, as it has advanced, or declined, in wealth, strength, and population.

Comparing the various nations of the present day with each other, we obtain results precisely similar to those obtained in passing backward through the various stages of English history. In India there is no demand for labor, and her people gladly sell themselves to slavery in the Mauritius. Ireland presents a scene of constant waste of labor-power — its effects exhibiting themselves in the incessant wanderings of her unhappy people in search of harvest wages; in their abandonment of their native land; and in the famines and pestilences of which she is the seat. The state of things in Portugal and Turkey is the same — mental and physical power there abounding, for which there is no demand. So is it in Jamaica, Mexico, Brazil, and Buenos Ayres; in all of which we find a state of facts corresponding with that observed in the earlier ages of English history—the laborer being there the mere slave of the man who owns the land, or of him who supplies the food and clothing to those by whom it is tilled.*

* The black population of Jamaica is *nominally* free, but that there can be no *real* freedom without that commerce which results from diversity of employment, is shown by the following account of the present condition of the island:—

"A recent petition to the British Secretary of State invites his attention to 'the widespread and annually increasing distress which overshadows the entire population, and has sunk a large portion of the inhabitants into actual destitution.' The gentlemen whose names are attached thereto are — Mr. Chitty, one of the late chairmen of Quarter Sessions, who has retired on a pension; Mr. Pinnock, a Kingston merchant; Mr. Phineas Abraham, the senior partner in the firm of P. Abraham & Co., of Falmouth; Mr. Hodgson, the chaplain of the General Penitentiary; and Mr. Valpy, a solicitor, and nephew of our late Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe. They state that the condition of the colony is at the lowest possible point, short of universal

Turning now to France, and Northern Europe generally, we find a state of things that is widely different—the circulation there becoming daily more continuous — the demand for human effort following more rapidly on the power to labor being produced — physical and mental faculty becoming more and more developed as it is more and more economized — and force increasing from day to day.

To what cause may these differences be ascribed?

The answer to this question is found in the fact, that the first named of these countries follow in the lead of England, adopting for their guides those economists who hold that the return to agricultural labor tends to diminish — that agriculture is, therefore, the least profitable of human pursuits — that the proportion of the land-owner tends naturally to increase, and that of the laborer to diminish — the tendency towards a state of slavery increasing as matter tends more and more to take upon itself the highest form of which it is capable — that of man. The others follow in the lead of France — adopting the policy of Colbert, which looks to placing agriculture at the head of all pursuits — seeking the attainment of that object by means of measures tending to raise the price of land and labor, while reducing that of the commodities required for the consumption of the land-owner and the laborer. The first place trade at the head of the pursuits of man, while the latter seek the extension of commerce.

Coming now to England herself, we find ourselves in the home of the philosophers to whom the world is indebted for the theory of over-population — invented, as it was, for the purpose of accounting for the enormous waste of power resulting from want of continuity in the demand for it. At one time, the mill-owner closes his doors, with a view to reduce the price of labor and its ruder products; while, at another, long-continued strikes carry ruin to the homes of both the workman and his employer. Trad-

bankruptcy and ruin; that real estate has no market value; that dwelling-houses are gradually decaying, and money can with difficulty be raised, even in return for personal property; that most of the necessary articles for consumption are imported from the United States, while the natural products are neglected; and that the money-capital of the country is drained, in the absence of any exchange of trade. They add, that the industrial condition of the inhabitants is at the lowest ebb, and that their moral and social condition is not a whit more elevated." — *Falmouth Post.*

ing centralization is there almost perfect; and centralization and stability are totally inconsistent with each other.*

Turning now to the United States, we find a waste of labor-power not exceeded in any civilized country of the world — the amount employed not being even a third of the capability of effort that is produced. Consumption following slowly after production, the markets of the world are always flooded with flour, cotton, rice, and tobacco; and hence it is, that the power of those commodities to command gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, tin, or any other of the metallic products of the earth, steadily diminishes—when, in the natural order of things, it should as steadily increase.

When, however, we seek to find the waste of power most complete, we must turn to the closing years of the free-trade period that followed the termination of the great European war — workshops having then been everywhere closed, while wives and children perished for want of food; to the free-trade period of 1842, when the demand for labor had almost wholly ceased; to the years 1850–51, prior to the large import of Californian gold; or, lastly, to the present moment, when the circulation is gradually and steadily declining—when the production of food and clothing is diminishing in its ratio to the population—and when pauperism grows with a growth such as has never before been known.

So is it, and so must it be, everywhere. Looking to Spain, we find, as we change our place, the same differences that in the United States attend upon change of time. Throughout the Basque provinces, there are nearly two hundred iron-works in operation; while other departments of manufacture make large

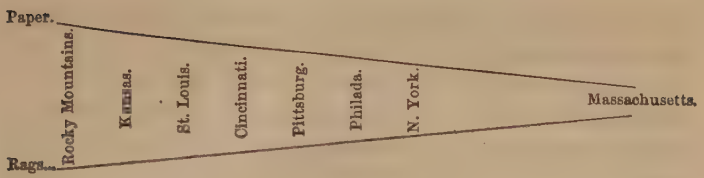
* "Between our Black West Indies and our White Ireland, between these two extremes of lazy refusal to work, and of famishing inability to find any work, what a world have we made of it, with our fierce Mammon-worships, and our benevolent philanderings, and idle, godless nonsenses of one kind and another! Supply-and-demand, Leave-it-alone, Voluntary principle, Time will mend it: — till British industrial existence seems fast becoming one huge poison-swamp of reeking pestilence, physical and moral; a hideous *living* Golgotha of souls and bodies buried alive; such a Curtius' gulf, communicating with the Nether Deeps, as the Sun never saw till now. * * Thirty thousand outcast Needlewomen working themselves swiftly to death; three million Paupers rotting in forced idleness, helping said Needlewomen to die: these are but items in the sad ledger of despair. — Thirty thousand wretched women, sunk in that putrifying well of abominations; they have oozed in upon London, from the universal Stygian quagmire of British industrial life; are accumulated in the *well* of the concern to that extent." — CARLYLE: *Latter-Day Pamphlets.*

demand for labor. "Wherever, therefore, the eye turns, it sees unmistakable signs of cheerful and honest industry" — towns and villages improving and extending—roads well maintained, bridges well constructed, and mines well worked. In striking contrast to this is Aragon, a purely agricultural country, in which there is no demand for labor — that province importing all its finished commodities, and exporting raw materials and men.*

The man who *must* carry his labor or its products to a distant market, *must* pay the cost of getting there; and when the distance is so great that the whole will be wasted in the operation, he will prefer to waste it at home to wasting it on the road. The cost of carrying a bushel of wheat, potatoes, or turnips, on an ordinary wagon-road in this country, being about a cent per mile, the latter articles cannot, in ordinary seasons, be raised where they are thirty miles from market, nor the wheat where the distance exceeds a hundred miles. Still worse is it with regard to labor, as has been shown — that commodity perishing in the act of transportation. In Biscay, the man who has labor to sell is close to him who needs to buy it, while he who raises potatoes has a customer close at hand; and hence the rapidity with which consumption and production follow in each other's train. Aragon and Valencia afford no markets, and hence the absence of motion in society, the little value of man, and the great value of finished commodities of every kind.

§ 10. Continuity in the demand for labor—rapidity in the circulation of services — growing commerce — are all but different modes of expression for the same idea. Seeking to find them, we must look to those countries, and parts of countries, in which raw materials and finished commodities tend most to approximate — the former rising, with constant increase in the price of labor, land, and the rude products of both; the latter falling, with steady increase in the power of the laborer to command the necessaries, comforts, and even luxuries of life. That this is so, will be obvious to the reader when he studies, once again, the diagram to which his attention has before been called:—

* *Westminster Review*, July, 1853: Notice of *Wilkomm's Wanderings in Spain.*



On the left, there is, and can be, no commerce — trade there being master, and agriculture having, thus far, no existence. On the right, commerce is rapid — land and labor there being high in price, while finished commodities are cheap. So do we find it in all the countries of the world, as we pass from states or provinces that are exclusively agricultural to those in which employments are diversified — in which the circulation becomes more rapid—and in which agriculture becomes a science. Look where we may, we find evidence of the fact, that the growth of civilization is in the direct ratio of the rapidity with which consumption follows production; and that, in the social as in the physical world, the greatest amount of force is to be found in connection with the most perfect continuity of motion.

§ 11. Production consists in directing the natural forces to the service of man.

The power to command those forces results from combination, and the more perfect the power of association, the greater is that power.

To enable men to associate, there must be difference, resulting from diversity of employment.

The more numerous the differences, the greater must be the facility of combination, and the more instantly must consumption follow on production.

The more matter tends to take upon itself its highest form — that of man — the greater must be the power to maintain commerce; the less must be the waste of that force which results from the consumption of food; and the greater must be the power of each individual to produce something to be given in exchange for what he needs — thus offering to others inducements for the exertion of muscular or mental force.

The greater those exertions, the more rapid is the circulation,

and the greater the tendency to increase in the power of production and accumulation.

§ 12. The tendency of modern political economy has been towards changing altogether the signification of the word *wealth* — limiting it more and more to those material commodities that may be bought and sold; limiting, too, the science itself to the consideration of actions involving sale on one side and purchase on the other. That such should have been the case has been due to the fact, that none of its professors have ever properly discriminated between the two very distinct classes into which society is so much divided — the one desiring to effect exchanges *with* their fellow-men, and thus maintaining commerce; while the other desires to effect changes *for* them, and thus to perform acts of trade.

Extension of the first tends, as has been seen, to the promotion of perfect steadiness in the motion of society; whereas, increase in the other tends necessarily to the production of what are called "gluts" — the trader finding it profitable so to act, as to cause those changes in the prices of labor and of commodities which enable him to buy cheaply and sell dearly. The result of this is seen in the fact, that some economists of the modern school have imagined this difficulty of selling to be a consequence of *over-production*, when the real cause was to be found in obstacles standing in the way of circulation. Not perceiving this, the successor of Mr. J. B. Say, in his professorship, tells his readers, that they "have not now to look, as in the days of Adam Smith, exclusively to the acceleration of production; it being required now *to govern it — restraining it within wise limits*. It is," as he continues, "no longer a question of absolute, but of relative, wealth — humanity requiring that we should cease to sacrifice to the progress of the general opulence, the great masses of the people who cannot profit by it."* Over-population and over-production here travel hand in hand together — both combining for the production of what is most appropriately termed "the dismal science."

From the omission above referred to, there has resulted considerable difference as to the true meaning of the word *production*,

* Blanqui: *Histoire d'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 146.

of which, however, no clear and distinct definition has ever yet been given. By nearly all economists, it is limited to the consideration of the action of man in reference to some of those material things which may be made the subject of purchase and sale — this, in its turn, tending to confirm the limitation of their science to the determination of the laws which govern men in the act of buying and selling, leaving altogether out of view that immense portion of the transactions of mankind in which exchanges are made without the trader's intervention.

Much diversity of opinion has, therefore, existed as to the division of society into productive and unproductive classes. Smith, Say, and others, as the reader has already seen,* find no wealth but in material objects; yet were they unable to deny that the skill of the artisan — the intelligence of the laborer — the learning of the teacher, constituted a portion, and a most important one, of a nation's wealth. Among the latest exponents of the modern school is Mr. J. S. Mill, whose views are given in the following passage, by which the reader will see that he regards as unproductive all human effort, however permanently beneficial to society it may prove, which does not terminate in the creation of material wealth :—

"All labor is, in the language of political economy, unproductive which ends in immediate enjoyment, without any increase of the accumulated stock of permanent means of enjoyment. And all labor, according to our present definition, must be classed as unproductive which terminates in a permanent benefit, however important, provided that an increase of material products forms no part of that benefit. The labor of saving a friend's life is not productive, unless the friend is a productive laborer, and produces more than he consumes. To a religious person, the saving of a soul must appear a far more important service than the saving of a life; but he will not therefore call a missionary or a clergyman productive laborers, unless they teach, as the South Sea missionaries have in some cases done, the arts of civilization in addition to the doctrines of religion. It is, on the contrary, evident that the greater the number of missionaries or clergymen a nation maintains, the less it has to expend on other things; while the more it expends judiciously in keeping agriculturists and

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 193.

manufacturers at work, the more it will have for every other purpose. By the former it diminishes, *cæteris paribus*, its stock of material products; by the latter, it increases them." *

Truth being simple, simple ideas are generally true. Complex ideas, therefore, may generally be regarded as being the reverse of true, and that they are so, is proved by every step we make on the road to knowledge — the progress of man being always in the direction of obtaining expressions that, by reason of their perfect simplicity, suffice for covering all the facts. Such is not here the case. The missionary is productive, *if* "he add the arts of civilization to the doctrines of religion" — that is, if he carry to the people of the South Sea Islands ploughs and harrows, and other instruments calculated to enable them to increase their stock of material products. Remaining, on the contrary, at home, and contenting himself with laboring to produce in his flock a higher feeling of their responsibility towards their fellow-men, and towards their Creator, he is to be regarded as unproductive; even although his efforts result in making sobriety, industry, and economy, the normal condition of a little community in which there before had reigned turbulence, idleness, and waste. Again, the labor of saving the life of a man is unproductive; whereas, that devoted to increasing the number of hogs, or adding to the supply of fish, is to be classed under the head of productive efforts. The tailor who makes a coat is a productive laborer, because it can be worn; but the community gains nothing by the efforts of a Pasta, a Talma, or a Rachel, whose products are consumed at the instant of being produced; and yet the effect of their labors is that of greatly improving the tastes of their hearers — thus fitting them for increased association with their fellow-men. The painter is productive when he paints a picture, but unproductive, when he teaches hundreds of others to make pictures equal to his own. Lord Mansfield would have been productive had he made shoes; but, as he only established a system of commercial law, he is to be regarded as unproductive. Fourcroy and Chaptal, Davy and Berzelius, were unproductive — having only created a science; but the apothecary, who, by means of their discoveries, is enabled to make a paper of Seidlitz powders, is productive. Watt, who taught us how to avail our-

* J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 1, chap. iii. § 4.

selves of steam, and Fulton, from whom we learned to make it available for the purposes of transportation, were unproductive; but the man who makes steam-engines and steam-ships is productive. The more missionaries, the more Fourcroys, Chaptals, Watts, or Fultons, a nation maintains, "the less," as we are here assured, "it will have to expend on other things;" whereas, the more it converts its people into mere agriculturists and manufacturers, "the more it will have for every other purpose"! Such is the strange result to which the grossly material character of the doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school, has led a writer so deservedly occupying one of the highest positions among the economists of Europe.

That labor is productive, which tends to enable man more thoroughly to direct the forces of nature to his service — the power so to do constituting wealth. Such is the effect of the efforts of the missionary, whether abroad or at home — of those of the man who saved his neighbor's life—of those of Fulton and Watt, Fourcroy and Berzelius; and the more such men a nation maintains, the more it will certainly have "to expend on other things"—the more rapidly will consumption follow production—and the greater will be the power of *accumulation*.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF ACCUMULATION.

§ 1. CONSUMPTION and production being always equal, how, it may be asked, can there be accumulation? It being, however, demand that stimulates supply, the greater the stimulus applied, the greater must be the development of the human faculties — the greater the power to devote time and mind to the construction of machinery required for subjecting to man's use the inexhaustible natural forces by which he is everywhere surrounded — waiting demand for their services. The bow and the canoe gave Crusoe command over certain of those forces, and in that command he found wealth. The machines by help of which it was obtained constituted portions of his CAPITAL.

In the early period of his sojourn on the island, food was scarce, and, even when obtained, he could with difficulty fit it for consumption. He had, therefore, but little leisure for the preparation of bows, arrows, canoes, or other of the machinery required for enabling him to call nature to his aid. The first step was then, as it ever is, the one of greatest difficulty. That, however, once made — the bow and canoe being obtained — each successive one becomes more easy. Food costing him now less effort, its value declines when compared with labor, while labor rises when compared with it; and the greater the value of the latter, the greater is the proportion that may be given to constructing the machinery required for obtaining further command over nature's services. Being better clothed, and his dwelling being better, the drain upon his physical powers is diminished, while the supply of food has so much increased that he could now meet that drain, even had it been increased.

The necessities of man, and his powers, are thus always in the inverse ratio of each other — moving, too, always in opposite directions. The two combined are a constant quantity — the one

representing the power of nature over man, and the other, the power of man to control and direct the forces of nature. The more the momentum acquired by either, the less must be the resistance of the other; and hence it is, that the motion of society is always a constantly accelerated one — whether advancing towards civilization, as is the case in Northern Europe generally; or declining in the opposite direction, as in Great Britain and the United States.

The improvement in his dwelling now enabling Crusoe to labor more continuously, his power of accumulation is again increased. When it had rained, or when the heat had been too great, he had, at first, been compelled to seek refuge in a cave, deprived of light; now, he can pursue his avocations within doors, how great soever the heat, or however heavy the rain, without. Thus on and on he goes — each addition to his capital proving to have been but preparation for a new and greater one; with steady decline in the value of all previous accumulations, and as steady increase in the proportion of his time and mind appropriated to the construction of machinery, by means of which his powers may be yet extended.

Looking now to the physical world, we see that the power of accumulation is in the direct ratio of the rapidity of circulation. To have motion there must be heat, and that being found in its greatest force within the tropics, there it is we find the most abundant life, vegetable and animal — accompanying the most rapid processes of composition and decomposition, production and consumption, known in the material world. Passing thence towards the frozen zone, heat, motion, and force steadily diminish, until, at length, the lichen stands almost alone in the vegetable world, and the bear in the animal one. With the growth of population and of wealth, society exhibits a steady increase of motion and of force, with constant increase in the rapidity with which consumption follows production, and in the power of accumulation; with corresponding decline in the value of all the capital that had been accumulated. With every movement in a contrary direction, we witness a decline of motion and of force — a diminished power of accumulation — and an increase in the value of all previous accumulations; as is shown in Turkey, Persia, and India, and all other declining communities of the world.

§ 2. What, however, *is* capital? Seeking an answer to this question, the reader will do well to turn again to the chapter he has just now read, and study anew the never-ending round of production and consumption—finding there that the food is consumed in producing the man — the man in producing the bow and the canoe — the bow and the canoe in the production of food — and the food again in maintaining and developing the mental and physical powers of the man. That the *mens sana* may exist, there must be, first, the *corpus sanum*. The wretched Esquimaux, always occupied in the search for food, gives but little time to the development of the faculties by which he is distinguished from the brute beast, whose services he would command—remaining, therefore, little better than the brute.

The food consumed by Crusoe was capital, the result of physical and mental effort. Did it then cease to be capital? Certainly not. On the contrary, it had assumed a higher form — that of mental and physical force. Next, it reappeared in the form of a bow, to whose construction force had been applied. Reappearing once again, in the form of increased supplies and higher quality of food, and thus enabling him to devote more time and mind to the study of nature and her powers, it promotes the further accumulation of capital in the form of that higher intelligence by means of which he compels the water and the wind to do his work; thus obtaining that mastery over nature which constitutes wealth. *Capital is the instrument by means of which that mastery is acquired* — existing at one moment in the form of food; at another, in that of physical and mental force; and, at a third, in that of bows, arrows, canoes, ships, lands, houses, furnaces, and mills. Every increase of command over the instrument is attended by corresponding increase in the power of association, in the development of his individual faculties, and in his power of further progress. Every increase in the power of the instrument over him is attended with directly opposite effects—the power of association then declining, with constant diminution in the rapidity of motion, in the development of individuality, and in the power of further accumulation.

§ 3. The savage wanders over extensive surfaces, seeking almost in vain a supply of food, even though assisted by the bow

and the canoe. In another stage of society, the ox is tamed, and the cow is employed in the conversion of grass into food fitted for man's consumption. Like the savage, however, the shepherd is a wanderer — changing his place, and that of his flocks, whenever the supply of food diminishes. His capital consists in tents, oxen, sheep, and other movable commodities, among the most important of which are weapons for self-defence. At length, however — acquiring power to compel nature to do his work — he becomes a tiller of the earth; and now he finds more continuous demand for his faculties than had before existed. Compelled, however, to cultivate the poorer soils, and to be always on his guard against the attacks of others like himself, we find him universally occupying the higher lands, and obtaining but small return to all his efforts. In time, however — acquiring more and better machinery — he is enabled to subject to cultivation richer soils — yielding larger returns to labor. The demand upon his powers for the means of *present* support constantly diminishes, with corresponding increase in the proportion of his labors that may be applied to preparing his land for *future* use, and in the rapidity with which his capital augments.

The proportion borne by movable to fixed capital tends now steadily to decline. The power of combination increasing, and person and property becoming more secure, he finds less use for swords and spears. The richer soils producing largely, he is less dependent on his flocks. Exchanges at home increasing, by reason of the greater proximity of the tailor and the shoemaker, his need for horses is diminished. The spinner, the weaver, the miner, and the smelter of ores, coming nearer to him, he is less dependent on ships and wagons. Becoming now enabled to command the services of nature, he is less dependent on the chances and changes of the weather; and less required to preserve large stocks of grain as provision against deficient crops. Each such change involving a new demand upon his mental faculties, the supply is constantly increased, with constant increase of force, and of the steadiness with which that force may be applied. The circulation becoming more continuous, the limestone and the granite are now quarried, and the coal and ore are mined. The house of stone replaces the early one of wood — the iron road,

too, replacing the turnpike that, in its turn, had superseded the original Indian path.

Permanence becoming now the characteristic of all improvements, the proportion of the labor of the community required for their maintenance steadily diminishes—with corresponding increase in the proportion that may be given to further development of the hidden treasures of the earth. Coal and iron, lime and marl, lead, tin, and copper, being now brought to light from places at which their existence has hitherto been unsuspected, sandstone and granite are employed in constructing buildings for the reception of engines that do more work in a week, than in earlier times could have been done in centuries, by those who now mine the coal and ore, and make the iron. Furnaces next appearing, the fire-clay is utilized, with constant diminution in the value of iron, and increase in the value of man. Land, too, constantly acquires value * — the fixed capital of the society thus steadily increasing in the proportion borne to that which is movable, with constantly increasing tendency to local activity, and towards the attainment by society of those proportions which combine strength with steadiness of movement.

With augmented numbers, we find increasing power of combination, and increasing commerce — the scattered spinning-wheels giving way to mills in which hundreds combine their efforts for the production of cloth; while bleaching and printing works accomplish as much as was done by tens of thousands of men when the cloth was whitened by means of solar light, and the figure printed by help of the human hand alone. Here, as everywhere, association tends to the development of individuality — that, in turn, facilitating association, with constant increase in the appreciation of the benefits resulting from combination.

In the early periods of society, strength of limb constitutes the only claim to distinction. The weak of arm, and the weak of sex, are then but slaves, as is now the case among barbarian

* Value being the measure of nature's power over man, it may here be asked how land *can* acquire it. In its original condition, it is, like the coal and the ore, without value — that which it gradually obtains, being but a consequence of the incorporation with it of the labor required for overcoming the resistance offered by nature to its occupation and cultivation. —As wealth increases, it declines in value as compared with labor — both man and land, however, rising, as compared with the *products* of land and labor. See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 268.

tribes, and in the purely agricultural nations of the earth. Capital, however, accumulating, and man acquiring power to command the services of nature, the fingers of the woman, and the faculties by which she is distinguished from the man, are utilized — placing her more and more on an equality with the stronger sex. The more perfect the diversification of employments, the greater, therefore, must be the tendency to equality between the sexes, and between the physically strong, and physically weak, of the human race. The more rapid the growth of power over nature — the more rapid the growth of wealth — the greater is the tendency to this diversification — the more perfect the power of association — and the more rapid the approach towards equality of position. Capital is, therefore, the great leveller.

The greater the tendency towards equality, the more continuous and rapid becomes the motion of society, and the greater the power of accumulation. Further capital produces further increase of motion; and thus it is that man is seen to move with constantly accelerated force. In the early perlods of society — the printing-press being unknown, and books being scarce and dear — it was required that students should come from abroad, if they would familiarize themselves with the teachings of a Plato, or an Aristotle, a Friar Bacon, or an Abelard. The knowledge by them communicated floated about the world — centuries elapsing before it became fixed in a manner tending to promote the progress of the human race. Now, on the contrary, the printing-press has brought about an equality that then could scarcely have been imagined. Almost all reading, the discoveries of Arago, Faraday, or Ehrenberg are scarcely announced at home before they are carried on the wings of the wind to the remotest corners of the earth, and made to serve as the basis of new investigations, tending to enable man, everywhere, to obtain new control over the various forces of nature—with growing tendency towards further equality.

The tendency towards improvement is in the ratio of the increase of fixed, as compared with circulating, capital. With every new development of the forces of nature—with every swamp that is drained, and every new and better soil subjected to cultivation—with every new mine, and every new bed of marl or lime,

that is worked—and every new water-power made to labor in his service — local attraction increases, and central attraction diminishes; and with every step in that direction, the home has greater attractions — the family is more and more enabled to revolve around its own centre — the town or township acquires greater individuality — the revolution of all the various bodies becoming more continuous; with constant increase of force among themselves, and in the greater community of which these lesser ones form parts.

§ 4. Centralization tends to increase the *proportion* of movable—while diminishing that of fixed, property. The great land-holder — being strong of arm — compels the weak to labor for him; and the right to do so he regards as property, that may be bought and sold. Men, women, and children then become mere chattels; and then it is that land is nearly valueless, as is now the case in India, Jamaica, Virginia, and Carolina. In all of these, the products of labor must pass through the hands of the trader in men's services, or the trader in commodities, before they can be distributed — he, in turn, being obliged to send them to the distant market before they can be exchanged. In this state of things, nearly all the property is purely personal.

The warrior-chief imposes heavy taxes on his subjects, the proceeds of which are to be applied to the support of his armies, his family, and himself. The whole of them pass from distant provinces to his central treasury, there to remain in the form of unfixed capital; whereas, had his people been exempt from such contributions, they would, almost at once, have become fixed in the form of improvements on their little farms.

The trader opposes obstacles to all exchanges not made through himself — the more he can separate the consumer from the producer, the longer, necessarily, being the time elapsing between the production and consumption of commodities, and the larger the proportion borne by the floating to the fixed capital. The greater the quantity of corn, cotton, or sugar, collected in magazines, and waiting demand, the larger, necessarily, will be his proportion of the price at which they are sold, and the greater his power to purchase ships and cannon, with which to enforce submission to his demands; but the smaller

the value of the land in relation to which those demands can be enforced.

The man who emigrates to the West obtains his land for little money, but his horses, his cattle, his wagon, and his furniture have cost him five times more. Obliged to send his produce to the distant market, he pays for the use of other horses and wagons, cars and engines, drays, horses, and ships — the cost of all this circulating capital being so great, that his land continues of little value. The blacksmith, the carpenter, the miller, the millwright, the spinner, and the weaver, however, come nearer to him; and now he finds a more instant market for his products — giving to his land a value thrice greater than that of all the movables of which he is possessed.*

Looking to the East in early days, we see the heavy caravan passing through lands abounding in all the metallic treasures of the earth, which yet were valueless. Examining Africa, in all ages, we find cafilas of slaves, and trains of camels laden with gold-dust and ivory, coming from the higher and poorer lands, while the richest soils remain unappropriated and unimproved. Turning to Cuba, Brazil, or Carolina, we see that nearly the whole wealth of the planter is of a movable character—consisting of slaves, furniture, and raw products in various stages of preparation for a distant market.

The earlier and better days of Attica were marked by a daily increasing tendency to the development of the mineral treasures of the land, accompanied by diminution in the proportion of movable to fixed property — resulting from extensive enfranchisements of men who had been enslaved. Later, the whole energies of the community were given to increasing the quantity of ships, arms, and other movable property — men becoming re-enslaved, and land as nearly valueless as it had been in the earliest days of Greece.

* The Red River hunters number 2000 men: their women and children number 3000 souls. They have 1800 carts, and range with them from the Moose River Valley to the Red River of the North; and in each year — in June and July, and again in October and November — carry off to the settlement at Pembina, and in the English territory, at least 2,500,000 pounds of buffalo-meat, dried, or in the form of pemmican. — There is here no fixed property, whatsoever; and this is the ordinary condition of semi-barbarous life.

In early Italy, the chief property of the Campagna consisted in its lands, and then its people were prosperous and free. Century after century, the aristocracy of the central city were engaged in increasing the proportion of the movable property, until slaves at length came to constitute almost the entire capital of the community — the land having lost its value.

Tyre and Carthage, Venice and Genoa, devoted their energies to the acquisition of movable property; and the more its proportions grew, the more were the people enslaved, and the weaker became the state. So, too, with Spain, which — expelling the men who cultivated its richest lands — applied its powers to the creation of fleets and armies, swords and guns, while land so much declined, that it became almost wholly worthless.

Of all the countries of Europe, there was none whose policy, during a long series of centuries, was so adverse to the growth of value in land, or to the fixing of capital in any form, as was that of France—the result exhibiting itself in the fact that, at the opening of the eighteenth century, the total annual value of the land was but 850,000,000 francs — giving, at twenty years' purchase, a capital of 17,000,000,000 = $3,400,000,000.* Adding to this, the houses in towns and cities, and all other fixed property, the total amount would, probably, be less than $4,000,000,000. In 1821, it had reached 39,514,000,000 francs, or less than $8,000,000,000 — having little more than doubled in a hundred and twenty years. Since then, the progress has been a wonderfully accelerated one — a valuation made in 1851 having given no less than 83,744,000,000 francs, or more than $16,000,000,000 † — being twice the amount at which it stood in 1821, and quadruple that of 1700. Taking the movable property at $2,000,000,000 — a sum that it cannot well exceed — its proportion is only as 1 to 8; whereas, in the earlier period, it was probably as 1 to 2, or $2\frac{1}{2}$.‡

The capital of England, in the days of the Plantagenets, con-

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 60. † *Journal des Economistes*, November, 1856.

‡ The reader will bear in mind that the price of all finished commodities tends steadily to fall, as that of land tends upward. The quantity of movable property now required to give a money value of $2,000,000,000, would therefore be thrice greater than, in the earlier period above referred to, would have represented a value of $1,700,000,000.

sisted, in large proportion, of its flocks and herds. The markets being distant, produce accumulated in one part of the kingdom, while in another, men perished for want of food. Land and man were then cheap, but cloth was dear. — Now, the value of fixed property probably thrice exceeds that of the floating capital; a result obtained in despite of a policy based upon the idea, that ships, wagons, and other machinery of *trade*, are far more profitable than land, the machinery of production.*

Looking to Ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, or Jamaica — countries whose policy tends towards trade — we see a growing dependence on floating capital, attended by decline in the value of labor and land. Turning thence to Belgium, Germany, and the North of Europe generally, we find the proportion of movable capital steadily diminishing, while the value of labor and land as steadily increases. In the former, the movement of society becomes less steady from year to year; while, in the latter, steadiness advances with daily accelerated pace.

The policy of the United States, as a rule, has been adverse to the creation of fixed property; and for the reason, that it has tended everywhere to the exhaustion of the soil, to the abandonment of the land, and to the dispersion of the people. Time and again, mills and furnaces have been built, and mines have been sunk; but only, as a rule, to produce the ruin of the parties to whose efforts the community had owed such works. In no country is so much capital applied to the scholastic development of human faculty; but in no civilized community has there been exhibited a more pertinacious determination to prevent the application of the faculties thus developed, to any purpose other than those of law, medicine, speculation, and trade. The consequences of this are seen in the fact, that the unfixed property bears to that which is fixed, the proportion of 3 to 5 — being a larger proportion than that of any other community claiming

* The real property of Great Britain was assessed, in 1843, at £85,000,000 = at twenty-five years' purchase, to £2,125,000,000. The personal property in 1845 was estimated (PORTER: *Progress of the Nation*, page 600) at £2,200,000,000. In this, however, is included £800,000,000 of the national debt, which constitutes no property of the nation; also, the whole amount of mortgages and settlements, representing portions of the landed property. Taking these at £500,000,000, and adding thereto, railroad shares and other items of fixed property, we obtain a total of not less than £1,500,000,000 — deducting which from the sum given above, we have £700,000,000 for floating capital; and it is probably even less than this.

to be held as civilized.* As a further result of this it is, that there exists throughout the country a vast mass of half-developed intelligence, fitted to be advanced by practice to excellence in all the pursuits of life; but which, by reason of the policy of the country, is kept in a floating state — always ready for any employment, abroad or at home, that will give to its owners food and clothing. Hence it is, that Mexico and California, the West Indies and Central America, have been, and are, the seats of so many piratical operations.†

The first desire and greatest want of man, is that of association with his fellow-men. The more perfect the facility of combination, the greater will be the development of the individual faculties, and the greater the power to reduce to man's service

* The total value of property returned under the last census was as follows:—

Real estate	$3,899,226,347
Personal " (slaves included)	2,125,440,562
Total	$6,024,666,909

The true valuation, as given in *De Bow's Compendium*, p. 190, was $7,066,562,966. What is the proper division of this additional thousand millions is not explained, but the following must be a near approximation to the true division of the total sum:—

Real estate	$4,466,000,000
Personal "	2,600,000,000
Total	$7,066,000,000

— the latter being, as stated in the text, nearly as 3 to 5.

† The following extract from the report of the English Commissioner to the New York Exhibition, is far more correct as regards the capabilities of the American people, than in relation to the extent to which those powers are, or can be, applied, under a system that scatters all the skilled hands of the country at intervals of half a dozen years — thus annihilating a capital that would be worth more, annually, than all the cloth they import in half a century:—

"We have a few great engineers and mechanics, and a large body of clever workmen; but the Americans seem likely to become a whole nation of such people. Already, their rivers swarm with steamboats; their valleys are becoming crowded with factories; their towns, surpassing those of every state of Europe, except Belgium, Holland, and England, are the abodes of all the skill which now distinguishes a town population; and there is scarcely an art in Europe not carried on in America with equal or greater skill than in Europe, though it has been here cultivated and improved through ages. A whole nation of Franklins, Stevensons, and Watts in prospect, is something wonderful for other nations to contemplate. In contrast with the comparative inertness and ignorance of the bulk of the people of Europe, whatever may be the superiority of a few well-instructed and gifted persons, the great intelligence of the whole people of America is the circumstance most worthy of public attention."

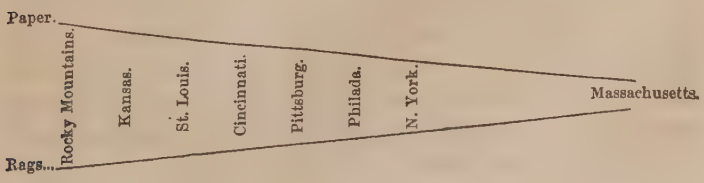
the great forces by which he is everywhere surrounded; the greater will be the tendency to pass from the poor to the more fertile soils, and from the mere appropriation of materials found on the surface of the land, to the development of the coal, the iron, copper, and other ores, the lime, the marl, and other treasures concealed within the earth; the greater will be the return to labor; the less will be the time required to elapse between production and consumption; and the more rapid will be the accumulations of society; with constant increase in the *proportion* of that rapidly accumulating quantity, borne by fixed to floating capital. With every step in that direction, the power of the soldier and the trader tends to decline, with constant increase in the power of those who live by labor of body, or of mind, to determine for whom they will work, and what shall be their reward —freedom and commerce growing thus together. Such is the present course of things in all the countries following in the lead of France; while directly the reverse of this is found in those which follow in the lead of England.

§ 5. Civilization grows with the growth of the proportion borne by fixed to floating capital.

Fixed capital tends to increase in its proportion as the circulation becomes more rapid—production and consumption following more closely on each other.

The circulation increases in rapidity as the prices of commodities tend more and more to approximate — land, labor, and raw materials rising in price, and finished commodities as regularly falling.

In proof of this, we once more offer to the reader's examination, the diagram that has already twice been placed before him — doing this, because of being desirous that he should remark the universality of the application of the simple principle that is there exhibited :—



On the left, he finds none but floating capital. On the right, the proportion of fixed to that which is floating, is probably five or six to one. On the left, he finds scarcely any circulation; whereas, on the right, circulation is rapid — making demand for most of the physical and mental force that is produced. On the left, he finds barbarism; on the right, civilization — such, too, proving to be the result, whether he compares the Highlands with Yorkshire — Auvergne with Normandy — Carolina with Massachusetts — Ireland with France — or Turkey with Northern Germany.

§ 6. We are told, however, and from high authority, that "it is only by means of saving that fortunes are created or increased" — a distinguished English economist confidently assuring us that "all capital is the product of saving — that is, of abstinence from present consumption for the sake of a future good;" and that, consequently, "the increase of capital must depend upon two things — the amount of the fund from which saving can be made, and the strength of the dispositions which prompt to it." *

Were this so, it would be to the countries in which saving is most practised, that we should look for the most rapid augmentation of capital; yet is it precisely there that it grows most slowly. The Irish laborer is noted for his saving habits, as are the natives of India and the people of Lapland; yet is it not in those countries that we meet with rapid increase of capital. Looking back in English and Scottish history, we see families everywhere saving a supply of food, because of the great uncertainty attendant upon getting more. In India, sovereigns save large quantities of money in their treasuries, by way of providing against deficiencies of revenue that may occur. Turning, next, to sacred history, we see saving practised on so large a scale as to provide that a nation might be fed during seven years of scarcity out of seven preceding years of abundance. In all these cases, however, the very fact of saving having been resorted to, is evidence of the absence of that regularity in the supply which is indispensable to the steady and regular motion of the social machine. The Castilian saves his food in a *silo;* and the wild man of the West deposits his surplus food in a *cache*, anxious to

* J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 1, chap. xi. § 1.

provide against deficiencies that may perhaps occur on his next expedition in the same direction. The mistress of the house saves water in a cistern, because of the uncertainty of the supply — ceasing, however, to do so, when the river is made to find its way to the ocean through her own and her neighbors' houses.

It is where there is least circulation, that saving is most resorted to, and *there the waste is greatest.* Every act of association is an act of commerce, implying the production and consumption of two services, neither of which would have been produced, had the demand for them not arisen. With every increase in the power to associate, and thus to maintain commerce, the demand tends more and more to become *instant* after the existence of the power to perform the service — power being thus economized. The various faculties of individual men are thus stimulated into action, with constant increase of power over the always gratuitous forces of nature; and it is in the growth of that power we find the wealth of the community of which they are a part. Where saving is most practised, society is stagnant—the faculties remaining latent because of the absence of demand for their employment; as is seen when insecurity produces stoppage of the circulation. All then become anxious to save — the waste of labor-power, under such circumstances, becoming almost universal. The circulation becoming again established, capital rapidly accumulates — the demand for physical or mental service then following closely upon the production of the power to render it. The faculties that had remained latent are then again stimulated into action — every increase in the demand for them being accompanied by increase of the supply, with corresponding increase in the value of man, in his effort to obtain a further mastery over nature, and in the growth of capital.

The construction of a railroad brings with it increase of capital — because, by diminishing the waste attendant upon effecting changes of place, it gives value to land. The flour-mill does the same — because, by diminishing the waste attendant upon effecting changes of place and of form, it enables the farmer to grow rich. The woollen-mill causes a large increase of capital, because it enables the neighboring farmers to send their wool and their corn to market, in the form of cloth. The opening of a mine, and the erection of a furnace, give value to the land and labor around

them, because they increase the rapidity of circulation, and thus promote economy of human effort. Capital grows in the ratio of the circulation — that itself existing in the ratio of the diversity of employments. To the absence of that diversity the waste of capital in Ireland, India, Turkey, and Portugal, is due; and to its presence, and not to saving, is due the rapid increase of capital in England of the past, and Northern Germany of the present.

§ 7. We are told, however, that India, Ireland, Brazil, the United States, and other countries, are deficient in capital, in default of which it is absurd to attempt to convert their corn and their wool into cloth, or their coal and ore into iron. It is, however, manufactures that cause the growth of capital—facilitating, as they do, the development of the powers of THE MAN, and thus enabling him to combine with his fellow-men for economizing the power resulting from the consumption of capital in the form of food.

Every act of combined action has for its object, and its effect, a saving of human effort, which, itself, is capital. Sometimes, a few individuals combine to drain a piece of land; at others, to dig a well, to construct a mill, or to open a mine; all of which require capital — that is to say, the investment of a certain amount of labor, upon the same principle, identically, that the farmer ploughs his land, and sows his seed — calculating upon having it returned, with interest for its use. When Crusoe made his rope-ladder, he did so for the reason, that it was better for him at once to expend a few hours, or, in other words, a little capital, than to waste, throughout the year, an hour a day, in climbing the rock under which he had taken up his abode.

"What," says the author of a small but excellent work, heretofore referred to — "What is the object, what the result sought to be obtained by every advance of capital, for whatsoever purpose? It is, everywhere and always, that of suppressing, *by means of a certain quantity of labor once performed, a certain portion of current labor and annual expense that would otherwise reappear periodically and for an indefinite period of time;* it is to exonerate, at the cost of a momentary sacrifice, the whole future of production.

"Every intervention of capital has the effect of diminishing daily labor, resulting from the constantly recurring difficulty of an operation: thus, we have here a village situated at the distance of a mile from a river—every time that one of its people has occasion for water, he being required to walk that distance. No capital is expended, but there is a periodical demand for labor carried to its highest point. The inhabitants, at length, conceive the idea of making some earthen or wooden vessels, having done which, they go once a day — returning with the day's supply of water. Capital now making its appearance in the *once-performed labor* of making the vessels, the daily expenditure of human effort is diminished, in the proportion that the one walk to the river bears to the three, four, five, or six, that would otherwise have been required.

"Next, some one constructs a cask, and a wagon—attaching to the latter an ass or an ox, and carrying water about the village. Here is a new expenditure of capital, but, in return, there is economy in the daily labor—proved by the fact that the people now buy their water, in place of going to get it. At length, however, an aqueduct is built—requiring an enormous expenditure of capital; but the daily effort that had been needed for obtaining a supply of water is from this time at an end—capital having, so to speak, altogether suppressed labor.

"The proof that all these successive interventions of capital have been economies of force, time, and money, is, that all these expenditures have been returned in the value of the water obtained; and that, while casks, wagons, and buildings have been paid for and maintained, the price of water has steadily fallen;" * and, as the author of this might well have added, the consumption has so much increased, that a single family now consumes more than, at first, would have supplied the village.

In writing this passage, M. de Fontenay had no reference whatsoever to the question of protection — of the claims of commerce on the one side, or of those of trade on the other; but it is the characteristic of propositions that are true, that they, at all times, and everywhere, prove themselves true. The great object of man being that of acquiring power over nature, the more he

* De Fontenay: *Du Revenu Foncier*, p. 63.

does so, the less is the value of the commodities he requires, the greater is his own, and the larger becomes his consumption. To attain power, there must be association and combination of effort. The obstacle to association being found in the necessity for effecting changes of place, the more it can be removed, the greater not only is the present power of man, but the greater is his capacity for new and more important efforts. The spring being distant, he calls to his aid, in regular succession, various natural forces — passing from the mere hand to the jug, the cask, and the wagon, with constant decline in the cost and value of the water. When, however, he constructs an aqueduct, and is thus enabled to avail himself of the power of gravitation, value ceases, and water becomes as cheap as air.

The Indian path being bad, he determines, *once for all*, to make a road, the effect of which is soon exhibited in the fact, that he is enabled, *once again for all*, to make a turnpike; and yet, so greatly are his powers thereby augmented, that we find him again, *once for all*, investing millions of present labor in constructing a canal — then regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of improvement. Here again, however, we find it to be only the first step that costs — the economy of labor effected by the canal proving to be so great, that but a trivial portion is required for the construction of a railroad that transports himself and his merchandise at a cost so small, that his land and labor are thereby thrice increased in value.

The school-house being distant, his children are obliged either to dispense altogether with education, or to waste most of their time on the road thereto. Seeing himself everywhere surrounded by the materials of which houses are composed, he proposes to his neighbors that they shall, *once for all*, give their time to the construction of a house — thereby enabling themselves to economize the labor of placing their children on the spot at which they are to be instructed; and now instruction so much declines in value, that ten times as many children are enabled to profit by it.

The market being distant, he is obliged to incur, daily, the cost of transferring his wool and his corn, to be exchanged for cloth. Looking around him, he sees that nature has furnished him with the same forces, precisely, with those in use among the

distant millers. The wood, or the coal, will give as much heat; and the iron ore will make iron of equal strength. He therefore proposes to his neighbors that they shall, *once for all*, unite together and build a stack through which to pass the ore and the coal, the laborers in which will eat the corn that now they are obliged to carry to the distant market — thus terminating, *at once and for ever*, the necessity for so much transportation.

The iron now obtained, he next suggests that steam can as well be made to spin and weave cotton in their own neighborhood, as in any other; that stone, lumber, and lime, are abundant — all that is required, for economizing the daily labor of transportation, being, that they should, *once for all*, club together to put up a house, and to bring from abroad a little machinery, and the skill required for working it. Further, he says to them: "We are, ourselves, unemployed for more than half our time, and, as regards our children, they are almost wholly so. Though unfit for the labors of the field, they yet could well perform the lighter work of tending the operations of a mill. Again, the minds of our people are undeveloped. Let us have them taught, and in a brief time — obtaining machinists of our own — it may be, that we shall be enabled to teach those among whom we now must seek for knowledge. We waste, daily, the powers of earth and air, for want of little machines that would enable us to use them; we waste the faculties of our people, because there is no demand for them; we waste their time and our own, for want of combination; we waste the major part of the products of our land in feeding the horses and men who carry the rest to market — exhausting the soil, because the market for its products is so distant. Let us, then, *once for all*, combine for the purpose of putting a stop to all this waste. With every step we make in that direction, we shall offer new inducements for carpenters and masons, printers and teachers, to come among us — eating the food that now we are forced to carry to the distant market; with each, the faculties of our people will become more and more developed — enabling us more and more to perfect the various processes by means of which to obtain command over steam and other natural forces. With each, there will be an increase of commerce among ourselves, attended by diminution of our dependence on the trader, and an increase of power to command

his services in case of need. The more numerous the differences among us, the more rapid will be the motion of the societary machine, the greater will be the economy of labor, the smaller will be the value of commodities, and the greater that of man."

Such were the objects sought to be attained by Colbert, to whom France was indebted for the system since so steadily carried out; that, to which she owes it, that she has "covered herself with machinery and mills" — that "her collieries, her furnaces, and her workshops of every description, have grown to an enormous extent, and out of all proportion to what existed eighty years since" * — that the value of her land has so immensely increased — that the power of the laborer to command supplies of food has doubled, where it has not trebled — and that she herself is now so powerful.

Directly the reverse of this, as the reader will readily see, is the doctrine lying at the foundation of the system that would make of Britain the workshop of the world; that, for the maintenance of which, we are taught that man begins everywhere with the richest soils — all old communities being required to resort to poorer ones, with daily diminution in the demand for labor. To the farmers and planters of Brazil and the United States it says — "Cultivate your rich soils, and leave us to our poor ones. Labor being cheap with us, we can manufacture more cheaply than you can do. *Do not*, therefore, *once for all*, build mills or furnaces; continue year after year to expend your labors in carrying produce back and forth; continue to exhaust your land; continue to have no combination of effort among yourselves; and you will grow rich. The time, however, will arrive when you will be forced to cultivate the poor soils, and then you will be troubled with over-population. Wages falling *you may then be enabled to accumulate the capital required for entering into competition with us;* that is, *the poorer you become, the greater will be your power.*"

Such is the doctrine of the school that is based upon the idea of trade being the first pursuit of man; that, by help of which the system has thus far been carried out. It is one which cannot stand against the facts everywhere established, that man always commences with the poorer soils; that it is only with the growth of

* *Du Revenu Foncier*, p. 107.

the power of association and combination that the richer ones are brought into activity; that, to have combination, there must be differences of employment, tending to the development of the individual faculties; and that, where such differences are not found, the whole course of man is towards the exhaustion of the land first cultivated — towards diminution in its value, and increase in that of all the commodities required for his use — and towards his enslavement by nature and by his fellow-man. Under that system it is that Ireland wastes, *weekly*, more labor than would, if applied *once for all*, give her machinery enabling her to make a domestic market for all her food and all her labor; that Portugal and Turkey waste, *daily*, more muscular and intellectual power than would, if applied *once for all*, give them machinery for making all the cloth they now consume; that Jamaica has been exhausted; and that India has seen her people condemned to remain idle, when they would desire to be employed — to relinquish her rich soils, and retire to poor ones — to abandon cities in which once lived hundreds of thousands of poor, but industrious and happy, men—foregoing all the advantages of commerce, and becoming dependent altogether on the chances of trade.

Following in the lead of France, the people of Northern Europe, generally, have *protected* themselves against this system — the result being seen in the facts, that the prices of raw materials and finished commodities are there steadily approximating — that gold flows rapidly in — that the circulation of society becomes from day to day more rapid — and that the proportion borne by fixed to floating capital is a constantly increasing one — all of these phenomena being evidences of advancing civilization, consequent upon the determination, *once for all*, to make the investments required for bringing the consumer to the side of the producer, and thus relieving the farmer from the wasting tax of transportation.

Guided, or governed, by England, Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, and the United States have refused to make the effort, *once for all*, to relieve themselves from that oppressive and daily recurring tax—the result being seen in the facts, that the prices of raw materials and finished products steadily recede from each other — that gold flows regularly abroad — that circulation becomes more languid — and that the proportion borne by floating capital to

that which is fixed is a constantly increasing one — all of these phenomena being evidences of declining civilization.

§ 8. "The general industry of society," says Adam Smith, "never can exceed what the capital of the society can employ. As the number of workmen that can be kept by any particular person must bear a certain proportion to his capital, so the number of those that can be continually employed by all the members of a great society must bear a certain proportion to the capital of that society, and never can exceed that proportion. No regulation of society can increase the quantity of industry in any direction beyond what its capital can maintain. It can only divert a portion of it into a direction into which it might not otherwise have gone; and it is by no means certain that this artificial direction is likely to be more advantageous than that into which it would have gone of its own accord." *

It would be difficult to find a passage in the *Wealth of Nations* tending more than this to the production of error in the modes of thought — it being for that reason, probably, that it is so frequently quoted. The whole turns, as the reader perceives, upon the word "capital;" but to what description of capital does it refer? Not, certainly, to land and its improvements — constituting so large a portion of the accumulated wealth of a nation. Neither is it to the labor-power daily produced by, and resulting from, the daily consumption of food; yet millions of human engines capable of physical and intellectual effort, are quite as much capital as hundreds of iron ones digesting coal and producing steam. Neither is it to money—that constituting always, according to Dr. Smith, "the most unprofitable part" of the capital of a nation; and it being quite unimportant whether the quantity be large or small, which could not be the case if "the general industry of society" were in any manner dependent thereupon. It could not be houses, mills, or ships, for these do not "employ" industry, but merely enable men to profit by the help of various forces of nature. There remains, then, nothing to be included under this head of "capital" but the trivial quantity of commodities remaining in a transition state, produced and yet unconsumed — cotton, wool, flax, rags, coal, and other commodities — the total

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 4, chap. ii.

value of which, in any well-organized and advancing society, will not exceed three per cent. of that of the land, labor, and other machinery employed in their production; whereas, in societies that are retrograding, it always bears a large proportion. The nearer the consumer to the producer, the less must it be, and the more rapid the tendency to new and increased production — the smaller must be the proportion of that capital to the whole— and the greater the tendency to increase in the value of labor and land; as is shown in all advancing countries. The more distant the consumer from the producer, the greater must be the quantity of the products of labor waiting for consumption — the less must be the tendency towards increase of production — and the larger the proportion of that capital to the whole, as is shown in Virginia, Jamaica, Ireland, India, Turkey, and other declining countries. Wherever association exists, consumption is rapid, and the more it increases, the more promptly will consumption follow production, with daily and hourly increase in the power of accumulation. To enable men to associate, however, they *must* possess the power to increase their supplies of that machinery of composition, decomposition, and recomposition, called money; and that they cannot have, unless the balance of trade with other countries is such as to enable them to purchase it.

According to Dr. Smith, "parsimony, and not industry," is "the immediate cause of increase of capital" * — an essential error that has been repeated by most economists from his time to the present hour. The generally prevalent idea among them is contained in the brief sentence — "Les fortunes ne se forment, et n'augmentent, que par l'epargne" †—being merely the reduction into words, of ideas prevailing among the degraded portions of the human race.

Man seeks power to command and direct the forces of nature; and it is precisely as that power is obtained, that fortunes most rapidly augment — the miserly feeling above described then ceasing to exist. Arkwright and Watt obtained power, by means of which they accumulated fortunes for themselves—while doubling the value of all the land of Britain. Was this the result of "saving"?

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 4, chap. ii.

† "Fortunes are created and increased only by means of saving."—*Journal des Economistes*, October, 1854.

Chaptal, Fourcroy, and Berthollet, took the command of great natural forces—thus enabling their countrymen greatly to improve their processes of conversion, and thus contributing largely towards the vast increase in the landed capital of France that the reader has elsewhere seen recorded. Is this a result of the "saving" propensity? Morse — seizing the power to direct electricity — acquired fortune; but what in this proceeding savors of "parsimony"? Fulton taught mankind to apply steam in a manner fitted to relieve themselves from the oppressive tax of transportation — thus adding countless millions to the value of land; but where, in this, was the evidence of a parsimonious spirit? Scott and Goethe possessed the power both to instruct and amuse their countrymen — finding therein a capital by means of which they acquired wealth. Wealth consisting in the power to direct the forces of nature, the more rapid its growth, the more does "parsimony" — the feeling of the slave — tend to disappear from among the qualities of the being made in the image of his Creator, and designated by the word MAN.

Some men seek to obtain the power above described for selfish purposes alone. Others there are, who, like the Marquis of Worcester, Franklin, Washington, Humboldt, Davy, and Berzelius, seek it from an anxious desire to render service to their fellowmen. The first are "parsimonious" of their instructions to the world: the latter, open and free as is the air we breathe. The difference between the two is well described in the following passage from an old Latin treatise of St. Bernard, worthy of the reader's careful consideration:—

"There are those who wish to know, for the mere sake of knowing; this is a low curiosity. There are those who wish to know, that they may be known; and this is a low vanity. There are also those who wish to know, that they may sell their knowledge, so to speak, for money, for honors; and this is low venality. But there are those, also, who wish to know, that they may upbuild; and this is charity: and likewise those who wish to know, that they may be upbuilt; and this is wisdom. Of those, the last two only do not pervert the real end of knowledge, which is to be good and to do good." *

This is as fully applicable to those who seek for material wealth,

* Translated for, and quoted in, the *New York Courier and Enquirer*.

as it is to those engaged in the acquisition of that which is intellectual. The class first described grows rapidly, under the system which looks to the extension of the dominion of trade. Desiring to increase the last, we must seek for the means of so doing, in the enlargement of the domain of commerce.

§ 9. The doctrine that it is to savings we are to look for all increase of capital, leads sometimes to results so strange as to render it remarkable, that conviction of the error should not be forced upon its teachers. Mr. Mill assures his readers, that "the greater part in value of the *wealth* now existing in England has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months. A very small proportion indeed," as he continues, "was in existence ten years ago: of the present productive *capital* of the country, scarcely any part, except farm-houses and factories, and a few ships and machines; and even they would not, in most cases, have survived so long, if fresh labor had not been employed within that period in putting them in repair." *

The first thing to be remarked in relation to this passage is the use of the words above italicized — wealth and capital — as being synonymous; and yet, while no one, the author of this, himself, not excepted, would fail to regard a man of large landed property as being wealthy, it would seem quite clear that Mr. Mill did not regard land, or the improvements upon it—resulting from thousands of years of occupation — as constituting any portion of a nation's wealth.

Leaving the land, its ditches, drains, and roads, however, altogether out of view, the amount that still remains is quite sufficient for our purpose. Houses, as we see, do come under the head of wealth — their value, apart from the machinery they contained, having been estimated in 1842 at £625,000,000, or $3,000,000,000. The property now under insurance against fire, is £870,000,000; and — insurance being rarely effected upon more than half the value—we have a right almost to double this great sum to obtain the real one. The total annual product of the efforts of the British people cannot be placed at more than £25 per head, giving, for the twenty-one millions, £525,000,000 as the total fund out of which savings are to be made; yet are we here assured, that "the

* J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 1, chap. v. § 6.

greater part of the wealth now existing in England has been produced in the last twelve months"! Is it not clear that there is here some great mistake? Out of these £525,000,000 the whole people of Great Britain have had to be fed and clothed; and yet the capital represented by the "savings" of a single year, is counted by almost thousands of millions!

The various parts of the system that leads to such extraordinary results are, throughout, inconsistent with themselves. Land is not to be regarded as wealth, even although the labor applied upon it through a long period of years may have redeemed it from being a sterile waste — bringing it to rank first among the productive soils of the kingdom. When, however, a part of that land becomes turnips, *they* are wealth; if fed to hogs or oxen, they continue to be wealth. Another part being converted into houses, or steam-engines, that also is wealth. The turnips, however, being converted into men, they cease to be wealth — economists, therefore, one and all, uniting in urging upon their countrymen to increase their wealth by converting it into oxen, rather than impoverish themselves by converting it into additional men, women, and children. The man who causes a bushel of potatoes to grow, adds to the wealth of the country; but he who teaches his fellow-men to double the productiveness of their labor by an increase of the power of the steam-engine, does not — his labors not taking the material form required for enabling it to come under the head of "abstinence from present consumption for the sake of future good." The child who converts cotton into thread, is a producer of wealth; but the inventor of the railway could no more be placed under that head, than could Fulton, who taught the world how to apply steam to the purposes of navigation; or Morse, who first enabled electricity to do the work of tens of thousands of horses and men. To the services of such men it is chiefly due, that the land of Britain has largely increased in price within the last century—thus rendering its owners generally more *wealthy* than they before had been; and yet, neither that increase, nor the labors of the men to whom it has been due, come under the category of wealth.

In what, however, does wealth consist? "Everything," says Mr. Mill, "is wealth" that is not "gratuitously" supplied by nature — air, though "the most absolute of necessaries," not

being wealth, because obtained without effort.* Wealth *should* therefore, increase with every recession from the point of perfect gratuity, at which air has always stood. It should, too, diminish with every approach towards it — men becoming less wealthy as they are more enabled to economize the labor required for commanding the services of steam, electricity, and gravitation. Were this so, power and wealth would be always moving towards opposite points of the compass. That it is not so, is proved by the fact, that men and nations *do* increase in wealth, as they grow in power to command the services of heat and steam, on terms similar to those on which they have the use of air; that is to say, "gratuitously." Men's natural instincts leading them in the right direction, they have arrived at the belief, so generally expressed, that "Wealth is Power." The reverse of this, however, must be true, if the Ricardo-Malthusian teachings have any foundation on which to stand — wealth there being found growing in company with a constantly increasing necessity for resorting to lands of less and less productive power.

§ 10. The chief difficulty with which social science has had to contend, has been the want of clear and distinct definitions of the terms in use. Mr. Mill, as is here shown, uses wealth and capital as convertible — while totally excluding the most important item of a nation's wealth; yet, he elsewhere says, that "there can be no doubt if capital were forthcoming to execute all known and recognized improvements in the land of the United Kingdom," much benefit would thence result. The question would, however, at once arise, whether, from the moment it had been so applied, it would not, in his view, cease to be either wealth or capital. The exclusion, from under these categories, of all the labor expended on land in the last thousand years, would seem equally to warrant the further exclusion of every expenditure for similar purposes, in all time to come.

The definitions thus far furnished in the present work, being, as it is believed, universally true, should cover the whole ground — removing the difficulties that heretofore have proved an almost insuperable obstacle to a clear understanding of what really was

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Preliminary Remarks.

meant, by any writer who used the various terms. The whole may now thus be stated :—

Utility is the measure of man's power over nature.

Value is that of nature's power over man — of the resistance she offers to the gratification of his desires.

Wealth consists in the power of man to command the always gratuitous services of nature.

Production consists in directing those forces to the service of man.

Capital is the instrument by help of which the work is done — whether existing in the form of land and its improvements, ships, wagons, roads, houses, churches, steam-engines, ploughs, mental development, books, or corn.

Trade consists in the performance of exchanges *for* other persons — being the instrument used by—

Commerce, which consists in the exchange of services, products, or ideas, *by* men, and *with* their fellow-men.

As the power of association grows, utility increases, and value as steadily declines.

As the value of commodities declines, there is increase in the value of man, with constant development of individuality, and constant increase in the security for the enjoyment of rights of person and of property.

As person and property become more secure, men and capital tend to become more fixed, with constant diminution in the proportion of either remaining in the floating state.

As men and capital tend to become fixed, and as the latent powers of nature tend more and more to be developed, there is an increase in the tendency towards the creation of local centres, and towards the establishment of the same beautiful system which keeps in order the universe of which this earth constitutes a part.

As local centres increase in number and in attraction, the power of association tends steadily to increase—every step in that direction being accompanied by diminution in the necessity for the services of the trader, increase in the power of production, in the growth of capital, and in the rapidity of its circulation—with corresponding increase of commerce.

CHAPTER XL.

OF CIRCULATION.

§ 1. With land abounding, our early colonist possessed no wealth — having none of that material capital, and little of the mental, required for directing the natural forces to his service. Nature, herself, being strong for resistance to his efforts, and he being weak, he was wholly dependent on her bounty for supplies of food. Monarch of all he surveyed, he was still her slave — being yet destitute of power resulting from combination with others like himself. The larger his territory, the less, necessarily, was the power of association, and the greater the obstacles to his acquisition of wealth and power.

Discovering, at length, that he has a neighbor, he finds that instead of his wife and himself being its sole occupants, and he, himself, sole proprietor, he owns but half of it — his possessions being thus diminished. Is he, or is his neighbor, poorer than before? On the contrary, both are richer — having acquired increase of power, resulting from the ability to combine their efforts for overcoming resistance that, thus far, had proved an overmatch for their divided efforts. Each now profits by the distinctive qualities of the other. One excelling in fishing, and the other in taking birds or rabbits, both are enabled to obtain larger supplies of food.

Their sons growing up, the land is again divided, with large increase of force. Their numbers further increasing, new divisions are required — land thus decreasing in its ratio to population, while wealth and power as steadily increase. Consumption now more rapidly following production, individuality becomes more and more developed—with growing power of accumulation.

§ 2. In the early ages of society, land is wholly valueless. Men then hunt and fish — their only property consisting of bows

and arrows, skins, and the little food they may have *saved* in summer, as provision against the wants of winter. Later, we find them in the shepherd state — their flocks being numerous, and constituting their only wealth. Land being still without value, is unhesitatingly abandoned when the pasture becomes exhausted. The community being still but nature's slave, of voluntary circulation there is none — each of its members finding himself compelled to move when others move, and thus producing the extraordinary emigrations recorded in Greek and Roman history.

In this condition of society it is, that centralization most exists — the few who are strong of arm, or intellect, then exercising the largest amount of influence over the floating mass of which the community is composed. Poor, and often suffering for want of food, the latter are always ready to follow in the train of men like Brennus or Vercingetorix, Tamerlane or Bajazet, Genghis Khan or Nadir Shah — gladly aiding in stopping the circulation of society among others more advanced in wealth and power than themselves.

Later, they seek to obtain, by means of cultivation, increased supplies of food—land then acquiring some slight estimation, and the proportion borne by movable to fixed property, tending slightly towards diminution. Small communities then are seen appropriating land, to be temporarily divided among its occupants, as was the case in Gaul, in the days of Cæsar. So was it, too, in India. So is it now, as the reader has already seen, under the communistic system prevalent in Russia. Communism and semi-barbarism travel thus together — giving precisely the system recently urged upon the people of France, by philosophers holding that association and individuality are opposing principles.*

As a rule, however, those possessed of strength of arm have constituted themselves proprietors of extensive tracts of land —

* That the errors of modern Socialism are but a reproduction of those of French writers of the last century, is shown by M. de Tocqueville (*L'Ancien Régime*, chap. xv.) — the doctrines of "community of property, rights of labor, absolute equality, universal uniformity, mechanical regularity of individual movements, tyrannical regulations on all subjects, and the total absorption of the individual in the body politic," being as fully exhibited in Morelly's *Code de la Nature*, as in any of the writings of Proudhon, or Louis Blanc.

compelling those who were weak of body, or of mind, to expend their labor upon them, and giving in return such portion of the product as may seem required for preserving the slave in working order. This being the barbarous condition of society, wealth consists in movables — being reckoned by the number of beasts of burden, called men, women, and children, as is now the case in Carolina, Brazil, and Cuba. Land being held in vast tracts, it finds no circulation, and has little value. Man being then held as property, he has no right of circulation among his fellow-men. At times, he is tied by law to the land — becoming *adscriptus glebæ*. Yet earlier, he is liable to purchase and sale, apart from the land — circulating then, only in virtue of special permission granted by his master; as was the case in Norman England, and now is so, in Russia and Carolina.

Population and wealth further increasing, and employments becoming diversified, with increase in the power of association, and in the development of the various faculties of man, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, the miller, and the trader, come together to form the nucleus of the future town; and now it is, that land begins to be divided — sometimes to be held in absolute ownership, and at others, on condition of the payment of yearly contributions to its owners, as compensation for its use.

The town increasing, land becomes more and more divided — each new house carrying with it a right to the exclusive occupation of the soil on which it stands. Wealth and power growing, property and person become more secure, with constant increase in the value of land, and in the freedom of man; and as constant decline in the value of the material property that in earlier days was held as the only wealth. Mind now gradually acquiring power over matter — mental force is taking precedence of that which is purely physical — and man is becoming less the slave of nature and of his fellow-man. Towns now become places of refuge — men who have been held as slaves, seeking, in association with their fellow-men, the free exercise of the faculties by which they are distinguished from the brute.

With every stage of progress, individuality becomes more and more developed — men who have heretofore been limited to the single pursuit of tillage, now becoming carpenters and blacksmiths, masons or millers, and circulating among each other —

freed from the obligation to ask permission of their masters. The various products of the earth becoming more and more utilized, the value of commodities declines, while that of land and man still further rises — the slave becoming free, and his late master, the land-owner, becoming rich—and the beautiful harmony of natural laws being thus established.

§ 3. Circulation becomes more rapid as men become more free. Men become more free as land becomes more and more divided. Land becomes divided as wealth accumulates, and land, itself, acquires value. *The rapidity of circulation is, therefore, in the direct ratio of the tendency in capital to become fixed and immovable.*

Seeking evidence of this, we may turn to England of the days of Cœur de Lion, when serfs were almost the only property — Gurth being then allowed the privilege of circulating among his fellow-men, only in consideration of wearing a collar testifying that he was "the born thrall of Cedric of Rotherwood." Cedric himself then ate from a table formed of rough-hewn planks — sitting, too, in a room half filled with smoke, protected against the weather only by a roof somewhat similar to those of the poorest of modern pig-styes — being composed of the rudest planks, covered with thatch.*

* *Ivanhoe*, vol. i. chap. iv.

That the facts of early England are being reproduced in the nineteenth century, is shown by the following picture of the cabin of a Red River plantation—yielding, annually, sixty bales of cotton, whose worth may be taken at $3000:—

"The house was a small square log-cabin, with a broad, open shed or piazza in front, and a chimney, made of sticks and mud, leaning against one end. A smaller detached cabin, twenty feet in the rear, was used for a kitchen. A cistern under a roof, and collecting water from the three roofs, stood between. The water from the bayou was not fit to drink, nor is the water of the Red River, or of any springs in this region. The people depend entirely on cisterns for drinking water. It's very little white folks need, however—milk, claret, and whisky being the more common beverages.

"About the house was a large yard, in which were two or three China-trees, and two splendid evergreen Cherokee roses; half a dozen hounds; several negro babies; turkeys and chickens; and a pet sow, teaching a fine litter of pigs how to root and wallow. Three hundred yards from the house was a gin-house and stable, and in the interval between were two rows of comfortable negro cabins. Between the house and the cabins was a large post, on which was a bell to call the negroes. A rack for fastening horses stood near it. On the bell-post, and on each of the rack-posts, were nailed the antlers of a buck, as well as on a large oak-tree near by. On the logs of the kitchen a fresh deer-skin was drying, On the railing of the piazza

How trivial was then the value of land, is shown by the conditions of early leases — all proving, that its use was obtainable in return for an annual contribution, that now appears to us entirely insignificant. As population increased, towns grew in number and in size — becoming strong to afford protection to those who sought it at their hands. Land steadily advanced in value — wealth thus increasing with the diminished proportion borne by land to man. Division kept steady pace with wealth — the number of actual proprietors having been, in the days of Adam Smith, no less than 200,000, and the average proprietorship but 150 acres. Adding to these, those persons who had acquired permanent rights in lots in towns and cities, we should obtain perhaps twice that number — giving an owner for every 75 acres, and more than one for every five of the adult males; whereas, in the days of the Plantagenets, descendants of Norman knights held manors that counted by hundreds, and the Church was chief proprietor.

The circulation of landed property had, of course, much increased. While it remained in the hands of the Church, or of great barons, there could be none. So soon, however, as it passed from their hands, either by permanent division among heirs or purchasers, or by the grant of leases of long duration, it became a thing that could readily be bought and sold.

The circulation of services, too, became more rapid. So long as the land continued thus locked up, but few exchanges could be made without the intervention of its proprietors, as rent-receivers, or as owners of the land, and of the serf by whom it was occupied. The land becoming divided, the class of free proprietors increased in number and in power — gradually freeing themselves from the necessity for paying rent for the use of land employed in raising

lay a Mexican saddle with immense wooden stirrups. The house had but one door, and no window, nor was there a pane of glass on the plantation.

"Entering the house, we found it to contain but a single room, about twenty feet by sixteen. Of this space, one-quarter was occupied by a bed — a great four-poster, with the curtains open, made up in the French style, with a strong furniture-calico day-coverlid. A smaller camp-bed stood beside it. These two articles of furniture nearly filled the house on one side the door. At the other end was a great log fire-place, with a fine fire. The outer door was left constantly open to admit the light. On one side the fire, next the door, was a table; a kind of dresser, with crockery, and a bureau stood on the other side, and there were two deer-skin-seated chairs, and one (Connecticut-made) rocking-chair."— OLMSTED: *Texas Journey*, p. 47.

corn, as well as from the limitation to the use of the master's mill and oven, when desiring to convert the corn into meal, or the meal into bread. The workman within the towns, too, exchanged services directly with his brother-workmen, like himself now free. The restraints upon the circulation of land, labor, and its products thus steadily diminishing, the motion of society became from year to year more rapid — with growing tendency to the development of the hidden treasures of the earth, and to the creation of local centres of activity, by means of which the centralizing effects of great landed estates, and of great trading cities, were to be further neutralized.

From age to age, we mark a growing tendency towards increasing the divisibility, and thus quickening the circulation, of fixed property. The stockholders of the East India Company are, in effect, proprietors of all the land of Hindostan, the right to a share in which is transferred by a simple entry on the books, and the delivery of a new certificate. The turnpikes and railroads of England are as fixed property as is the land on which they are laid; yet are they divisible into the smallest shares, the ownership of which is as readily transferred as is a bag of meal. Mines are opened at vast expense, the property in which is held in transferable shares. Till now, the English circulation has been everywhere retarded by the maintenance of a system of barbarous liabilities, handed down from olden time; but the general sentiment has recently found expression, in the passage of an act of Parliament, in virtue of which mills, factories, and furnaces may be built, and other descriptions of fixed property created, the ownership of which may be divided among thousands of persons — circulating through society with a facility equal to that which attends the bag of cotton, and the circulating note. Each and every such step in the course of progress, is attended, necessarily, with an increase in the proportion of fixed property, and an augmentation of the facilities of commerce.

§ 4. The conclusions at which we now arrive may be briefly stated in the following propositions:—

That, in the early period of society, all property is movable — land being wholly destitute of value:

That, of what is then regarded as property, the larger portion

consists of men, women, and children, who are denied the power to determine for themselves for whom they will work, or what shall be their reward :

That, as wealth augments and numbers increase, employments become diversified, with constant increase in the power to subject to cultivation the richer soils :

That, land now acquiring value, it becomes divided—its power of circulation increasing geometrically, as the work of division proceeds arithmetically :

That man acquires value, as the ruder products of the earth lose it *—increase in the proportion of fixed to movable property thus keeping steady pace with the growing freedom of man, and with the increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation :

That, thus, the more capital becomes fixed, the more rapid is the *circulation* of property of every description, whether consisting of land or of its products ; the greater is the power of association ; the more rapid is the development of individuality ; and the greater is the power of further progress :

That, with every increase in the rapidity of circulation, local attraction becomes more and more complete ; with increase in the individuality of families, towns, townships, and cities, and steady diminution in the centralizing forces by which societary action had previously been disturbed : and

That, with every such increase, the community tends more and more to take upon itself that natural form in which strength and beauty are most combined, with constant increase in its own individuality, and in its power to associate with other communities on terms of strict equality.

§ 5. The course of things above described, being the natural one, the accuracy of the views thus presented, is proved by the records of every community of the world in which wealth and population have steadily advanced ; and for the reason, that in all of them, the power of association has as steadily grown. The reverse effects are found in those in which population has diminished, as will now be shown.

* Value is obtained by a comparison with labor : Price, by a comparison with money. The value of the rude products declines as the price rises — man then increasing in value as compared with silver, gold, and corn.

Solon having provided for the distribution of land among the male heirs, and thus secured rapidity of circulation, the increase in the proportion of immovable property to that which was movable, was shown in extensive enfranchisements of slaves, while land grew steadily in value. The circulation of land and its products — of men and their services — became more rapid from year to year until the occurrence of the Persian wars; with constant increase of local action. From that period, however, the proportion changed—the movable property increasing in its proportions, until at length we find the land consolidated, with Herodes Atticus almost sole proprietor and sole improver in a country tilled by slaves — circulation having ceased.

Lycurgus desired to assure to every Spartan an equal share of land. War and trade, however, produced a reverse effect. Slaves increased in number, but land declined in value, until it became consolidated in the hands of a few great families. Circulation ceasing, all power was lost.

Rome, in the days of Servius, presented to view a numerous body of small proprietors — cultivating the land they owned. Later, we find palaces owned by Scipios and Pompeys—the land having become consolidated, and the free proprietors having disappeared. Fixed property declined steadily in value, while slaves increased in number, and bankers in wealth and power. The circulation, however, had almost ceased — war and trade having done their work.

In Italy of the Middle Ages, we mark a constant increase in the variety of employments — in the value of land — and in the rapidity of circulation. Trade and war, however, becoming again the chief pursuits, whole populations were once more driven to seek in the labors of the field the only employment for their faculties, with constant increase in the proportion borne by floating capital to that which was fixed. Land gradually losing its value, it became again consolidated — the Campagna, that once could boast its thirty prosperous cities, being now owned by two hundred and fifty persons; and Sicily, whose cities once ranked in civilization with those of Greece that were most distinguished, having become the property of a few great houses, and being occupied by a people to whom commerce is scarcely known.

Turning to Spain, we find a country that has, for centuries, been engaged in increasing the movable capital at the expense of that which was fixed. From the date of the expulsion of the enlightened, honest, and industrious Moors — the men whose labors were more diversified than those of any other European people— land had gradually lost its value, and had become consolidated— two-thirds of it having become the property of a few great nobles and the Church. The circulation of land, labor, or their products, having almost ceased, the laborer of Andalusia perished for want of food, while the *silos* of Castile were filled with corn, for which no market could be found. In Biscay, alone, the case was different — employment having there become diversified—the land being there held by small proprietors — and the circulation being rapid. Such, too, is now the tendency throughout the kingdom — the mass of the Church lands having been secularized and sold — and the number of small proprietors having greatly increased, with great increase in the value of land, in the productiveness of agriculture, and in the rapidity of circulation.* The proportion borne by fixed to circulating capital is steadily advancing, with growing development of individuality, the preparation for further progress.

§ 6. Nowhere in Northern Europe did employments so early become diversified as in the provinces now constituting Northern France and Belgium. Nowhere did cultivation so early pass from the poor to the rich soils. Nowhere did there exist so great a tendency to the division of the land; and nowhere, consequently, was the circulation so rapid, or the force so great.

In no part of Europe has the tendency to division of the land, as a consequence of the growth of wealth and population, been more fully and beautifully exhibited, than in the recent history of Denmark and her dependent duchies. The farmer and the artisan having there found places by each other's side, and the land being thus relieved from the oppressive tax of transportation, it grows in value rapidly. Fixed capital there increases steadily in

* At a quite recent sale of Church property, the prices were, as it is stated, thrice greater than had been anticipated—notwithstanding the large increase of value that previously had taken place. No more conclusive proof of advancing civilization can be presented, than that which is found in increase in the price, and division of the ownership, of land.

its proportions, with constant growth in the rapidity of the societary circulation.

The admirable effect of the division of land is fully shown in Prussia, by the result of the abolition of leases in perpetuity, and their conversion into freeholds, with compensation to the landowner, at the rate of five-and-twenty years' purchase of his interest. The great proprietors being heavily encumbered with debts, their estates were covered with mortgages which effectually prevented improvement. In Pomerania, alone, the encumbrances amounted to $24,000,000. The peasant-holdings being freed at once, on payment of the stipulated sum, the small proprietors enjoyed a credit, that to the great ones had been denied. All other impediments to the free disposal of land, by sale, gift, or will, having been abolished, the effect is seen in the fact, that wealth and population are now advancing in Prussia, at a rate unknown to most of Continental Europe.*

Following in the same direction, Austria emancipates the peasants of Bohemia and Moravia, Hungary and Servia — servile occupants of land being thus converted into free proprietors, and on terms resembling those on which the change was made in Prussia. Henceforth, consequently — land and labor freely circulating — the proportion borne by fixed to floating capital must rapidly increase.

§ 7. The more perfect the security of property, the more is its tendency to become permanently fixed. The less the security, the more does capital tend to remain unfixed and floating. Of all the countries of Europe, France has most labored to prevent the existence of that feeling of security, abroad or at home, which is required for securing the conversion of movable into fixed capital, and thus promoting rapidity of circulation. From the days of Pepin

* "Professor Reichensperger says, that the rise in the price of small estates would have ruined the more recent purchasers, unless their productiveness had increased in at least an equal proportion; and as the small proprietors have been gradually becoming more and more prosperous, notwithstanding the increasing prices they have paid for their land, he argues, with apparent justness, that this would seem to show that not only the *gross* profits of the small estates, but the *net* profits also, have been gradually increasing; and that the *net* profits per acre of land, when farmed by small proprietors, are greater than the net profits per acre of land farmed by great proprietors."— KAY: *Social Condition of England and of Europe*, vol. i. p. 116.

and Charlemagne, her armies have been in turn invading Spain, the Netherlands, Holland, Italy, and Germany; and her waste of wealth in Asia, in the Middle Ages, has been almost paralleled in the present one, by her campaigns in Russia, Egypt, and Algeria.

To her, was Europe mainly indebted for that perfection of anarchy, denominated the Feudal System, all of whose tendencies were towards consolidation of the land, enslavement of the people, and suppression of the societary circulation. Land having then but very little value, money-changers, royal and plebeian, reigned supreme — nearly all the property of the kingdom being movable in its character. At the close of the seventeenth century, the land was so far consolidated, that nearly the whole was held by the Church and a few great nobles—paying no taxes, yet dividing among themselves all places of emolument and power, and thus absorbing the contributions of that small portion of the population engaged in the cultivation of their own lands, or in the application of their own labors. Consolidation was a necessary consequence of a system like that of Louis XIV., which combined the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of the most active and industrious portion of the population, with the maintenance of constant wars abroad — requiring incessant contributions of men, and a taxation so severe that more than half of what was yielded by the soil, was required to meet it. Under such circumstances, there could be little circulation, and land remained uncultivated, while the people perished of hunger because unable to sell their labor.

The regency that followed gave rise to the Mississippi scheme, to whose projection we owe, perhaps, the earliest suggestion of the great advantages resulting from an increase in the transferability of landed property. The scheme failed—ruining many, but building up the fortunes of numerous others—thus causing extensive transfers of real estate. "The innumerable changes," says M. Blanqui, "effected under the influence of the system, were the beginnings of the great division of property from which France has so greatly benefited. All classes of society being seized with a spirit of enterprise, the power of association, until then unknown, exhibited itself in new and bold combinations, of which existing operations are but imitations."*

* Blanqui: *Histoire de l'Économie Politique*, vol. ii, p. 86.

Other circumstances, however, not referred to by M. Blanqui, contributed far more largely to produce the changes here described. The system of Colbert coming fairly into operation, employment became more and more diversified, with great increase of commerce; and *therefore* it was that land became divided and agriculture improved.* Production increased, and "whereas," says M. de Jonnés, "under *le Grand Monarque*, the agricultural population had bread only three days in the week, and under Louis XV. but two days out of the three — the happy effect of the progress under Louis XVI. was seen in their being able to command its use during three-fourths of the year"— doing this, too, in despite of a system of taxation burthensome beyond any recorded in history in relation to a community claiming to be free. Of twelve parts into which the produce of the land might be divided, nearly seven and a half went to the king, and three and a half to the proprietor of the soil — leaving but *one-twelfth* for the services of the man by whom it was produced. About one-third of the soil was at this time in the hands of small proprietors, upon whom these burthens fell with a severity which tended much to the production of the Revolution. Heavy as they were, they constituted but a portion of the evils resulting from a system, that tended almost entirely to destroy the circulation.†

The Revolution sweeping away the Church and the nobility, their property — covering two-thirds of the kingdom — was now divided. The exclusive privileges of manufacturing corporations following next, the obstacles to circulation were, thus, to a great extent, removed — the beneficial effects of the change exhibiting themselves in the facts, that, notwithstanding an enormous drain of money and of men, the agricultural popu-

* The recent work of M. de Tocqueville furnishes abundant correction of the erroneous impression, so generally prevalent, that the division of the land of France is attributable to the Revolution. The growing tendency in that direction was, as he shows, remarked by Turgot, Neckar, and Arthur Young, all of whose observations tend towards confirmation of the remarks of a writer of the day, who says, that "land is selling above its value, owing to the rage of the peasantry to become land-owners. All the savings of the lower classes," as he continues, "which in other countries are lodged in private hands, or invested in public securities, are in France used for the purchase of land."—*Ancien Régime*, p. 41.

For evidence of the rapid growth of commerce at this period, see the extract from M. de Tocquevillle's work, given *ante*, vol. ii. p. 313.

† For the obstacles above referred to, see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 51.

lation increased in the succeeding four-and-twenty years more than thirty-three and a third per cent. — the return to labor, meantime, so much increasing, that, whereas, in 1788, an agricultural family could earn but 161 francs a year, they could now earn 400 francs; while the price of wheat had advanced but thirty per cent. Its members could now, therefore, have bread every day in the year, and have a surplus, for other purposes, equal to two-thirds of the whole wages of 1788.* Such were the benefits resulting from an increase in the facility of circulation.

Manufactures, during this period, steadily increased—employment becoming more and more diversified. The war—preventing all intercourse with England — operated as a protection to the French artisan, and brought the consumer to the side of the producer — thus relieving the latter from that oppressive tax of transportation, which constitutes the essential obstacle to circulation. Since then, statute law has continued the system so well begun by Colbert — the result being seen in the fact, that the price of land and labor is now increasing at a rate more rapid, probably, than that of any other country of the world.

The free circulation of either is still, however, impeded by numerous obstacles — all of them resulting from an excessive political centralization, requiring the maintenance of armies and fleets, for whose support a large amount of contributions is required. Land can neither be sold nor mortgaged, except on the condition of admitting the government as partner in the transaction—paying to it a portion of the proceeds. The *octroï* obstructs the circulation between the cities and the country, while within the former traders and capitalists enjoy monopolies tending to fill their purses, at the expense of both producer and consumer. Hence arises the difficulty of which French economists so much complain, that of finding consumers for the things produced; as if every man would not, under a system that gave rapidity to the circulation, be a customer to others to the whole extent of his own production. The necessity for new and distant outlets is, therefore, always dwelt upon—it being with special reference to their obtainment, that the government is urged to the

* *Annuaire de l'Économie Politique*, 1851, p. 380.

re-adoption of the policy of the Eden treaty of 1786, which stopped the circulation, and thus produced the Revolution.

Division of property among the children being provided for by law, it has been hence inferred that the country would become a "great rabbit-warren"— population multiplying with such rapidity as effectually to repress all power of accumulation. Contrary, however, to such predictions, numbers increase but slowly —the process of division moving but little faster. Forty years since, the number of portions of land, town and city lots included, was 10,083,751. Twenty years later, it was 10,893,528—giving an increase of about eight per cent., much of which might be accounted for by the growth of towns and cities, and the consequent division of acres into building-lots. Four years later, in 1842, it had attained the number of 11,511,841—giving a considerable increase; attended, however, with precisely the circumstances that everywhere else attend division — a great advance in the price of land and labor.

The rapidity of circulation increases steadily, with extraordinary increase in the productiveness of agriculture. "In the last thirty years," says a distinguished economist, "France has realised a progress of admirable rapidity — her population having everywhere grown—her cities having increased—and activity and comfort having been everywhere produced. These consequences concur in the creation of new wants — facilitating the efforts of the agriculturist, and modifying the direction of his labors. Not only has he been compelled to extend the culture of roots and kitchen vegetables, with a view to supply the demands of an increasing population, but also that of the plants required by an extended industry. The more the plants which require the hoe, and the finer vegetables requiring both skill and labor, have taken their places by the side of the earlier plants — the more *la petite culture* has been encouraged—the more it has rewarded those engaged in their production. It has truly," as he adds, "been said, that it keeps pace with the growth of ease among the people, and with the creation of our manufactures."* The first and most oppressive of all taxes being that of transportation, the tendency of agriculture towards improvement is always in the direct ratio of the emancipation of the

* Passy: *Des Systèmes de Culture*, Paris, 1852, p. 66.

land from its payment — that emancipation being to be effected only by the creation of a market near at hand.

§ 8. In the days of Alfred, landed property was equally divided among the children of the English landholder. The Norman conquest bringing with it the exclusive rights of primogeniture—before the lapse of half a century the circulation of property in the soil, as the reader has seen, had almost ceased. Wealth and population, however, growing, we find a gradual tendency towards its re-establishment — at times exhibiting itself in the form of acts of Parliament; at others, in the adoption of rules of court facilitating the abolition of entails — the result of which may, perhaps, be seen in the number of small proprietors living in the days of Adam Smith.

Until then, however, nearly all the English tendencies had been towards the removal of restrictions upon the domestic circulation — the right of citizens to leave the kingdom having remained untouched, until a few years prior to the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*. From that time forward, however, all the tendencies were in an opposite direction — the prohibition of emigration having been followed up by various laws prohibiting English mechanics from furnishing other nations with machinery, by means of which their products might be enabled to circulate among themselves, freed from the necessity for being carried to English mills, or for passing through the hands of English merchants, or English workmen. Stoppage of circulation abroad, was thus to be produced by a stoppage of that at home; and, so far as that object could be attained by help of human laws, the close of the century saw the work already done.

Seven-and-thirty years before, the war of 1756 had been succeeded by the peace of Paris — having in its course established the British power in India, and doubled the mortgage upon the land and labor of the kingdom — the national debt having grown from 72 to 146 millions. The class of annuitants had, therefore, increased in due proportion to the growth of admirals, generals, and traders — all of whom desired that labor might be cheap, and man of little value. All of them, too, profited for the moment by stoppage of the circulation — the

slower the motion of society, the larger being the proportion borne by their incomes to that of the community at large. The new debt made a great addition to the amount required to be seized on its passage from the producer to the consumer — thus augmenting the proportion borne by floating to fixed capital, to the disadvantage of both land and labor.

The war of 1793 now following, the close of the century witnessed another duplication of the amount requiring to be so seized — the interest on the debt having been swelled from £10,000,000 to £20,000,000. Now it was, that the effect of want of circulation of labor and its products became obvious in the vast increase of pauperism, the scarcity of food, the consolidation of the land, and the invention of the monstrous, unchristian, and unphilosophical doctrine of over-population. Corn, potatoes, and turnips increasing only arithmetically, while man, according to Mr. Malthus, increased geometrically, it seemed to him that wars, pestilences, and famines, must have been provided by the Creator for the correction of that first want of man's nature which prompts to association with his kind, and leads to the contraction of that obligation which, above all others, tends to the development of the best feelings of the heart — involving, as it does, a necessity for providing for the support of wife and children.

Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo next united in the effort to establish the fact, that the supply of food must always be in the inverse ratio of population — being abundant when numbers are small, and scarce when numbers are great. A scattered people could, as they told their readers, cultivate the richest soils — the swamps and river bottoms; but a numerous one must resort to the poorer ones — those, therefore, of the hills. The power of making "savings," and thus accumulating capital, must steadily diminish — producing a necessity for having thousands to "die of want." The "constantly increasing sterility of the soils" being the difficulty with which man has everywhere to contend, he must, of necessity, become, from year to year, more and more the slave of nature, and of his fellow-man. Following out this view, it came next to be asserted that the capital and labor employed in carrying commodities,

"and dividing them into minute portions so as to fit them for the wants of the consumer, were really as productive as if employed in agriculture and manufactures"—perhaps, indeed, even more so, "lands of the best quality being soon exhausted," while of the steam-engines and ships "the last would be as efficient in producing commodities and saving labor as the first."* We have here the glorification of trade, the obstacle standing in the way of commerce; and this now becoming the received doctrine of the English school, we need feel no surprise at seeing that every step thereafter made, tended in the same direction, that of increasing the trading power, and further arresting the circulation.

From that time to the present, British history is a constant record of efforts at increasing the proportion borne by floating to fixed capital—being precisely the phenomenon of declining civilization. The more ships needed—the larger the quantity of merchandise kept passing on the road—the longer the time elapsing between production and consumption—and the slower, consequently, the circulation between the man who raises the food and him who requires to eat it—the greater, as it is held, must be the prosperity of all. As a necessary result, the land becomes more and more consolidated—the little proprietor disappearing and the hired laborer taking his place—the trader and the annuitant becoming more and more masters of the people—and a state of war becoming more the habitual condition of the community. The necessity for arresting the property produced, on its passage to him by whom it should be consumed, and thus providing for the support of fleets and armies, becomes, therefore, more urgent, from year to year.†

* McCulloch, *Principles*, p. 166.

† The manner in which the circulation of land is being arrested, as land itself is monopolized, is well exhibited in the following passage from a leading English journal:—

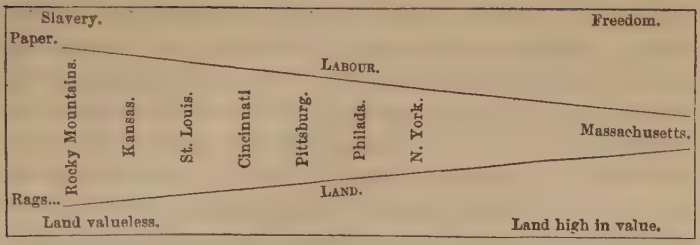
"The entangled interests in land which have grown up under the present system of settlements and entails, the enormous extent of the encumbrances by which land is affected, and the total absence of knowledge how to manage an estate on the part of most of the proprietors, have rendered the ownership of land in England little more than nominal. In a similar, though more extreme and aggravated, case in Ireland, the decisive remedy of the Encumbered Estates' Commission was found necessary, and is likely to prove most effectual; and there can be no doubt that something of the same kind, in substance, if not in form, will be soon found to be necessary in England, for the purpose of disentangling land from the trammels and fetters which at

Increase in the ratio of fixed capital is attended with growing power of association, increased development of individuality, and rapidly augmenting steadiness in the movement of the societary machine — the base of which widens, as the apex rises in the air. Increase in the ratio of floating capital produces the reverse effects — the power of association declining, and the base of society becoming less, with declining steadiness of movement, and diminishing power of accumulation. Frequent monetary revolutions producing uncertainty in the demand for labor and labor's products, the rich are thus made richer, while those who have physical or mental force to sell are deprived of bread. At no time past, have individual fortunes been so great as at the present moment. Never have the workmen of England more entirely failed, than in their recent efforts to obtain an increase of wages proportioned to the augmented cost of various necessaries of life. Inequality grows daily — the separation between the highest and lowest portions of society becoming more complete, as land becomes more and more consolidated, and more and more burthened with mortgages, entails, and settlements. The policy of the country being based upon the cheapening of raw materials, and those materials being always low in price in barbarous countries, the reader will readily see that every step in that direction leads towards barbarism. It is, therefore, but natural, that the country which pursues that policy, should be the one to give birth to the unchristian and unphilosophical doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school.

§ 9. The road to civilization lies in the direction of the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products — that being always accompanied by a rise in the prices of labor and land — an increase in the proportion borne by fixed to floating capital — and an increase in the rapidity of circulation. Such being the case, a policy based upon cheapening the raw materials of manufactures — food, wool, and labor* — *should* tend towards barbarism and slavery: that it does so, the reader will be satisfied in an examination of the following diagram: —

present limit its productive powers within such comparatively narrow bounds." —*Economist*, 1852, p. 645.

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 239.



Passing from left to right, we find a steady rise in the prices of land and labor — a diminished necessity for the services of the trader—a diminished proportion of the products of labor assigned him in return for his services — an extension of cultivation over the richer soils — an incessant activity of circulation — and an increase in the power of man — the free proprietor taking the place that first was occupied by the wretched being who was slave to both nature and his fellow-man. This is the *forward* motion of the being made in the image of his Creator, and endowed with the distinctive faculties of MAN.

Passing now from right to left, we obtain the reverse of this— land declining in value — the trader taking an increased proportion — the land becoming consolidated— circulation declining — and man becoming more and more enslaved — the free population gradually disappearing, as fixed property declines in the proportion borne by it, to that floating capital with which the trader works. This is the *backward* motion of the human animal treated of by the Ricardo-Malthusian schools; the one that must be fed — that will procreate — and that needs the whip of the tax-gatherer, to stimulate him to the proper exercise of the faculties with which he has been endowed.*

The first represents the course of all communities, ancient and modern, as the circulation has become more rapid, and as they have increased in civilization, wealth, and real power. The last, that of all which have declined — that in which land has become consolidated — in which circulation has become more sluggish — and in which man has become enslaved.

* "To the desire of rising in the world, implanted in the breast of every individual, an increase of taxation superadds the fear of being cast down to a lower station, of being deprived of conveniences and gratifications which habit has rendered all but indispensable; and the combined influence of the two principles produces results that could not be produced by the unassisted agency of either."—McCULLOCH.

Looking round us at the present time, we find in the countries whose policy is in harmony with that of Colbert, and which, therefore, follow in the lead of France, all the phenomena first above described — land becoming divided — fixed property increasing in its proportion — the circulation becoming more rapid — and man becoming more free. Turning thence towards Ireland, India, Jamaica, Portugal, and Turkey — the countries following in the direction indicated by the economists of England, we find the reverse phenomena—the land there losing value — fixed property there declining in its proportion — circulation becoming more sluggish — and man becoming from day to day less free. In the first, man grows in individuality, and the communities grow in strength and power. In the last, the human mind is becoming dwarfed, and the communities become weaker, and more helpless, with each succeeding year.

Seeing all these facts, we are led, and that, too, irresistibly, to the conclusion that the advance of communities towards wealth, strength, and power, and that of their members in morals, intellect, and happiness, *is in the inverse ratio of the proportion borne by the land they occupy, to the people by whom it is occupied* — the tendency towards civilization being in the direct ratio of the power of association and combination. Such was the conclusion at which thoughtful men had been generally led to arrive, a century since. Until then, growth in wealth and strength had been regarded as being inseparably connected with increase of numbers — all Europe then uniting with Adam Smith in the belief that "the most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country" was to be found "in the increase of the number of its inhabitants."* Dr. Smith, therefore, believed in the advantage to a country resulting from "the liberal reward of labor"— while throughout his work, denouncing the system based upon the idea of cheapening the raw products of the earth, and thus enslaving the man to whose labor they were due.

Holding agriculture in high esteem, and regarding it, as it is, in the light of the most ennobling of human pursuits, he in no manner sympathised with those of his contemporaries who sought to build up trade, by means of measures involving a sacrifice of

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. viii.

the interests of both the artisan and the man who held the plough. Seeking for an emphatic denunciation of all the modern British doctrines in regard to land and labor, we must turn to the *Wealth of Nations* — a great work, whose essential errors have been carefully adopted by the Ricardo-Malthusian school, while rejecting all its truths.

§ 10. Passing, in the foregoing diagram, from left to right, circulation becomes more rapid — land becoming divided — and man becoming free as prices more and more approximate. Passing in the other direction, land becomes consolidated, and man becomes less free — prices more and more diverging from each other as the trader acquires power at the expense of both. The phenomena presented to view by the United States are those of this latter species — the tendency being towards consolidation of the land, extension of slavery, and decline of all their raw products, when compared with any of the metallic products of the earth. Why this is so, we may now inquire.

The colonial system had for its object a stoppage of circulation among the colonists, with a view to compel the export of raw materials, and their importation in the form of cloth and iron. That such a policy tended towards the destruction of the value of both land and man, was well understood by Franklin, according to whom, it was, in 1771, "well known and understood that whenever a manufacture is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land, and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufactures to that part of the country. It seems, therefore," as he continues, "the interest of all our farmers and owners of lands to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries." Such was, then, the almost universal feeling of the country, and to this, far more than to the tax on tea, or the stamp act, the revolutionary movement was due.

With the establishment of their independence, the necessity for submission to the system disappeared. The habit of submission continuing, however, its effects are felt in the fact, that, with slight exceptions, the policy of the country has been directed

towards securing markets for raw products — a proceeding resulting necessarily in exhaustion of the land, dispersion of the population, and stoppage of societary circulation. In despite of this, certain descriptions of manufactures have, at the North, grown slowly up; but, in the Southern States, failure has attended almost every effort in that direction. The prohibitory laws having most effectually prevented the introduction of any of the mechanic arts, those States exhibited, everywhere, a small population scattered over extensive surfaces, unable to combine their labors, and exhausting all their energies in the effort to reach a market. Virginia, the largest of them, contained 40,000,000 acres; and yet her population was only 600,000. The power to combine having no existence, coal could not be mined, nor could wool be spun or cloth be woven. The smaller the bulk of the commodities taken from the land, the less being the charge for transportation, the planter found himself limited to the most exhausting of all the crops — tobacco. He lived, in fact, by the sale of the soil itself, and not by the product of his labor. He and his land becoming impoverished together, he was compelled to transport himself and his people to more distant lands, with constant increase of the tax of transportation, and as constant decrease in the rapidity of circulation.

Cultivation commencing always on the poorer soils, and the richer ones awaiting the growth of wealth and population, the latter remained untouched. Hence it is, that a distinguished Virginian is now enabled to assure his countrymen of the vast advantages that must result from such a change of system as would reduce to cultivation the richer soils, while restoring those which have been exhausted. Adopting the one he proposes, the advantages to South Virginia alone, will, as he says, amount to $500,000,000 — giving "strength, physical, intellectual, and moral, as well as revenue to the commonwealth, which will," as he continues, "derive new and great increase from the growing improvements of that one, and the smallest, of the great divisions of her territory, which was the poorest by natural constitution — still more the poorest by long-exhausting tillage — its best population gone or going away, and the remaining portion sinking into apathy and degradation, and having no hope left except that so almost universally entertained, of fleeing from the

ruined country, and renewing the work of destruction on the fertile lands of the far West."*

North Carolina is rich in lands, undrained and uncultivated, while coal and iron ore abound. Her area is greater than that of Ireland, and yet her population is but 868,000—having increased but 130,000 in twenty years. In South Carolina, the course of things has been precisely the same with that described in reference to Virginia; yet the State, says Governor Seabrook, has "millions of uncleared acres of unsurpassed fertility, which seem to solicit a trial of their powers from the people of the plantation States." * * * "In her borders," as he continues, "there is scarcely a vegetable product essential to the human race that cannot be furnished." Marl and lime abound, millions of acres of rich meadow-land remain in a state of nature, and "the sea-shore parishes," he adds, "possess unfailing supplies of salt mud, salt grass, and shell-lime." So great, nevertheless, has been the tendency to the abandonment of the land, that, in the decade from 1830 to 1840, the white population increased but 1000 and the black but 12,000; whereas the natural increase alone would have given at least 150,000.

Allowing Virginia, at the close of the Revolution, 600,000 people, she should now have—excluding all allowance for immigration—4,000,000, or one to every ten acres; and no one at all familiar with the vast advantages of the State, can doubt her capability of supporting more than thrice that number.† Nevertheless, the total population, in 1850, was but 1,424,000—the increase in twenty years having been but 200,000; when it should have been 1,200,000. Seeking to know what has become of all these people, the reader may find them among the millions now inhabiting Alabama and Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. Desiring next to know why they are there, the answer to the question may be given in the words: "They borrowed from the earth, but they did not repay, and she expelled them."

When men come together and combine their efforts, they are enabled to bring into activity all the vast and various powers of the earth—the more they come together, the greater being the

* Ruffin: *Essay on Manures.*

† The superficial area of the State is 64,000 square miles—being greater than that of England, and double that of Ireland.

value of land and the demand for labor — the higher their prices — and the greater the freedom of man. When, on the contrary, they fly apart, the greater is the tendency to a decline in the value of land, the less is the value of labor, and the less the freedom of man. Desiring, then, to ascertain the ultimate cause of the existence of the domestic slave-trade, it would seem to be necessary only to ascertain the causes of the exhaustion of the land. Seeking to discover these, we find in the works of British writers that "the mode of agriculture usually coincident with the employment of slave labor is essentially exhaustive"— slavery thus being given, as the cause of declining agriculture. As usual, however, cause and effect are here inverted — a declining agriculture being the cause of slavery extension. In proof of this, we need only look to Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, or any other country in which diversity of employments has not arisen, or in which it has ceased to exist, as a consequence of a system tending towards the separation of the consumer from the producer. In all such countries — the circulation being necessarily slow — it is as entirely impossible that there should be physical health, as it would be in a human body similarly situated. The more rapid the circulation, the higher will always be found the health of both.

It is not slavery that produces exhaustion of the soil, but exhaustion of the soil that causes slavery to continue. The people of England rose from slavery to freedom as the land was made productive — larger numbers being thus enabled to obtain subsistence from similar surfaces; and it was precisely as land acquired value that they were freed. Such, too, has been the case with every people that has been enabled to pay its debts to mother earth, because of having a market near at hand. On the contrary, there is no country in the world, in which men have been deprived of the power to improve their land, in which slavery has not been maintained—becoming aggravated in intensity as the land became more and more exhausted. It is to this perpetual separation from each other that the poverty and weakness of the Southern portion of the Union are due.

At the close of the Revolution, the now slave States contained 1,600,000 people, scattered over 120,000,000 of acres — giving an average of about eighty acres to each. In 1850, their numbers had grown to 8,500,000, with an area

of more than 1,000,000,000 — giving to each more than one hundred acres. Circulation being, therefore, languid to a degree that is almost inconceivable, production is trivial in its amount, as is shown by an estimate for 1850, furnished by a Southern journal of undoubted reputation :—

Cotton	105,600,000	
Tobacco	15,000,000	
Rice	3,000,000	
Naval stores	2,000,000	
Sugar	12,396,150	
Hemp	695,840	138,691,990 *
Adding for food an equal amount		138,691,990
And for all other products		22,616,020
We obtain		$300,000,000

as the total production of eight millions and a half of people, or $35 each. Taking, now, the total production of the Union at $3,600,000,000, we have for 14,500,000 of Northern people $3,000,000,000 — being nearly seven times as much per head. In the one — all being limited to the work of exhausting the land, and all living by the sale of the soil — the circulation is slow, and labor is wasted. In the other — the circulation being somewhat more rapid — labor is, in some degree, economised.

The slower the circulation, the more is the tendency towards slavery ; and hence it is, that slavery so much advances. That it may become otherwise, the planter must be compelled to pay his debts to the land ; and that he cannot be, while obliged to resort to the distant market. Obvious as is this truth, distinguished Englishmen congratulate their countrymen on the working of the free-trade system, in destroying the domestic manufactures of Carolina and other Southern States, and thus compelling the export of cotton in its rudest state. But a few years since, Georgia promised to become a principal seat of the cotton manufacture for the world. Now, she exports her people so rapidly, that, with every natural advantage, her population has grown, in the last five years, but three per cent. Hence the existence of a domestic slave-trade that shocks the feelings of Christian men ; and hence, too, the discord between the Northern and Southern portions of the Union.

* *De Bow's Review.*

That the slave-trade, with its accompanying violation of the rights of parents and children, and with its natural tendency towards a total forgetfulness of the sanctity of the marriage tie, has its origin in the exhaustion of the land, there can be no doubt. That that, in its turn, has its origin in the necessity for a dependence on distant markets, is quite as certain. The man who must go to a distance with his products, cannot raise potatoes, hay, or turnips. He must raise the less bulky articles, wheat or cotton — taking from his land all the elements of which they are composed, and then abandoning it.* Forced, thus, to stake his existence on the success of a single crop, he finds himself wholly deprived of the power of associating with his fellow-man, for purposes of drainage, or for in any manner securing himself against the risks attendant upon changes of the weather. Being himself but the slave of nature, it is as a necessary consequence that the laborer is everywhere the slave of his fellow-man.

The more the planter is forced to depend upon foreign markets, the greater must be the tendency to decline of quantity, and diminution in the price of what is produced — and the greater that towards exhaustion of the soil, expulsion of the people, and further diminution in the rapidity of circulation.

The state of facts above presented in reference to the Southern States is generally true throughout the Union. At the commencement of the century, their total population was 5,300,000 — giving 6.47 per square mile. Half a century later, their numbers had quadrupled — having risen to 23,190,000. The territory, however, having increased almost in like proportion, the density of population was but little changed — standing at only 7.90 per mile. In the first period, the territory occupied extended but little beyond the Allegheny ridge—the territory

* Western New York has probably the best wheat lands of the world; and yet the question is there discussed, as to the possibility of being forced to abandon the wheat culture. The difficulty results from the incessant ravages of the weevil and the Hessian fly. That, in its turn, results from weakness of the plant, caused by the absence of its appropriate food. That food — ammonia — being largely contained in clover, pears, beans, beets, artichokes, lupines, and other vegetables, their cultivation is recommended as furnishing a cure for the now rapidly growing evil; but, unfortunately, the market is distant, and commodities of which the earth yields largely will not bear transportation. Make a market on the land, and both the weevil and the fly will disappear — the power of man over nature always growing with the growth of the power of combination.

totally unoccupied, bearing to it a proportion not widely different from that of the present day. Making allowance for any difference that may exist, the density of population is certainly not one-half greater than it was half a century since. The theory of the governmental policy being that of the exportation of raw products — exhaustion of the soil — diffusion of population — diminution of the power of association — and growing dependence on ships, wagons, railroad cars and engines — its results are seen in the facts, that the rural population of a State like New York, with all its immense advantages, is now declining; that its land is becoming more and more consolidated; that the power to maintain schools and churches is regularly diminishing—centralization growing steadily, with constant diminution in the rapidity of the societary circulation, and equally constant increase of pauperism and of crime. Such are the necessary consequences of a system that forbids the growth of the mechanic arts, and thus prevents development of the powers of the land, and of the man by whom it is tilled. Ohio, a State, that half a century since, was a wilderness, is following rapidly in the same direction; and for the reason, that, with all the vast abundance of coal and ore within her limits, her people are compelled to go abroad for cloth and iron — paying for them by the sale of all the elements of which their rude products are composed.

§ 11. With every step in the progress of dispersion, the dependence of the people upon the trader becomes more and more complete, and the larger, necessarily, is the proportion borne by the capital which is movable to that which is fixed. The tendencies of the system of the United States being all in that direction, the population becomes from year to year more nomadic; and hence it is, that the movable capital bears to the whole mass, as has been already shown, a larger proportion than is to be found among any people of the world, claiming to be considered civilized. In that direction lie sluggish circulation, demoralization, slavery, and barbarism. That the circulation may be rapid, men must come more nearly together—the land must be improved — and the fertile soils must be subjected to cultivation; but that these things may be done, there *must* be that diversity of employments which tends to the development

of the powers of the MAN. Directly the reverse of all this being the general tendency of their policy, the world is shocked by the now-daily-repeated assertion that "free society has proved a failure" — the most perfect form of society being that in which the man who labors is a slave to him who lives by trading in the products of the sweat and toil of others, created, like himself, in the image of their Creator, and, equally with himself, entitled to claim a right freely to apply their powers, in the manner that may seem best fitted for enabling them to support themselves, their wives and children. The belief in the divine origin of slavery *must* arise, and must be strengthened, in any community in which trade acquires power at the expense of commerce.

§ 12. By many English and French writers, the advantage resulting from division of the land has been denied—the advances made in English agriculture being, as they tell us, evidence of the benefit to be derived from consolidation. The question, however, lies in a nutshell. That system is best, which most promotes rapidity of circulation — it being the one which gives the largest amount of force. The land becoming divided, each little farm becomes a *saving fund* for labor, to be on the instant profitably applied. Becoming consolidated, the day-laborer takes the place of the small proprietor, with constant waste of force — the laborer expending in public-houses the time that would have been given to his little farm—the great farmer saving up the produce of his crops, to enable him to pay his rent — and the landlord applying his income to the purchase of horses and dogs, while his land remains unproductive, because unimproved. Under such circumstances, the circulation becomes more sluggish from day to day, with constant decline of force. Land becomes consolidated in India, Ireland, Jamaica, Portugal, and Turkey, the weakest communities of the world. It becomes more and more divided, and its circulation becomes more active, in France, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and Russia, the advancing communities of Europe. Until, then, it can be shown, that there is one law for England, and another for all the rest of the world, it will have to be admitted that the more rapid the circulation of fixed property, the greater must be the force.

§ 13. Capital is, however, as we are told, indispensable to improvement. What, however, *is* this capital, which is so much required? The small proprietor feeds himself and his family — thus consuming capital. The act of production becomes, however, with him an act of consumption — finding, as he does, a fund in which at once to re-invest the muscular and mental capital, resulting from the previous consumption. That being the order of things which in every country is "promoted by the natural inclinations of man,"* "if human institutions had not thwarted those natural inclinations, the towns could nowhere have increased beyond what the improvement and cultivation of the country in which they were situated would support."† The artisan and the laborer would have been everywhere seen placing themselves where food was cheap — force being thus economised, and capital created — while "the beauty of the country, the pleasures of a country life, the tranquillity of mind which it promises, and, wherever the injustice of human laws does not disturb it, the independency which it really affords," would have presented, says Adam Smith, those "charms which more or less attract everybody."‡ There being thus made, everywhere, a market on the land for the products of the land, "the inland or home trade, the most important of all, the trade in which an equal capital affords the largest income" — creating the largest demand for labor, because creating the greatest supply of things to be given in exchange, and thus augmenting the rapidity of circulation — would not, as is now the case, have been regarded as "wholly subsidiary to the foreign trade."§

Such being the doctrines of Adam Smith, it is impossible to read his book, without a feeling of admiration for the man who so clearly, and so early, saw the course of policy tending most to increase the happiness and respectability, the strength and independence, of men and nations. Believing in the advantage resulting from division of the land, he pointed distinctly to the course which tended to its accomplishment. Feeling with "the small proprietor," familiar with "every part of his little territory," and viewing it with "all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who on that

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 3, chap. i.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid, book 10, chap. i.

account takes pleasure not only in cultivating it, but in adorning it," he did not fail to see that he was, "of all improvers, the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most successful;" and, as he might well have added, the one to whom the world is most indebted for the creation of capital.

To suppose that land asks capital, is a mistake. The earth is the great donor—all she asks in return being that, when man has done with her gifts, he will return them to her, and thus enable her to increase the amount on the next occasion. The English tenant cannot improve his land as he would do, were he its owner. He must retain as much as will pay his landlord; and it is because of this stoppage of the circulation, that the latter fancies himself, when making improvements, to be giving to the land, when the latter is always giving to him. Had the tenant been the owner of the ill-treated machine, he would have given it twice as much, making no charge—crediting it, on the contrary, with the portion retained for his own consumption. When English landlords talk of spending five or ten pounds per acre, it sounds very large; but, as usual, the real grandeur is in the inverse ratio of that which is apparent. The man who cultivates his own land, puts on twice as much—doing it from year to year, insensibly, and the land being rendered twice more productive by the one operation, than by the other. Nature performs all her operations slowly and gently, but steadily; and the nearer man approaches her, the more nearly is he right. The man who improves his own land works with a long lever, and little power is required. The landlord works with a short lever—requiring far more power, to produce a like effect.*

* "Wherever are found peasant proprietors, are also found that ease, that security, that independence, and that confidence in the future, which insure at the same time happiness and virtue. The peasant who, with his family, does all the work on his little inheritance, who neither pays rent to any one above him, nor wages to any below him, who regulates his production by his consumption, who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, and is clothed with his own flax and wool, cares little about knowing the price of the market; for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never ruined by the revolutions of commerce. Far from fearing for the future, it is embellished by his hopes; for he puts out to profit, for his children or for ages to come, every instant which is not required by the labor of the year. Only a few moments, stolen from otherwise lost time, are required to put into the ground the nut which in a hundred years will become a large tree; to hollow out the aqueduct which will drain his field forever; to form the conduit which will bring him a spring of water; to improve, by many little labors

The whole system of Dr. Smith looks to an increase in the power to maintain commerce, resulting from increase in the power of man to gratify his "natural inclination" for association with his fellow-men. That of his successors looks, as will now be shown, to increased *necessity for trade*, and diminished power of combination with his fellow-men. In the school of the one, *commerce* is regarded as the handmaid of agriculture. In the other, *trade* is master. In the countries that follow in the train of the one, the distribution of the proceeds of labor becomes from day to day more equitable, and man becomes more free. In those which follow in that of the other, it becomes less equitable, and man becomes enslaved.

§ 14. In the physical world, motion is indispensable to the existence of force. Motion, itself, is a consequence of heat. So, too—the physical and social laws being one and the same—should it be in the societary world. Whence, however, comes the heat to which its motion and its force are due? The answer to this question is found in the important principle, recently so well established, that motion is the cause of heat, as heat, in turn, is the cause of motion.* The more the motion, the greater is the heat; and the greater the heat, the greater is the tendency

and attentions bestowed in spare moments, all the kinds of animals and vegetables by which he is surrounded. This little patrimony is a true savings-bank, always ready to receive his little profits, and usefully to employ his leisure moments. The ever-acting powers of nature make his labors fruitful, and return to him a hundredfold. The peasant has a strong sense of the happiness attached to the condition of proprietor. Thus he is always eager to purchase land at any price. He pays for it more than it is worth; but what reason he has to esteem at a high price the advantage of thenceforward always employing his labor advantageously, without being obliged to offer it cheap, and of always finding his bread when he wants it, without being obliged to buy it dear!"—SISMONDI.

* "An instrument was exhibited [by Professor W. Thompson, before the Royal Institution, London], by means of which the temperature of a small quantity of water contained in a shallow circular case provided with vanes in its top and bottom, and violently agitated by a circular disc provided with similar vanes, and made to turn rapidly round, could easily be raised in temperature several degrees in a few minutes by the power of a man, and by means of which steam-power applied to turn the disc had raised the temperature of the water by 30 degrees in half an hour. The bearings of the shaft, to the end of which the disc was attached, were entirely external; so that there was no friction of solids under the water, and no way of accounting for the heat developed except by the friction in the fluid itself. It was pointed out that the heat thus obtained is not *produced from a source*, but is *generated;* and that what is called into existence by the work of a man's arm cannot be matter."—*Annual of Scientific Discovery*, 1853, p. 185.

towards acceleration of motion, and of force. Desiring, now, to see the application of this simple principle to social science, the reader will do well to refer once more to the foregoing diagram. Doing this, he finds, on the left, a total absence of societary motion, of heat, and of force. Passing thence, gradually, towards the right, he finds a steady increase of all, until, at length, reaching the New England States, he finds more motion, and more heat, than in any other portion of the Western continent, and a larger amount of force. Looking now across the Atlantic, he finds them all combined in France and Germany; whereas, in Portugal and Turkey, there is neither motion, heat, nor force. Comparing Auvergne with Normandy — the Highlands of Scotland with the Lowlands — or Castile and Aragon with Biscay, he obtains precisely the same results — circulation being sluggish, and heat, and force, scarcely at all existing, in the first; while in the last, they all abound. Why this is so, will readily be understood after a perusal of the following passage in reference to the latent properties of matter:—

"Any piece of matter, or any group of bodies, however connected, which either is in motion, or can get into motion, without external assistance, has what is called mechanical energy. The energy of motion may be called either "dynamical energy" or "actual energy." The energy of the material system at rest, in virtue of which it can get into motion, is called "potential energy," or, generally, motive power existent among different pieces of matter, in virtue of their relative positions, is called potential energy. To show the use of these terms, and explain the ideas of a *store of energy*, and of conversions and transformations of energy, various illustrations were adduced. A stone at a height, or an elevated reservoir of water, has potential energy. If the stone be let fall, its potential energy is converted into actual energy during its descent, exists entirely as the actual energy of its own motion at the instant before it strikes, and is transformed into heat at the moment of coming to rest on the ground. If the water flow down by a gradual channel, its potential energy is gradually converted into heat by fluid friction, and the fluid becomes warmer by a degree Fahr. for every 722 feet of the descent. * * * Potential energy of gravitation is possessed by every two pieces of matter at a distance from one

another; but there is also potential energy in the mutual action of contiguous particles in a spring when bent, or in an elastic cord when stretched. There is potential energy of electric force in any distribution of electricity, or among any group of electrified bodies. There is potential energy of magnetic force, between the different parts of a steel magnet; or between different steel magnets; or between a magnet and a body of any substance of either paramagnetic or diamagnetic inductive capacity. There is potential energy of chemical force between any two substances which have what is called affinity for one another; for instance, between fuel and oxygen, between food and oxygen, between zinc in a galvanic battery and oxygen. There is a potential energy of chemical force among the different ingredients of gunpowder or gun-cotton. There is potential energy of what may be called chemical force, among the particles of soft phosphorus, which is spent in the allotropic transformation into red phosphorus; and among the particles of prismatically crystallized sulphur, which is spent when the substance assumes the octahedral crystallization." *

Potential energy exists throughout nature, waiting the command of man. Seeking its development, he commences by resolving compounds into their various parts — individualizing their various elements, and thus producing motion, heat, and force. More than anywhere else in the material world, however, potential energy is found in man — the being placed at the head of nature, and endowed with powers fitting him for so directing her operations as to give development to the latent forces that everywhere so much abound. His energies, however, like those of inorganic matter, being latent, they, too, require motion and heat for their development. That there may be motion, there must be produced in society that same decomposition which he himself seeks to produce in water when desiring to obtain steam. That decomposition is a consequence of combination with his fellow-men — individuality growing always, in the direct ratio of the ability of each and every man to apply himself in the direction most calculated to bring into action the "potential energy" with which he has been endowed. That combination

* Professor W. Thompson: Lecture before the Royal Institution of London, as reported in the Annual of Scientific Discovery, 1857; p. 185.

may take place, and that individuality may be developed, there must be difference of employments — the artisan and the ploughman taking their places by each other.

Throughout the world, human energy is developed in the ratio of the existence of those differences which are required for the constitution of a society perfect in itself, and exercising, in relation to the world at large, that entire individuality which distinguishes the properly constituted MAN — the rapidity of circulation being then in a ratio correspondent to the development of human power. "The more perfect a being, the more dissimilar," says Goëthe, "are the parts."* In Ireland, India, Turkey, Portugal, Jamaica, and Carolina, all the parts are alike; and hence it is, that the potential energy of the people remains latent—that the circulation is sluggish—and that the people remain enslaved. In France, Germany, and Massachusetts, differences are numerous; and hence it is, that the powers of their people become more developed from day to day — that the circulation becomes more rapid — and that the people become more free.

The more rapid the circulation throughout the physical body, the more perfect is the *distribution* of force among its various parts — the higher is the health — and the greater is the force exerted. So, too, as we shall have occasion to see, is it in the social body — the distribution of the proceeds of labor becoming more equitable, and societary action more healthy, in the precise ratio of increase in the circulation. Look where we may, we find evidence of the universality of those great laws instituted for the government of matter in all its forms — heat, motion, and force, being everywhere found, in the precise ratio of the development of individuality, and of the power of association and combination.

Turning, however, to Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo, we find the reverse of this — man becoming more and more the slave of nature, as he grows in the power of combination with his fellow-men — and the distribution becoming more unequal, and unjust, as communities more abound in wealth.

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 53.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF DISTRIBUTION.

I.—*Of Wages, Profit, and Interest.*

§ 1. CAPITAL — the instrument by means of which man acquires power to direct the forces of nature to his service — is a result of the accumulated mental and physical efforts of the past. The standing tree was as fully susceptible of being rendered available to Crusoe's purposes, as it could have become had it been felled; but its powers were latent; and so remained, too, at the close of years of constant, but ineffectual, effort for attaining power so to guide and direct them, as to make them contribute to his support. The fibre required for his bow had been at all times equally capable of rendering service, but without an exercise of that mental effort of which man, alone, is capable, the bow would have remained unmade — the properties of both the wood and the fibre still continuing latent. Once made, its value was great — having been obtained at the cost of serious labor. Its utility was small, for it was capable of little work.

Friday had no canoe, nor had he acquired the mental capital required for producing such an instrument. Had Crusoe owned one, and had Friday desired to borrow it, the former might thus have answered him: "Fish abound at some little distance from the shore, whereas they are scarce in our immediate neighborhood. Working without the help of my canoe, you will scarcely, with all your labor, obtain the food required for the preservation of life; whereas, with it, you will, with half your time, take as many fish as will supply us both. Give me three-fourths of all you take, and you shall have the remainder for your services. This will secure you an abundant supply of food — leaving much of your time unoccupied, to be applied to giving yourself better shelter and better clothing."

Hard as this might seem, Friday would have accepted the offer—profiting by Crusoe's capital, though paying dearly for its use. Reflection, however, would have led him soon to see, that if he could become himself owner of a boat, he could retain the entire product—thus obtaining, in exchange for three hours' labor, the food for which he now gave twelve. Stimulated by this idea, and desirous of utilizing the time and force already economised, he next makes terms with Crusoe for the use of his knife — in process of time becoming, by its aid, possessor of a boat. Both being now capitalists, their conditions would have much approximated—notwithstanding the advances that Crusoe might, himself, have made. At first, his wealth stood at 10, while that of Friday, was at 0. The former has now reached 40, but the latter has attained to 5 or 10. Tendency towards equality is, thus, a natural consequence of that growth of wealth, by means of which man is enabled to substitute mental for merely physical force. Every increase in his power over nature is but the preparation for further and greater motion in the same direction — the forces which had opposed his progress becoming gradually centred in himself, and aiding in the subjection of others, whose power being greater, more strenuously resist his efforts. Therefore it is, that here, as everywhere, it is the first step that is most costly, yet least productive. Look where we may, we see man passing from the weaker towards the more powerful instruments of production — the poor settler gladly using wood-coal in the production of iron, although surrounded by mineral coal capable of performing thrice the service, in return for half the labor. The more the capability of rendering service, the greater is the resistance to be overcome, whether we desire to command the services of men, or things, in which that power resides. The laws of nature are thus, as we see, of universal truth — being equally applicable to man and to the forces given by the Creator for his use.

§ 2. The bow having brought with it power over nature, its next effect is found in increase of Friday's power to direct himself. Having leisure, he devotes it to the construction of a canoe —by help of which he obtains further leisure. Giving this to the making of a knife and sail, all next combine for giving him power

to be applied to the construction of a house — the quantity of labor required for *reproducing* existing capital, and further extending the quantity of capital, diminishing with every stage of progress. Past accumulations tend steadily to decline in value — labor rising not less steadily when compared with them. The first stone-knife was the fruit of far more effort than was afterwards required for making one of bronze — the latter proving, however, a far more efficient instrument. The stone-axe ceases now to have any value whatsoever; and yet, in the earlier periods, its services had been held as equal to three-fourths of those of the man who used it. The axe of iron and steel now coming into use, and proving still more efficient, the bronze axe, in turn, declines in value. The more useful instrument being obtained, too, in return for far less effort than had before been given for the inferior one — the decline in the value of earlier ones is thus again increased. Mind having obtained command over matter, the great natural forces become centred in man, who now discards the earlier instruments — preserving specimens, only as curious evidences of the inferiority of his predecessors, who had wrought with their hands alone.

Measuring himself against his products and his instruments, man attributes to himself every increase of utility in the materials by which he is surrounded. The greater that utility, the higher is his own value, and the less that of the things he needs. The cost of reproduction steadily declining, he himself as steadily rises — every reduction in the value of existing capital being so much added to the value of the MAN.

§ 3. Little as was the work that could be done with the help of an axe of stone, its service to the owner had been very great. It was, therefore, clear to him, that the man to whom he lent it should pay him largely for its use. He could, too, as we readily see, well afford to do so. Cutting, with it, more wood in a day than, without it, he could cut in a month, he would profit by its help, were he allowed but a tenth of his labor's products. Being permitted to retain a fourth, he finds his wages much increased, notwithstanding the large *proportion* claimed, as profit, by his neighbor capitalist.

The bronze-axe being next obtained, and proving far more useful, its owner—being asked to grant its use—is now, however, required to recollect, that not only had the productiveness of labor greatly increased, but the quantity required to be given to the production of an axe had also greatly decreased — capital thus declining in its power over labor, as labor increased in its power for the *reproduction* of capital. He, therefore, limits himself to demanding two-thirds of the price of the more potent instrument—saying to the wood-cutter: "You can do twice as much work with this, as you now do with our neighbor's stone-axe; and if I permit you to retain a third of the wood that is cut, your wages will still be doubled." This arrangement being made, the comparative effects of the earlier and later distributions are as follows:—

	Total product.	Laborer's share.	Capitalist's share.
First	4	1	3
Second	8	2.66	5.33

The reward of labor has more than doubled, as a consequence of the receipt of an *increased proportion* of an increased quantity. The capitalist's share has not quite doubled—he receiving a *diminished proportion* of the same increased quantity. The position of the laborer, which had, at first, stood as only one to three, is now as one to two; with great increase of power to accumulate, and thus to become himself a capitalist. With the substitution of mental for merely physical power, the tendency to equality becomes more and more developed.

The axe of iron next coming, a new distribution is required — the cost of reproduction having again diminished, while labor has again increased in its proportions, as compared with capital. The new instrument cuts twice as much as had been cut by the one of bronze; and yet its owner finds himself compelled to be content with claiming half the product — the following figures now presenting a comparative view of the several modes of distribution:—

	Total.	Laborer.	Capitalist.
First	4	1	3
Second	8	2.66	5.33
Third	16	8	8

The axe of iron and steel now coming, the product is again doubled, with further diminution in the cost of reproduction;

and now the capitalist is obliged to content himself with a less proportion — the distribution being as follows: —

Fourth..... 32 ..... 19.20 ..... 12.80

The laborer's share has increased; and — the total product having largely increased — the augmentation of his quantity is very great. That of the capitalist has diminished in proportion; but — the product having so much increased — this reduction of proportion has been accompanied by a large increase of quantity. Both thus profit greatly by the improvements that have been effected. With every further movement in the same direction, the same results continue to be obtained — the proportion of the laborer increasing with every increase in the productiveness of effort — the proportion of the capitalist as steadily diminishing, with constant increase of quantity, and equally constant tendency towards equality among the various portions of which society is composed. The more rapid the progress, the greater is the tendency of mind to acquire power over matter — the value of man rising as compared with capital, and that of capital declining as compared with man. In the natural course of things, the laborers of the present tend, therefore, to acquire power at the cost of the accumulations of the past — that tendency existing, everywhere, in the direct ratio of the rapidity of the circulation, and consequent growth of the power of accumulation.

Such is the great law governing the distribution of labor's products. Of all recorded in the book of science, it is perhaps the most beautiful — being, as it is, that one, in virtue of which there is established a perfect harmony of real and true interests among the various classes of mankind. Still further, it establishes the fact, that, however great may have been the oppressions of the many at the hands of the few — however large the accumulations resulting from the exercise of the power of appropriation — however striking the existing distinctions among men — all that is required for establishing, everywhere, perfect equality before the law, and for promoting equality in social condition generally, is the pursuit of a system tending to establish in the highest degree the power of association and the development of individuality — that system being found in the observance of

perfect respect for the rights of others — thus securing the maintenance of peace, and promoting the growth of wealth and population, both abroad and at home. The more rapid the increase of man's control over nature, the greater must be the tendency towards the establishment of power to direct himself — wealth and power travelling, thus, together.

§ 4. That the law here given, as regards the return to capital invested in axes, is equally true in reference to all other descriptions of capital, will be obvious to the reader upon slight reflection. The house in which he lives, long since produced, cost much more labor than, with the help of the planing, brick-making, and various other labor-saving instruments, would now be required for producing one much superior, both in appearance and convenience; and, with that change, there has been so great a decline in the value of previously existing houses, that it might not exchange for half the labor it had cost. Being asked to pay a rent for it, he would not now be willing to give more than half as much as had at first been paid; and yet, by reason of his increased power over nature, his own physical, or mental, powers would command twice the compensation that had, before, been willingly accepted. This decline in the value of old houses, is constantly being proved by the fact, that they are being everywhere condemned as wholly worthless, and no longer worthy to cumber the ground.

So, too, with money. Brutus charged almost fifty per cent. interest for its use; and, in the days of Henry VIII., the proportion allotted by law to the lender was ten. Since then, it has steadily declined — four per cent. having become so much the established rate, in England, that property is uniformly estimated at twenty-five years' purchase of the rent; so large, nevertheless, having been the increase in the powers of man, that the present receiver of a twenty-fifth can command an amount of convenience, and of comfort, twice greater than could have been obtained by his predecessors who received a tenth. In this decline in the proportion charged for the use of capital, we find the highest proof of man's improved condition. It is evidence that the labors of the present are becoming daily more productive — that the value of all commodities, as measured by labor, is steadily

declining — that the laborer is rising, as compared with the capitalist, with constantly increasing facility for becoming himself a capitalist — and that the MAN is becoming more and more developed.

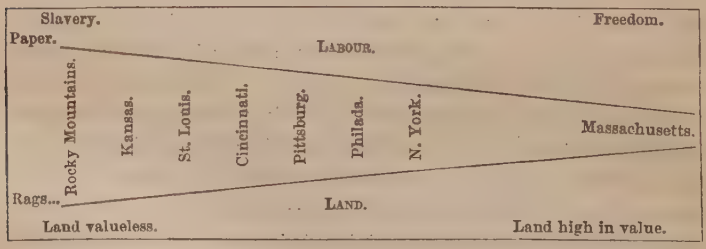
The proportion charged, as interest, in purely agricultural countries, is always high — money, there, tending always outwards. The few who can command the services of this most powerful instrument — the one whose possession enables its owner to select at will from among the commodities in market — will not part with that power, except in consideration of having it returned with large increase. The trader, too, must have large profits — being compelled to forego the high interest he might receive from lending out his money; even when not, himself, compelled to pay such interest. Large, however, as are the proportions, the quantities received are very small — the capital to be lent being trivial in amount, and the quantity of commodities that can be sold, being very small indeed. With the increase of population and wealth, the *proportion* declines — interest falling to five or six per cent.; but the trader finds his business so much increased, that, whereas, he could scarcely live when he had fifty per cent., he now grows rich upon ten per cent.; while his neighbor, transacting business on a larger scale, accumulates a fortune by means of charges not exceeding one per cent. — all thus obtaining a constantly *increasing quantity*, by means of the retention of a constantly *diminishing proportion* of the property passing through their hands.

So, too, in manufactures. The lonely weaver, with his single loom, must have half the product of his labor, or he could not live. With the growth of wealth, and the increased facility of combination, thousands of looms are brought together, to be driven by the force of steam — labor being thus rendered so much more productive, that a tenth, or even a twentieth part gives large return for the capital so employed.

The canoe carrying but little, the man who manages it must have a large proportion for his labor. The ship carrying many thousands of barrels, the power of association is here strongly exhibited, in the facility with which a dozen men are enabled to do the work that would have required thousands obliged to use canoes — the necessary consequence being, that the owner of a

ship is better paid with a twentieth of the cargo, than would have been the owners of the canoes, had they retained the whole of the commodities they carried. Railroad owners grow rich on one per cent. of the commodities carried; whereas the wagoner barely lives on ten per cent. The owner of the machines first used for pounding grain, required to retain a large proportion of the produce of his labor; whereas the owner of the great flour-mill grows rich on portions that would be wasted, were it not for the facility with which production and consumption follow each other at that period of society when mills like his are needed. The more rapid the circulation, the smaller must always be the capitalist's proportion — the greater being then the tendency towards diminution in the cost of reproducing the machinery in which his capital is invested. The larger, however, must then be his quantity — labor becoming daily more productive, with constant diminution in the cost of the finished commodities he needs.

§ 5. The closer the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished commodities, the smaller, necessarily, becomes the proportion of labor's products demandable in the form of profits, interests, freights, or rents, as will be clear to the reader on a further examination of the diagram here re-introduced.



On the left, the trader's proportion is large. The quantity of profit is, however, so small, that few can live by trade. Although the rate of interest would be *cent. per cent.*, at least, no capitalist would think of making investments there. Freight absorbs so large a proportion of the profits, that the laborer is the trader's slave, and land is wholly valueless. The rent that there would be demanded for a spot of ground that had been prepared for cultivation, and upon which a man could securely labor, would be

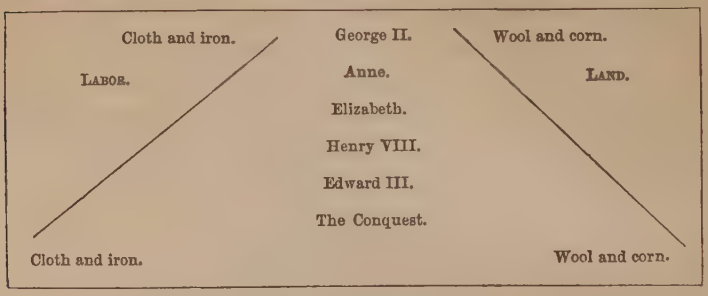
such as to absorb nearly all the produce. Profits, interests, freights, and rents, would all be large in proportion, but utterly insignificant in amount.

Passing thence eastward, and arriving on the plains of Kansas, we find the trader receiving more in quantity, though greatly less in proportion to the business transacted. Forty, fifty, or sixty *per cent.* per annum, being there a common rate of interest, the man who builds a house, or store, expects his rent to be nearly in that proportion. Land and labor have acquired value, as compared with the region further west, while finished commodities have become cheaper — leaving a smaller proportion of labor's products, to be absorbed by the man who stands between the producer and the consumer. At each step further east, the proportion of the middleman further declines, with corresponding growth in the value of land and labor — and corresponding decline in the rate of profit and of interest — until at length, in Massachusetts, we find the producer and the consumer so nearly brought together, as to leave but a very small proportion, of the total quantity, to be divided among the traders in money, or in merchandise; yet, there it is, that fortunes accumulate with more rapidity than in any other portion of the western world.

There arrived, however, and passing downward through the various strata of society, we meet with phenomena similar to those that would be found on turning our faces once more westward. The poorer the man, the larger is the rate of interest he is required to pay; and the smaller the lodging he occupies, the larger being the proportion borne by rent to wages, and by his landlord's profits to the capital employed.*

* "There are, we apprehend, few persons employing in England a capital of £100,000, who would not be satisfied with a profit of less than ten per cent. per annum. A manufacturer of considerable eminence, with a capital of £40,000, complained to us of the smallness of his profits, which he estimated at twelve and a half per cent. About fifteen per cent. we believe to be the average that is expected by men with mercantile capitals between £10,000 and £20,000. Scarcely any wholesale trade can be carried on with a capital of less than £10,000. The capitals of less value, therefore, generally belong to farmers, shopkeepers, and small manufacturers, who, even when their capital amounts to £5000 or £6000, expect twenty per cent., and when it is lower a much larger per centage. We have heard that stall fruit-sellers calculate their gains at 2*d.* in the shilling, or twenty per cent. per day, or something more than 7000 per cent. per annum. This seems, however, almost too low. The capital employed at any one time seldom

§ 6. The phenomena of distribution presented by all advancing societies, passing *upwards*, correspond, precisely, with those observed in passing *inwards* from the mountains of the West, where population is small and land is valueless, to Massachusetts, where men abound and land is high; as here is shown:—



Land and labor, as we see, steadily increase in their dimensions, as the proportion assigned to the trader, transporter, merchant, money-dealer, and landlord, diminishes — the prices of raw materials then steadily approximating, and furnishing the most conclusive evidence of advancing civilization. Man becomes free as the circulation becomes more rapid, and as land increases in value and becomes divided—all thus profiting by the increased ability to command Nature's services.

In full accordance with this, is what is now occurring in France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia — the proportion of the landlord, the rate of profit, and the charge for the use of money, there declining, as land becomes more valuable, and man becomes more free.

The reverse of this, is what is now observed in India and Ireland, Jamaica, Portugal, Turkey, and other free-trade countries — land there declining in value, while the proportion claimed as rent as steadily augments; the trader's profits, too,

exceeds 5*s.*, twenty per cent. on which would only be 1*s.* a day—a sum which would scarcely pay the wages of the mere labor employed. It is, however, possible that the capital may sometimes be turned more than once in a day; and the capitalists in question, if they can be called so, are generally the old and infirm, whose labor is of little value. The calculation, therefore, may probably be correct; and we have mentioned it as the highest apparent rate of profit that we know."—Senior: *Outlines of Political Economy*, p. 214.

increasing as money disappears, and as the charge for its use is raised. Such, too, appears to be the course of affairs in England — the wages of agricultural labor having remained stationary, while the rental has nearly doubled.* So, again, is it in the United States — the growth of pauperism, and the belief in the divine origin of slavery, there steadily gaining ground, and keeping pace with the consolidation of land in the older States. Such are the consequences of a system tending, necessarily, to increase the quantity of wheat, flax, cotton, or tobacco, required to be given in exchange for gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, or other of the metallic products of the earth.†

§ 7. The proportion of the capitalist declines with the growth of the power of association and combination — doing so, because of the great economy of labor consequent upon the increased rapidity of the societary circulation. That, itself, increasing with the development of individuality, it follows, necessarily, that the rate of profit and the charge for interest, must be always lowest, in those communities in which the loom and the anvil are placed side by side with the plough and the harrow. That such is the fact, is seen on comparing the Southern and Western States of the Union with the Northern and Eastern ones—Brazil with France — India with England — or Ireland, Portugal, and Turkey, with Denmark and Belgium.

That reduction being a necessary consequence of the increased efficiency of labor, and increased economy of human effort, no difficulty is found in explaining the fact, that capital always accumulates most rapidly when the rate of profit is lowest. That it has been so in times that are past, is seen on comparing its growth in England under the Plantagenets, or in France under the House of Valois—when interest was very high—with what is now occurring in both those countries; or in this country, in the days anterior to the Revolution, with those of later times. It may also be seen, on comparing any of the purely agricultural countries, as Ireland, Brazil, or India, with others in which employments are diversified, as New England, France, or Bel-

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 93, for the statements of English writers of high authority on this subject.

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 205.

gium; or this country with itself, on comparing the period from 1817 to 1824, when mills and furnaces were everywhere closed, with the period from 1824 to 1834, when mills were being built.

Capital being the instrument used by man in his efforts to obtain power over nature, whatever tends to increase his power over the instrument, tends equally towards equality and freedom, and towards the elevation of the laborer of the present, at the expense of the accumulations of the past. Whatever, on the contrary, tends to increase the power of the instrument over him, tends to elevate those accumulations at his expense — to produce inequality — and to re-establish slavery. His power over the instrument growing with the growth of association, and that growing with the growth of diversity in the modes of employment, it follows, necessarily, that the road towards freedom for man, is found in the direction leading to the development of the various faculties of the individuals of whom society is composed.

§ 8. Throughout the process above described, we mark a perfect harmony in the interests of the various portions of society — the laborer profiting largely by the proximity of the owner of the canoe, and the latter doing the same by that of the man who is both willing and able to use it. Neither profits at the expense of the other — each obtaining a larger quantity of commodities — and both being enabled to devote more of time, and of mind, to improvement of the machinery by help of which to command the use of nature's services, and thus obtain increase of wealth. Both are equally interested in every measure looking to the maintenance of peace, and in the adoption of a policy tending to secure the most rapid circulation of services and products, and the greatest economy of labor—the highest power of association — the most perfect development of individuality — and the largest and most unrestricted commerce with their fellow-men. Moving in that direction, they find themselves enabled to cultivate the richer soils, with constant increase in the food at their command — the rich granary of nature abounding with supplies waiting for demand alone. The power of self-protection grows steadily, with constantly diminishing necessity for the services of the soldier or the sailor, the trader or the transporter,

and corresponding decline in the necessity for contributing to their support. The tendency towards equality increases from day to day — nature always working gratuitously, and working equally for the strong and the weak, the poor and the rich. The more she is made to labor in man's service, the greater is the tendency towards the development of the peculiar faculties of all — the greater must be the reward of each — and the higher must become the standard of man himself.*

* The beautiful harmony of this great law is thus exhibited in a work before referred to:—

"It is a point worthy of particular attention, that the advantages secured by the capitalist and the laborer, in and through (or by means of) the progress of improvement, are not gained by either at the expense of the other. Both prosper together. Nor are they gained at the expense of any third person. On the contrary, persons who contributed, in no respect, to the improvement, nor to the co-operation of the laborer and the capitalist, by means of which improvement has been made, participate in the benefits thence resulting. The laborer who, at the second period, retained, after remunerating the capitalist for his assistance, a reward, in canoes or other things, equivalent to 4, for the same toil as that for which his predecessor had but 1 — he who, in the third stage, after paying the capitalist, has 14, in the place of the 4 which his father had — naturally desires to exchange some of them for articles of a different kind, made by other laborers. He cannot, however, require of the latter, for any long period, that they should exchange services with him upon unequal terms, by giving him the product of much more labor than he has himself expended. If he did, he would make it the interest of some to build canoes, not only for their own use, but for the purpose of selling to others. Suppose that, after the second stage of improvement had been reached, values had so adjusted themselves, as that a canoe exchanged for venison the average product of a week's hunting; or for fish caught in seven days' labor with the net, the hook, and the spear. At the third stage, the canoe-builders would, as at first, obtain, in exchange for a given amount of labor, a quantity of venison or of fish, increased in the proportion of 14 to 4, or 3½ times as much as formerly. At this rate, the hunters and fishermen would have no greater ability to procure canoes than before. The supply would increase rapidly, the means of third persons to purchase them remaining stationary. Great numbers would, consequently, be left unsold on the hands of the makers. If, desiring to avoid this result, the boat-builders should offer to take 9 saddles of venison in exchange for the same canoe, or the same share in a canoe, as that for which they at first asked 14 — in other words, should surrender to the hunters and fishermen five-fourteenths of the advantage gained through the improvement of axes — the case would then stand thus: The laborers who work with the axe would still have increased their *proportion* of the product more than the capitalists who furnish the axes—the first obtaining 9 in place of 4, the second but 4 in place of 2, whether measured in canoes, venison, or fish. The first would obtain nine-fourteenths, or 2¼ times as much venison as before. The second would have twice as many canoes to exchange for venison as before; but as the purchasing power of canoes is reduced in the proportion of nine-fourteenths, they would obtain but eighteen-fourteenths, or a fraction of four-fourteenths — about 28 per cent. more venison and fish than before. The purchasers of canoes would obtain 14 for the same labor as formerly procured but 9; or would get a canoe by the labor

§ 9. All the facts of history, as well as all those which at the present moment meet our view, prove that the advance of nations in wealth and happiness, morality, intelligence, and freedom, is in the inverse ratio of the *rate* of profit, and of interest. Turning, however, to Mr. McCulloch, we find that gentleman asserting directly the reverse of this, and in the following words :—

"As capital is nothing more than the accumulated produce of previous industry, it is evident its increase will be most rapid when industry is most productive; or, in other words, when *the profits of stock are highest.** The man who can produce a bushel of wheat in *three* days, has it in his power to accumulate twice as much as the man who, either from a deficiency of skill, or from his being obliged to cultivate a bad soil, is forced to labor *six* days to produce the same quantity; and the capitalist who can invest stock so as to yield him a profit of *ten per cent.*, has it equally in his power to accumulate twice as fast as the capitalist who can only obtain *five per cent.* for his capital. Conformably to this statement, it is found that the rate of profit, or, which is the same thing, the power to accumulate capital, is always greatest in those countries which are most rapidly aug-

of 4½ days instead of 7 — substituting silver dollars, in the place of saddles of venison. We have only the same facts, presented under an aspect rendered more familiar by the use of coin as the medium of exchange. The great truth will remain, that wages have increased. Profits have increased also, although in an inferior degree, as to their absolute amount; while the value and the price of the commodity, out of the proceeds of the exchange or sale of which both profits and wages are paid, has been diminished. Availing themselves of the gratuitous bounty of nature, by making use of the forces which she freely lends to human intelligence, the workman may take an increase of his wages, the capitalist may appropriate an addition to his profits — leaving a surplus to be distributed for the benefit of the entire community of consumers. Daily experience verifies the truth, that high prices are not essential to high wages and high profits. These come from cheap production, and being entirely consistent with it, their existence in any community does not preclude the idea that it may vie in cheapness, in an untried mode of production, with other regions where wages and profits are at a lower rate. It is, moreover, of material importance to observe that, while the capitalist's proportionate share *of the* PRODUCTS diminishes in consequence of an improvement in machinery, it does not follow that his share must bear a smaller proportion *to his capital* than before."—SMITH: *Manual of Political Economy.*

* Mr. McCulloch adds to this passage the following note:—

"To avoid all chance of misconception, it is necessary to observe that this refers to *net* profit, or to the sum which remains to the capitalist after all his outgoings are compensated, including therein a sum sufficient to insure his capital against risk, and to make up for whatever may be peculiarly disagreeable in his business."

menting their wealth and population. * * * We have no hesitation in laying it down, as a principle which holds good in every case, and from which there is really no exception, that if the governments of any two or more countries be equally liberal, and property in each equally well secured, their comparative prosperity will depend on the rate of profit. Wherever profits are high, there is a great demand for labor, and the society rapidly augments both its population and its riches. On the other hand, wherever they are low, the demand for labor is proportionably reduced, and the progress of society rendered so much the slower."*

In all this, there is an absence of clearness that is most remarkable — coming, as it does, from a gentleman who has attained so high a position in the Ricardo-Malthusian school. The man above referred to as raising wheat, is a producer of things to be given in exchange. He is earning *wages*. Giving a part of his products to B, his landlord, who receives *rent*, he retains for himself another portion, to be exchanged at the shop, by aid of C, the shopkeeper, who receives *profits*. The fund, out of which all are to be paid, being the wheat itself, and nothing else, it would seem quite clear, that its producer is to be benefited, by whatever diminishes the proportion taken by the parties who stand between himself and D, the consumer of the bread; whereas, both are to be injured, by whatever increases that proportion. The interests of A and D being thus antagonistic to those of B and C, they, of course, desire that the rate of profit may be low — holding, as they must do, that the less the friction on the road between them, the larger will be the quantity of commodities falling to the share of each. B and C desire, on the contrary, to increase the friction — buying the laborer's services, and his products, at the smallest price, and selling them at the largest one — thus securing a high rate of profit; and the more perfectly that object can be accomplished, the more rapid, in Mr. McCulloch's view, must be the increase of capital. Were this so, capital would increase far more rapidly in Minnesota than in Massachusetts — the rate of profit in the former being thrice greater than in the latter. The reverse of all this, fortunately, is the fact. Where the *rate* of profit is

* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 85.

high, the *quantity* of profit received is always very small — capital there increasing very slowly. Where it is low, the quantity is large — capital there increasing with great rapidity. The more perfect the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products, the lower will be the *rate*, but the larger will be the quantity — as is proved by the rapid growth of capital, at the present moment, in France and Germany, Sweden and Denmark. The more remote these prices, the higher will be the rate of profit, but the slower will be the growth of capital — as is, at this moment, being proved by Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, and every other of the free-trade countries of the world.

The facts, and Mr. McCulloch's theory, are, thus, as inconsistent with each other, as are the desires of the trader, who would buy wheat cheaply and sell it dearly, with those of the producer and consumer, who feel that the smaller his rate of profit, the larger will be the fund from which their families are to be fed and clothed. Inconsistency, however, is the essential characteristic of modern political economy; and for the reason, that all its teachings are based upon the assumption, that man commences the work of cultivation on rich soils — a fact that never did, and never can, exist. Following Mr. Ricardo, Mr. McCulloch asserts, that as the productiveness of labor *decreases*, rent *increases* — the landlord receiving much when production is small, although he received little when it was large. The laborer's *proportion*, according to this theory, is, therefore, a steadily diminishing one. The fact, however, being known to be exactly the reverse of this — the laborer's proportion in all advancing countries being a regularly increasing one — it is accounted for on the plea of necessity, as here is shown :—

"It is plain that the decreasing productiveness of the soils to which every improving society is obliged to resort, will not, as was previously observed, merely lessen the *quantity* of produce to be divided between profits and wages, but will also increase the *proportion* of that produce falling to the share of the laborer. It is quite impossible to go on increasing the cost of raw produce, the principal part of the subsistence of the laborer, by forcing good, or taking inferior lands into cultivation, without increasing wages."*

* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 486.

The laborer's proportion is thus *increased*, in virtue of the same law by which it is also *decreased*. The smaller the fund out of which two parties are to be paid, the larger is the proportion falling to each!

§ 10. "Nothing," says Hume, in his Essay on Interest, "is esteemed a more certain sign of the flourishing condition of any nation, than the lowness of interest; and with reason—though," as he continues, "I believe the cause is somewhat different from what is commonly apprehended. Lowness of interest is generally ascribed to plenty of money. But money, however plentiful, has no other effect, if *fixed*, than to raise the price of labor. * * * Prices have risen near four times since the discovery of the Indies, and it is probable that gold and silver have multiplied much more; but interest has not fallen much above half. The rate of interest, therefore, is not derived from the quantity of the precious metals."

The effect here ascribed to increase in the quantity of money is perfectly correct—raising, as it does, not only the price of labor, but also that of land, and of all the rude products of the soil. Their prices had risen in the day when this passage was written, but those of finished commodities had largely declined—facilitating the purchase of the precious metals, by diminishing the cost of reproduction, and thereby lowering the rate of interest.

It is here denied, that increase in the quantity of money can have any effect upon the price paid for its use. Had Mr. Hume, however, reflected more carefully on the subject, he would certainly have seen that men whose wages were high, always obtained money at lower rates of interest, than were paid by those whose wages were low. Had he looked around the world, he would have seen, that interest was low in all those countries in which land and labor were high in price, while high in those in which land was cheap, and man was enslaved. Further, he would have seen, that precisely as axes, or engines, are improved in quality, and as labor is rendered more productive, the owner of such machines is forced to content himself with a rate of compensation steadily diminishing in the proportion borne by it to the cost of the machine—leaving to the man who uses it, a constantly diminishing proportion of a constantly increasing quantity.

For the same exact reason, would the latter allow to the owner of that machinery of exchange which consists in gold and silver pieces, a smaller compensation for their use — feeling that, with the improved instruments now in use, he could, with the same effort, lay by more shillings, than his predecessor of the days of the Plantagenets, could lay by pence. Value cannot exceed the cost of reproduction. As that declines and labor rises, interest falls necessarily — that fall being, in the words of Mr. Hume, "a certain sign of the flourishing condition of a nation;" and for the plain and simple reason, that it is an evidence of a high value of land and labor — giving power to purchase cheaply the precious metals.

The causes of a high rate of interest are, as Mr. Hume informs his readers, "not the scarcity of gold and silver," but "a great demand for borrowing, little riches to supply the demand, and great profits arising from commerce;" or, more properly, trade. It is under these circumstances, certainly, that interest is always high — they being found, invariably, in all those countries which — having the balance of trade against them — cannot obtain, or retain, a proper supply of the great machinery of association, called money. Those who have it obtaining, then, great profits, and the many who have it not, being impoverished, there is "great demand for borrowing," with "little riches to supply the demand;" precisely as we see to be the case throughout the Western States at the present moment. Low interest proceeds, as he says, from there being "a small demand for borrowing, great riches to supply the demand, and small profits arising from commerce." When money is abundant, the reward of labor rises; and hence it is that there is then a diminished necessity for borrowing, with daily diminution of the trader's power. Producers and consumers then grow rich, because of their increased ability to retain, for their own uses and purposes, the products of their labor. When money is scarce, merchants become princes. When it abounds, there is a daily increasing tendency towards the elevation of the men who labor, to an equality of condition with the trader, who lives by the labor of others.

§ 11. Adam Smith's doctrines on the subject of interest, have for their base the erroneous theory which forms the staple of

those of the Ricardo-Malthusian school. "When," as he says, "the most fertile and best situated lands have all been occupied, less profit can be made by the cultivation of what is inferior both in soil and situation, and less interest can be afforded for the stock which is so employed."*

Unfortunately for this theory, the facts are directly the reverse —the first poor colonist commencing, invariably, with the poorer lands; and it being only as he obtains improved machinery, that he is enabled to cultivate the richer soils. Precisely as he does this, the rate of interest falls. The larger the return to labor, the greater is the facility for obtaining money by means of which to circulate its products — the rate of interest tending to decline with every increase in the power to command the commodity for whose use it is paid.

This erroneous idea of Dr. Smith led him, necessarily, into many contradictions of himself. Thus, after assuring his readers that interest falls in countries growing in wealth and population —because of the steadily increasing necessity for applying labor to the cultivation of poorer soils — he tells them, that it is in countries in which the wages of labor are low that interest is high; as in Bengal, where the farmer pays forty, fifty, or sixty per cent.; or as it was in Sicily when Brutus claimed only forty-eight. It is difficult, however, to imagine anything better calculated to produce these low wages, and consequent high interest, than the very circumstances described as invariably accompanying the growth of wealth and decline of interest—a growing necessity for applying labor to soils yielding, from year to year, less in return to labor. To look, however, to either Hume or Smith, for consistency in any portion of their works in which they treat of money, would be as much labor lost, as would be the search for it in the works of Ricardo and Malthus, treating of the growth of wealth and population.

All the facts offered for consideration by both the present and the past, tend to prove the universal truth of the proposition, that the rate of profit, and the rate of interest, tend, of necessity, to decline, as the prices of raw materials tend more closely towards approximation. The people of the United States give a constantly *increasing* quantity of wheat, rice, flour, cotton,

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. xi.

and tobacco, for a *diminishing* one of gold, silver, iron, lead, and other metals; and hence it is that their rate of interest is so high.*

§ 12. Mr. Mill is of opinion that "there is at every time and place some particular rate of profit, which is the lowest that will induce the people of that country and time to accumulate savings, and to employ those savings productively"—that minimum varying "according to circumstances." It is, however, when people are most driven to saving, that they are most inclined to hoard, and least disposed to employ their means in any manner tending to benefit either the community or themselves. Saving implies stoppage of circulation; whereas, the profitable employment of capital involves an increase in its rapidity—the two things being wholly inconsistent with each other. Four per cent. is the point at which people are willing to save, in England—that rate being now, in Mr. Mill's opinion, as much productive of the hoarding propensity at the present time, as was forty per cent. in the reign of King John, or as is that rate in the present day, in the Burmese empire. Such a rate, as he says, "always exists;" and "when once it is reached, no further increase of capital can for the present take place."†

The total absence of consistency in the doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school, is here most clearly obvious. Having first subjected man to a great law of nature, in virtue of which labor becomes from year to year less productive, and accumulation less possible, we next are told, that men are *willing* to save in one part of the world, provided they can obtain four per cent.; whereas,

* Both interest and wages being low in Holland, and both being high in the United States, it might be supposed that these cases formed exceptions to the general rule above propounded. When examined, however, they do but prove its truth. The one vegetates on the accumulations of the past. The other lives, by drawing on the future. The mere annuitant is forced to content himself with the lowest rate of profit, and the smallest wages. The spendthrift eats, drinks, and makes merry, but his place of final destination is the poor-house. The people of the United States live by the sale of their soil. Were the potential energies of which the earth is *annually* deprived, valued in accordance with the price paid to Peru for guano with which to replace a part of them, they would, probably, be found to amount to little short of half the total value given to land by all the people who have occupied it since the days of the Puritans. (See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 198.) Hence it is, that the proportion of movable to fixed property is so large, and that the tendency towards the ultimate re-establishment of slavery, throughout the Union, is so great.

† J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 4, chap. iv. § 3.

in another, they must be tempted to economy by forty; man being thus invested with power to determine for himself whether capital shall, or shall not, increase—although living, moving, and having his being, under a great law, that should render accumulation more difficult from year to year.

Why, however, was the rate of profit so high in England in the days of the Plantagenets? Why is it now so high in India, Mexico, Turkey, and all other of the non-manufacturing countries of the world? Why is it so much lower in France and England? Why is it that capital accumulates so much more rapidly in France, than in Portugal? Such are the questions to be asked of science; but they must remain unanswered by modern economists, so long as they shall persist in assuming the existence of a great law, in virtue of which the tendency to poverty and degradation increases, as men become more numerous, and more enabled to combine their efforts. The true answer to all of them, is to be found in the simple propositions — that capital accumulates in the direct ratio of the economy of human effort; that, the more rapid its growth, the greater is the tendency to decline in the value of all previous accumulations; and that, the less their value, the less is the charge for their use, and the greater the tendency to increase of wealth, strength, and power.

§ 13. Mr. McCulloch tells his readers, that laborers "neither will, nor in fact can, be brought to market, unless the rate of wages be such as may suffice to bring them up, and maintain them. From whatever point of the political compass we may set out, the cost of production is," as he thinks, "the grand principle to which we must always come at last."* Men, women, and children are manufactured and "brought to market," in Ireland, to work at four-pence a day, because the peasantry of that country "live in miserable mud-cabins, without either a window or a chimney, or anything that can be called furniture; while in England the cottages of the peasantry have glass windows, and chimneys, are well furnished, and are as much distinguished for their cleanliness, and comfort, as those of the Irish for their filth and misery."†

This is, certainly, a convenient mode of accounting for the

* *Essay on Wages*, p. 27. † Ibid, p. 32.

wretchedness of Ireland, under the system that first annihilated their manufactures, and has since annihilated the nation, so far as regards its position in the community of nations—though scarcely very philosophical. Following out the principle here established, the cause of the large wages of the lawyer, the merchant, the general, and the admiral, must be sought for in the facts, that they live in large houses instead of "mud cottages"—there drinking wine instead of water, and wearing fine clothes instead of going in rags. A better reason for the low wages of the one, and the high wages of the other, might probably be discoverable in the fact, of both being found existing under a system which looks to cheapening labor and raw materials, for the benefit of traders in men and merchandise.

The value of man, like that of all other commodities and things, is measured by the cost of reproduction, and *not* by that of production. In the days of the Plantagenets, "benefit of clergy" was the privilege of the man whose knowledge of letters enabled him to read. Wealth having largely grown, almost everybody now reads—the laborers of the present thus profiting by the accumulations of the past. The more rapid the growth of wealth, and the more perfect the circulation of society, the greater is the tendency towards the production of minds of higher power, with corresponding decline in the value of those which previously had been produced.

The more the prices of labor, and of the rude produce of the land, tend to rise, and the more the prices of finished products tend to fall—the two thus approximating—the smaller will be the space occupied by profits, interest, and rent, and the larger the proportions of the MAN, and of the land he cultivates.*

* "We may regard the rate of interest as a sort of level, below which, all labor, all cultivation, all manufactures, and all commerce, cease. It is like a sea spread over a great country, of which the mountain summits rise above the waters—forming fertile and cultivated islands. The sea flowing out, the hill-slopes, and then the plains and valleys, gradually appear—covering themselves with products of every kind. To inundate the land and destroy the cultivation, or to restore to agriculture extensive territories, it is sufficient that the water should rise or fall a single foot. It is the abundance of capital that animates to effort; and the low rate of interest is at once the effect, and the indication of that abundance."—TURGOT: *De la Distribution des Richesses*, § 89.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

II.—*Of the Rent of Land.*

§ 1. Thus far, in our examination of the great natural laws to which man and matter are subjected, they have proved equally true, whether considered in relation to the earth itself, or to the axes, canoes, ships, or clothing, into which man converts the materials by which he is surrounded. His course, in all communities that increase in wealth and population, is ever onward —passing from the knife of stone to that of steel—from the skin he has torn from an animal's back to a woollen coat — from the canoe to the ship — from the Indian path to the railroad — and from the poor lands of the hills and slopes to the fertile soils of the valleys, whose occupation in the earlier day had been prevented by the moisture with which they had been saturated, and the heavy timber with which they had been covered. Wealth is power — the more the richer soils are cultivated, and the more numerous the people who can draw support from a given surface, the greater being the facility of association, and the tendency towards combination for overcoming the yet remaining resistance of nature.

Here, as everywhere, the first step is the most costly and the least productive. At each succeeding stage, less effort is demanded, while the returns to labor as steadily increase. The cost of reproducing instruments, equal in power with those in use, gradually declining, the value of the latter, too, declines — the early land and the early axe being generally abandoned.*

Rent, too, declines—the owner of land being required to content himself with a diminished proportion of the product as

* For the abandonment of the soils first cultivated in various parts of Europe, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 124.

compensation for its use. Had the owner of the first little farm been asked for permission to cultivate it, his answer would have been: "Obtaining with this as much food in return to the labor of a day, as without it you could have in a week, you can well afford to give me three-fourths of the product of land and labor. This will, it is true, leave you but a small proportion of the things produced, but — your quantity being so much increased — your wages will be one-half greater then than now. You must, therefore, be content."

The contract made, both parties find their powers increased — enabling them to devote both time and mind to the construction of machinery required for effecting further economies of labor. The little farm had cost years of almost ceaseless effort; and yet was capable of yielding only 100 bushels, in return to a given amount of labor devoted to its cultivation. Mental power gradually combining with that which is purely physical, a farm of 200 bushels may now be produced at diminished cost. So, too, with others—the one of 300 being obtained in return for less labor than had, at the first, been given for one of 100; and one of 400 becoming, subsequently, the reward of much less effort. With each successive stage of improvement, the value of man increases, as compared with capital — present labor acquiring power at the expense of past accumulations, and rent diminishing in its proportions, though increasing in its quantity. The first proprietor could compel the laborer to rest content with a fourth of the product of his toil; but, when the second came to measure the power of his accumulations against those of the men around him, he found the relative position of man and matter had greatly changed. His own powers had increased, but so had theirs. He could obtain a farm of 200 bushels a-year at the cost of far less labor than before had been given for one of 100; but so might they. Instead, then, of demanding three-fourths, he now exacts but three-fifths — receiving 120, in lieu of the 75 of his predecessor, and leaving to the laborer 80 — being more than thrice the quantity at first allowed.

At the third stage, the same phenomena present themselves for consideration, and in yet greater force. A farm capable of yielding 300 bushels being now obtainable at the cost of far less labor than before had been expended in obtaining one of 200, its

owner treats with laborers of greater power — with men who are themselves accumulating capital. Demanding now but half the product, he receives 150 — leaving to the laborer 150, where his immediate predecessor had left but 80. Wages have now risen to 150 bushels—greatly facilitating the further increase of capital. Moving with constantly accelerated force, the progress towards the creation of still improved machinery becomes far more rapid than it before had been; and now a farm capable of yielding 400 bushels is obtained at the cost of far less effort, than had been required for producing the one of 300. The cost of *reproduction* having thus fallen, its owner is forced to content himself with 45 *per cent.*— taking 180, and leaving to the laborer 220.

At the fifth stage, the proportion of the capitalist falls to two-fifths — the power of the community to command the services of nature having so much increased, that a farm of 600 bushels may be obtained in return to half the effort that had been required for any of its predecessors. So, too, with the next, yielding 1000 bushels. Wages having grown in a corresponding degree, the laborer, measuring his powers against the labor for which the new farm could be exchanged, finds himself entitled to claim two-thirds — leaving to the owner but a single third, where his early predecessor had claimed and received three-fourths.

In all the distributions thus effected, the capitalist profits by obtaining a *constantly increased quantity* resulting from a *constantly diminished proportion* of a constantly augmenting product; but the laborer profits still more largely — retaining for himself a constantly increasing proportion of that augmented quantity, as here is shown:—

	Total.	Share of capital.	Share of labor.
First	100	75	25
Second	200	120	80
Third	300	150	150
Fourth	400	180	220
Fifth	600	240	360
Sixth	1000	333	667

The power of capital has, thus, little more than quadrupled, while that of labor has increased more than six-and-twenty times. The more rapid the reduction of the capitalist's share, the greater is the tendency towards increase in the proportion of fixed to

floating capital, and to further decrease in the share that can be claimed as rent. With the growth of the power of man over matter, there is, therefore, a steady tendency to decline in the power of man over his fellow-man, and to the establishment of equality among the various portions of the human race. That the weak may find themselves on a level with the strong, and that the woman may take her place by the side of the being who everywhere has been her master, all that is required is that wealth be permitted to grow—that association be allowed to increase—and that individuality be developed, by means of that diversification of employments which is indispensable to rapidity in the circulation, and to the power of further progress.

§ 2. The views thus far given, differ totally from those now commonly received — those of the Ricardo-Malthusian school. The questions, as to the reason why rent was paid for land, and as to the laws by which its payment was governed, had, for more than a century, occupied the attention of economists, when Mr. Ricardo, in 1817, finally reduced to form ideas which had previously been promulgated by Adam Smith, Dr. Anderson, and others—giving to the world a theory of rent that was almost at once received as true, and has since been treated as the great discovery of the age.

Compensation for the use of land being, in his view, paid for the command of certain "original and indestructible powers of the soil," it tends to *increase in its proportions*, as, with the growth of population and of wealth, there arises a necessity for resorting to soils of "constantly diminishing fertility," yielding a less and less return to labor — the power of nature over man steadily increasing, and he becoming more and more her slave, and that of his fellow-men. Starting, thus, from a point directly the opposite of that from which we have started, it affords no cause for surprise, that we find him arriving at a distribution directly the reverse of that above submitted for consideration; and equally opposed to all the facts presented by the history of the rise and progress of rent, for all the centuries since the days of Charlemagne. His doctrines, in their simplest form, are contained in the following propositions:—

First: That, at the commencement of cultivation, population

being small and land abundant, those soils, alone, are cultivated whose properties fit them for yielding the largest return to labor —a given quantity of effort being then rewarded with a hundred quarters of corn.

Second: That, land becoming less abundant as population increases in density, there arises a necessity for cultivating less fertile soils—resort being then had to those of second, third, and fourth quality, yielding respectively ninety, eighty, and seventy quarters to a similar amount of effort.

Third: That, with the growing necessity for thus applying labor less productively, rent arises — the owner of No. 1 being enabled to demand and to obtain ten quarters, when resort is had to No. 2 — twenty when No. 3 is brought into use — and thirty when it becomes necessary to cultivate No. 4.

Fourth: That, the *proportion* of the landlord tends, thus, steadily to increase, as the productiveness of labor decreases — the division being as follows:—

	Total.	Labor.	Rent.
At the first period, when No. 1 alone is cultivated.....	100	100	00
" second " No. 1 and 2 are cultivated.....	190	180	10
" third " No. 1 to 3 "	270	240	30
" fourth " No. 1 to 4 "	340	280	60
" fifth " No. 1 to 5 "	400	300	100
" sixth " No. 1 to 6 "	450	300	150
" seventh " No. 1 to 7 "	490	280	210

—there being, thus, a tendency towards the ultimate absorption of the whole produce by the owner of the land, and towards a steadily increasing inequality of condition — the power of the laborer to consume the commodities he produces steadily diminishing, and that of the land-owner to claim them, as rent, as steadily increasing.

Fifth: That this tendency towards a diminution in the return to labor, and towards an increase of the landlord's proportion, is found in the ratio of the growth of population — and most existing where population increases with most rapidity; but is, however, in a certain degree, counteracted by increase of wealth—producing improvement of cultivation.

Sixth: That every such improvement tends to retard the growth of rent, while every obstacle to improvement tends to increase that growth; and that, as a necessary consequence, the interests

of the land-owner and laborer are always in opposition — rent rising as labour falls, and labor falling as rent rises.*

§ 3. The whole system, thus placed before the reader, rests upon the assumption that early cultivation commences on the richest soils — an idea that would not have been propounded by Mr. Ricardo, had he ever had the opportunity to study the movements of early settlers, who are always poor; or had he reflected, even in his closet, upon the fact, that rich soils are found in the river-bottoms — requiring, therefore, great and combined effort before they can be cleared, drained, and fitted for cultivation. That the facts are otherwise — that the work of cultivation has, invariably, commenced on the poorer soils — and, that it is only with the growth of wealth and population, the richer ones have been reduced to cultivation — has been already shown; and having, thus, proved that the theory has no foundation on which to rest, it might here be left to pass, in company with thousands of others equally destitute of truth, into the oblivion it so richly merits. Being, however, very plausible, and having, therefore, obtained a strong hold on the public mind, it seems to claim a further examination — having for its object an

* That the reader may satisfy himself that the above is a fair statement of this celebrated theory, it is here given in the author's own words:—

"With every step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent on all the more fertile land will rise.

"Thus, suppose land — No. 1, 2, 3 — to yield, with an equal employment of capital and labor, a net produce of 100, 90, and 80 quarters of corn. In a new country, where there is an abundance of fertile land compared with the population, and where, therefore, it is only necessary to cultivate No. 1, *the whole net produce will belong to the cultivator*, and will be the profits of the stock which he advances. As soon as population had so far increased as to make it necessary to cultivate No. 2, from which 90 quarters only can be obtained, after supporting the laborers, rent would commence on No. 1; for either there must be two rates of profit of an agricultural capital, or 10 quarters, or the value of 10 quarters, must be withdrawn from the produce of No. 1 for some other purpose. Whether the proprietor of the land, or some other person, cultivate No. 1, these 10 quarters would equally constitute rent; for the cultivator of No. 2 would get the same result from his capital, whether he cultivated No. 1, paying 10 quarters for rent, or continued to cultivate No. 2, paying no rent. In the same manner, it might be shown that when No. 3 is brought into cultivation, the rent of No. 2 must be 10 quarters, or the value of 10 quarters, whilst the rent of No. 1 would rise to 20 quarters; for the cultivator of No. 3 would have the same profits, whether he paid 20 quarters for the rent of No. 1, 10 quarters for the rent of No. 2, or cultivated No. 3 free of all rent."—RICARDO: *Political Economy*, chap. ii.

exposition of the many fallacies embraced in the above deductions from what was supposed by Mr. Ricardo to be the one great and fundamental truth.*

First among them, is the assertion, that, with increase of numbers, there arises a necessity for resorting to machinery of inferior power — yielding less and less in return to labor. Were it true, that man did commence with the richer soils, then would this proposition be also true — increase of population thus bringing with it a decline of human power, and man becoming, more and more, nature's victim. Beginning, on the contrary, with the poorer soils, he passes gradually towards the best — each successive step being accompanied by increase of power to select the soils best fitted for his purposes. Becoming, gradually, master of nature and of himself, he takes the light sand or the heavy marl — the clay or the loam — the iron or the coal — the hill-top or the river-bottom — the superficial or the profound — as the one or the other may appear most calculated to minister to his present wants, and aid him in the search for further power. Increasing numbers producing necessity, the standard of man must fall, and he must sink further towards the level of that mere animal which constitutes the subject treated of in modern political science. Giving him, on the contrary,

* Among the earliest and most distinguished of the advocates of Mr. Ricardo's doctrines, was the author of the Templar's Dialogues. In a more recent work by the same author, we find the following passage:—

"The *tendencies* of a natural law like that of rent it is always right to expose, and Ricardo first *did* expose them. Others had discovered the law: he first applied his sagacious sense to its consequences upon profits, wages, price; and through them upon universal economy. That was right: for that we are irredeemably his debtors. But it was *not* right to keep studiously out of sight that eternal counter-movement which tends, by an equivalent agency, to redress the disturbed balance. This concealment has had the effect of introducing marvels into a severe science; since else, what other than a miracle is it that rent has not long since absorbed the whole landed produce—a result to which it so manifestly tends? * * * Our own social system seems to harbor within itself the germ of ruin. Either we must destroy rent, *i. e.*, that which causes rent, or rent will destroy us," &c.—*Logic of Political Economy*, p. 190.

Mr. Ricardo taught that, as population increased, the return to labor diminished, and the power of accumulation became less. Mr. De Quincey would have had him teach that, as population increased, the power of accumulation also increased, and that, by aid of the capital accumulated, the return to labor increased. Mr. Ricardo did not conceal this. He did not see it. Mr. De Quincey does see it; and a very little reflection would satisfy him that the facts and the theory are totally inconsistent with each other.

power, the standard must rise towards the level of the true MAN —feeding, clothing, and lodging himself better — acting better — thinking better — and exercising, in relation to all the actions of his life, a volition increasing with every stage in the growth of his control over the material world. Which of these two classes of phenomena it is, that has been presented in all advancing countries, we may now examine.

The total population of England and Wales, in the fourteenth century, did not exceed 2,500,000. Fertile lands abounded — waiting appropriation at the hands of man. The poor ones were, however, cultivated, with small return to labor — six to eight bushels of wheat to an acre of land, being then regarded as an average crop. The numbers of the people are now seven times greater, and the land in cultivation is at least ten times more—embracing all the poor soils upon which a growing necessity would have compelled a waste of labor; and yet, the average yield per acre, estimating green crops as beef and mutton, and looking to the vast yield of potatoes and other articles of vegetable food, has increased in a ratio almost equalling that of the acres cultivated. Famines were then frequent and severe; whereas, they have now ceased to be regarded as among the things of possible occurrence — regularity of supply having grown with increase in the regularity of demand.*

In "the good old times" of "merrie England," when fertile land was abundant and people were few in number, the Saxon hogs roamed the woods—living upon acorns produced from oaks that their owner lacked the means to fell. Later, half-starved sheep fed upon lands incapable of yielding grain, but cows and oxen were few — the fine rich meadow being covered with wood, or so saturated with moisture as to be wholly useless. Maids of honor then luxuriated on bacon, and laborers banqueted upon "the strength of water-gruel," as did, but seventy years since, many of the people of northern counties, that now present to view the finest farms in England—the rich soils composing which,

* "Let any one compare the state of this or any other European country 500, or 100 years ago, and he will be satisfied that prodigious advances have been made; that the means of subsistence have increased much more rapidly than the population; and that the laboring classes are now generally in the possession of conveniences and luxuries that were formerly not enjoyed, even by the richest lords."—McCULLOCH.

were then awaiting the growth of population and of wealth. A piece of fat pork was, in those days, an article of luxury rarely to be found on the table of the laborer. Even within a century, the bread consumed by a large portion of the people was made of barley, rye, and oats — the consumption of wheat being altogether limited to the rich. It is now in universal use; although, so recently as 1727, an eight-acre field of it, near Edinburgh, was deemed a curiosity. The state of things that there existed, is an index to that found in the Lothians, and in various counties of the north of England, where may now be seen the most prosperous agriculture. At that time, men cultivated, not the best soils, but those they *could* cultivate, leaving the rich ones for their successors — doing in this what is being now, every day, done by the settlers of western prairies.

While the wheaten loaf has thus succeeded the compound of barley, rye, and acorns, once denominated bread, and supposed to afford more nourishment, because of remaining longer in the stomach, and being less easily digested — an idea repeated in the present day by the poor Irish peasant, who prefers the miserable potato called *the lumper*, because of its having, as he says, a bone in it — beef and mutton have succeeded the salt herring on the table of the artisan and laborer, and the mast-fed bacon on that of the landlord. Within a century, the average weight of cattle has risen from 370 to 800 pounds, and that of sheep from 28 to 80 pounds — the number consumed having increased more rapidly, even, than the weight. The quantity of wool, of hides, and of other materials for manufactures of various kinds, is immense; and yet the population wholly dependent on the labors of the field is certainly not thrice greater than it was in the days of the Plantagenets. The return to labor has, therefore, largely increased as, with increased numbers, man has acquired power over the various soils, then too deep, or too distant, to be cultivated with the means at his command; but now required for the supply of the greatly increased and more prosperous population.

The history of France in the Middle Ages, when land abounded and men were few in number, is but a record of an almost unceasing succession of famines. As late as the middle of the fifteenth century, the condition of the laborers of that country was thus described by Fortescue :—

"Thay drynke water, thay eate apples, with bred right brown made of rye. Thay eate no flesche, but if it be selden, a litill larde, or of the entrails, or heds of bests sclayne for the nobles and marchaunts of the lond. Thay weryn no wollyn, but if it be a pore cote under their uttermost garment, made of grete canvas and cal it a frok. Their hosyn be of like canvas, and passen not their knee; wherefor they be gartrid, and their thyghs bare. Their wyfs and children gone barefote; thay may in non otherwise lyve; for sume of them, that was wonte to pay to his lord for his tenement, which he hirith by the yere, a scute,* payyth now to the kyng, over that scute fyve skuts. Wher thrugh they be artyd† by necessitie so to watch, labour, and grub in the ground, for their sustenaunce, that their nature is much wastid, and the kynd of them brought to nowght. Thay gone crokyd and ar feble, not able to fyght, nor to defend the realme; nor thay have wepon, nor monye to buy them wepon withal; but verely thay lyvyn in the most extreme povertie and myserye, and yet thay dwellyn in one the most fertile realme of the world."‡

The reader has already seen that, so recently as the commencement of the last century, the people of that country wanted bread one-half of their time, and went clothed in skins, for want of power to obtain cloth. A century since, only 7,000,000 ate wheaten bread; now, there are 20,000,000—the improvement in the character of the food consumed, having been greater than the increase in the numbers requiring to be fed. The power to obtain the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life, is dependent on the power to demand of nature their production—the greater the power of association, the greater, as we invariably see, being the quantity produced. "Comparing," says M Passy, "the figures relating to the ten richest and most populous departments, with those relating to the ten departments which are the least so, we find that, in the former, the average yield of a hectare (2·47 acres), is from 15 to 20 hectolitres (the hectolitre is 2·84 bushels) of wheat; while, in the latter, it is only from 7½ to 11—there being an equal disproportion in all the other products. In regard

* A *scute* was a French gold coin, and the same with an *escu*, or *ecu d'or*, which was denominated from the legend, 'Dieu est mon *escu*,' God is my shield. It was worth 3*s.* 4*d.* in Fortescue's time.

† *Arcted*, compelled or restrained, from the old French verb *coarcter*.

‡ Quoted by EDEN, *History of the Poor*, vol. i. p. 70.

to consumption, they offer a difference equally marked. The food is not only superior in quality, in the advanced departments; it is also superior in quantity, head for head — the consumption being thirty per cent. more in weight, than in the less dense and poorer departments." *

Similar to these, are the facts we meet with in every advancing country. The people of Russia are now much better fed and clothed than they were in the days of Peter the Great — notwithstanding an increase of numbers that would, long since, have compelled resort to inferior soils, had Mr. Ricardo's theory been accurate. So, too, has it been, and so is it, with those of Germany, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden — all of whom are now incomparably better fed, than were their ancestors of the days when land was most abundant. Looking, next, to the early settlement of what are now the United States, we find their history but a record of severe privations—resulting from a paucity of numbers that forbade association, or combination. The second of the above propositions is, therefore, directly opposed to every fact presented in the history of the world—all of them being, on the contrary, in strict accordance with the one we here present:—

As wealth and population increase, men are more and more enabled to associate together, and to combine their efforts, with constantly increasing tendency to development of their various faculties, and constantly increasing power to compel the various forces of nature to labor in their service—every step in the course of progress, being marked by increase of power to determine for themselves what soils to select for cultivation, with constant increase in the return to labor, and in the facility of production and accumulation. — Man thus becomes the master of nature; whereas, according to Mr. Ricardo, he becomes more and more her slave.

§ 4. The next proposition is, that, with the necessity for applying labor less productively, rent arises — the owner of No. 1, yielding 100 quarters, being enabled to demand 10 quarters when resort is had to those of second quality, yielding 90 quarters; and 20, when No. 3 is brought into use, yielding only 80 quarters.

* *Dictionnaire de l'Économie Politique*, art. Agriculture.

Were all land of precisely equal productive power, no such necessity could be supposed; yet compensation would still be paid for the use of a farm provided with buildings and enclosures, that would be denied to the owner of one remaining in a state of nature. *That* compensation is regarded by Mr. Ricardo as being only interest upon capital, and as requiring to be distinguished from what is paid for the use of the powers of the soil. When lands of different capabilities are in use—all being equally provided with houses, fences, and barns—he supposes the owner of No. 1 to receive interest upon his capital, *plus* the difference between the 100 quarters that it is capable of yielding, and the 90, 80, or 70 quarters yielded by the soil of lowest power to whose cultivation the necessities of man have forced him. This *difference* he holds to be *the true rent.*

Cultivation, however, always commencing on the poorer soils, and proceeding from them to the better ones, the reverse course must be pursued—the owner of the land first cultivated receiving interest, *minus* the difference between its powers and those of other lands, that may, with the increase of population and wealth, be brought under cultivation with an expenditure of the same amount of human effort. The first little clearing on the hill-side, with its miserable cabin, cost twice as many days of labor as would be now required for clearing a larger quantity of better land, and placing upon it a tolerable log-house. The first settler, desiring to let his property, finds himself compelled to accept, not profits, *plus* difference, but profits, *minus* difference. Daily observation shows that such is the course of proceeding—land, thus, obeying the same laws that govern all other commodities and things. The old ship having cost much more labor than would now be required for a new one of double power, her owner receives, as freight, profits, *minus* difference. The old house cost much labor, but it is small, and its accommodations are indifferent. A new one, capable of affording better shelter to twice the number of persons, costing, now, but half the labor of the first, the early builder, or his representative, receives as rent, profits of capital, *minus* a large difference. So, too, is it with early engines, railroads, mills, and machines of every kind—there being but a single system of laws for the government of all matter, whatever the form it takes.

The price of land is more or less, in proportion to the rent it will command. The doctrine of Mr. Ricardo being true, its selling price should be the capital invested, *plus* the value of what he regards as the true rent. Being untrue — the poorer soils always first being occupied — its price should be the capital, *minus* the difference between its powers and those of other lands that could, at similar cost, be subjected to cultivation. In the one case, the power of capital over labor must steadily increase. In the other, it must as regularly decline — the laborer constantly obtaining better lands in return for diminishing proportions of its products, paid as rent. Declining value of the early lands follows, as a necessary consequence. That such decline does take place, and that it is a consequence of growing facility of accumulation, has been already shown *— land, everywhere, obeying the same law as ploughs, axes, and engines — all of which, in time, fall below the cost of production. Its value being everywhere limited to the *cost of reproduction*, and that tending to decline with every increase in the growth of wealth, its owner finds himself compelled to accept, from the man who uses it, a diminished *proportion* of its products. No such rent as that imagined by Mr. Ricardo, ever has been, or can be, paid. As well might the owner of the early engine, or the early mill, expect to be paid for the use of "the original and indestructible properties" of the iron — as the owner of the early land.

§ 5. The third proposition is, that, with the increase of wealth and population, and the consequent necessity for resorting to the poorer soils, the landlord's proportion tends to increase — rent rising as labor becomes less and less productive. If cultivation does commence with the richer soils, then is this proposition true —the necessary result of an increase in the numbers of mankind, and in the power of combination and association, being the growing subjection of the men who labor, to the will of those who own the land. The ultimate slavery of man is, thus, the natural termination of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrines. If, however, he does *not* commence on the rich soils — if, on the contrary, he commences always on the poorer ones—proceeding thence to those

* See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 125 to 130.

which are richer, with constantly increasing return to labor, the reverse of this must be true. The proportion of the landlord must, then, as steadily decrease — leaving a larger proportion of an increased quantity for the laborer, whose ultimate lot must be freedom, instead of slavery; and that such is the course of things, is proved by the history of all the advancing nations of the world.

Adam Smith told his readers that, whereas, in the early period of society, the cultivators of the land had been bondsmen, whose person and effects, and the produce of whose labor, had been the property of their lord, the share of the landlord of his day seldom exceeded a third, or even a fourth part of the product—the amount of rent having, meanwhile, so much increased, that it was then "three or four times greater than the whole had been before."*

That the proportion was falling, was admitted by Mr. Malthus, when assuring his readers that, according to the returns then lately made to the Board of Agriculture, its average did not exceed one-fifth; whereas, it had formerly been a fourth, a

* *Wealth of Nations*, book 2, chap. iii.

The fact thus remarked by Dr. Smith, was in direct opposition to the general principle elsewhere enunciated by him, in virtue of which "the landlord's share of the produce necessarily increases with the increase of the produce." Further, he tells his readers, that "the real value of the landlord's share, his real command of the labor of other people, not only rises with the real value of the produce, but the proportion of his share to the whole produce rises with it." * * * "No more labor being required to collect the larger quantity, *a greater proportion of it, consequently, must belong to the landlord.*"—Ibid, book 4, chap. xi.

As the reader has already seen, Dr. Smith long preceded Mr. Ricardo in the announcement of the fact that man commenced the work of cultivation on the rich soils of the earth. So commencing, he was led, necessarily, to the further proposition, that, "when the most fertile soils have all been occupied, less profit can be made by the cultivation of what is inferior in soil and situation."—Ibid, book 1, chap. ix. This, however, must have been precisely the condition in which Britain, according to his theory, must have found herself at the moment at which he wrote—population then increasing at a rate such as had never before been known, and producing the very necessity thus predicted. The inferior soils *should* have been rapidly coming into cultivation — the landlord's proportion *should* have been increasing — wages *should* have been falling; and yet, the very reverse of this is what he himself describes — the landlord's proportion falling, and wages rising. In no part of his work, is Dr. Smith less consistent with himself, than in that portion treating of the division of labor's products—the cause of inconsistency being attributable to the fact, that, while he held the idea that man *ought* to become more free, his theory of occupation led, inevitably, to the conclusion that he *must* become more and more enslaved. His work is a remarkable one for the day in which it was written; but they who confine their study of social science to the *Wealth of Nations*, commit the same error with those who limit their chemical researches to the works of Chaptal and Lavoisier.

third, or even two-fifths.* This, however, he regarded as a proof that there was a steadily increasing difficulty in obtaining food. The common impression, on the contrary, was, that men lived better than in olden times—having now meat, wheaten bread, sugar, tea, and coffee; whereas, in days long past, they were content with bread composed of barley, rye, and acorns. To prove that such was not the fact, he asserted that, whereas, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the laborer could have 192 pints of wheat as wages for a week, he then (1810) could have but 80 pints; and, since his day, another writer has ventured to assert that, in 1495, he could have 199 pints, or more than three bushels, for that amount of labor.

What were the annual wages of a laborer at that precise period, we have no means of ascertaining; but as the change was very slow, little error can result from taking those of the closing years of the previous century. In 1389, a plough-driver had 7*s.*, and a carter 10*s.* a-year, without clothing, or any other perquisite; and it is esteemed doubtful if, in addition to this, he had even his own wretched food. On an average of years, those wages would command not more than a quarter of wheat, or eight bushels; yet are we told, that a laborer could earn three bushels per week. In the same year, 450 days' labor were required for harvesting the produce of 200 acres of land—the average yield being about six bushels per acre; or, in the whole, 1200 bushels, $=2\frac{2}{3}$ bushels harvested for each day's work. The week's return, at the same rate, would be sixteen bushels, of which almost exactly one-fifth is allowed, as the wages of every week in the year. Of the people who worked, nearly all were employed on the land, manufactures being then in their infancy. Had all been so employed, with precisely similar returns, it would follow, that five weeks' wages would be equal to the whole annual crop; and yet, such statements are put forth gravely, by writers who know that, at that period, the land and its representative took at least two-thirds, leaving very little to the laborer. The harvest-hand of the present day does not receive even a fortieth of the quantity harvested; but he has work throughout the year, and harvest wages do not differ very greatly from those of other days. In the fifteenth century, on the contrary—employment during the

* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 177.

year being rare — those wages constituted an important portion of the year's revenue; as we see to be, even now, the case with the laborers of Ireland. Increase of wealth and population facilitates the distribution of employment throughout the year — thus increasing greatly the circulation, economy, and productiveness of labor; a fact that should have been known by all the economists who have, for so many years, been engaged in demonstrating the Malthusian doctrine, by proving the laborer's allowance of food to be less, in the present day, than it had been in those of the Plantagenets and Lancasters. Absurdity could scarcely be carried further than as it is exhibited in some of the statements on this subject.

Comparing the rents of the present time, with those of the days of Arthur Young,* the Edinburgh Review† shows that, in the intervening period, the average price, per acre, paid in Bedford and Norfolk, had grown from 11*s.* 9*d.* to 25*s.* 3*d.*; but that, within the same period, there had been various economies of cultivation amounting to 32*s.* 2*d.*—being more than double the increase of rent. The difference between the two goes to the farmer—being so much added to his profits. Added to these economies, are the vast advantages resulting from the creation of a great domestic market—enabling the farmer to obtain green crops, dairy produce, meat, and wool, in double the amount obtained by his predecessor.

These are vast advantages; and if, under such circumstances, land and labor do not increase in value, it must be owing to some error in the system. What that is, may readily be seen. In the days of Smith and Young, men, to a great extent, cultivated *their own* little properties. Since then, land has become more and more consolidated — producing a necessity for a great farming class to stand between, and be supported by, the man who owns the land, and him who tills it. The produce being the fund out of which wages, rent, and profits, are to be paid, the more that is taken by this last, the less there is to be divided among the others. The proportion borne by profits to the whole product, being, according to the reviewer, an increasing one, we thus obtain the true reason why it is, that land does not increase in value, and why it is, that the power of the farm-laborer to command supplies of food decreases, when, in the natural course

* 1770. † July, 1852.

of things, it should increase. The recent tendency of all English action, in regard to land, has been a retrograde one; and therefore it is, that there has been, on the part of nearly all the economists of that country, so ingenious an effort to furnish natural laws, in virtue of which the Creator may be made to assume the responsibility for poverty and crime produced by man.

In France, as has been already shown, the number of agricultural families nearly doubled in the period from 1700 to 1840 — the average daily wages of agricultural labor, in the same time, almost quadrupling. In the first period, the proportion allotted to the laborer was thirty-five per cent.; in the latter, it was sixty per cent. In the first, the land-owner retained sixty-five per cent., or almost twice as much as the laborer's share; whereas, in the latter, he retained but forty per cent.— being only two-thirds as much. Nevertheless, so great had been the increase of product, that the smaller proportion of the latter period gave to the capitalist 2,000,000,000 of francs, in place of 850,000,000 received in the earlier ones.*

Such is the course of things in every country in which wealth and population are permitted to increase, and commerce is allowed to extend itself—all existing commodities then necessarily declining in their value as compared with labor, and labor rising as compared with them, because of constant diminution in the cost of reproduction. In Prussia, forty years since, a third of the product was regarded as the share to which the tenant might equitably be entitled. Since then — labor having become greatly more productive—the laborer's proportion has rapidly increased. So, too, is it in Russia and in Spain; whereas, in Ireland, India, Mexico, and Turkey, it has steadily declined—wealth, in all those countries, tending downwards, instead of upwards.

Wealth *should* grow more rapidly than population. Its growth, however, being in the direct ratio of the rapidity of circulation, it is necessarily slow in all the countries of advancing centralization — that being the certain road towards slavery, and political and moral death. Every increase in the ratio of wealth to population, is attended with an augmentation of the power of the laborer, as compared with that of landed or other capital.

* The reader will find these facts given much more at length, by turning to vol. ii. p. 60. *ante.*

We all see, that when ships are more numerous than cargoes, freights are low; and, *vice versâ*, that when cargoes are more abundant than ships, freights are high. When ploughs and horses more abound than ploughmen, the latter fix the wages; but when ploughmen are more abundant than ploughs, the owners of the latter determine the distribution of the product. Wealth increasing rapidly, new soils are brought into cultivation, and more ploughmen are required. The demand for ploughs producing a demand for more men to mine the coal and smelt the ore, the iron-master becomes a competitor for the laborer, who obtains a larger proportion of the constantly increasing return to labor. He, in turn, becoming a better purchaser of cloth, the manufacturer becomes a competitor with the iron-master and the farmer for his services. His proportion being again increased, he now requires sugar, and tea, and coffee; and next, the ship-master competes with the manufacturer, the iron-master, and the farmer. With the growth of wealth and population, there is, thus, a constant increase in the demand for mental and physical effort — the increased productiveness of which, and the consequently increased facility of accumulating wealth, are followed necessarily, and certainly, by an increase of the laborer's proportion. His wages rising, the *proportion* of the capitalist falls; yet now the latter accumulates fortune more rapidly than ever — his interest, and that of the laborer, being in perfect harmony with each other. Seeking evidence of this, we find it in the constantly increasing amount of the rental of France and England, derived from the appropriation of a constantly decreasing proportion of the product of the land; as well as in the enormous amount of railroad tolls, derived from a charge for transportation that sinks into insignificance, when compared with those of the wagoner and the turnpike owner. The highest evidence of increasing wealth, is to be found in the reduction of the capitalist's proportion; and yet, the cardinal principle of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine is found in the assertion, that, with the growth of wealth and population, that proportion must increase.

Nothing is more frequent than references to those "good old times" when the laborer obtained food more readily than at present, yet nothing could be more erroneous. The whole quantity consumed in England now, is, at the lowest estimate, sixty

times as great as in the days of Edward III.; while the population is but little more than six times greater. Divided equally, the average, per head, would be ten times as great, in quantity—making no allowance for difference of quality. In those days of barbarous wassail, the waste among the nobles and their followers was very great. In our day, economy prevails everywhere, and it does so necessarily—the general standard of living rising, in exact accordance with the diminution in the proportion of labor's products given to the proprietor of the land. Increase of wealth tending, therefore, to the production of economy, that, in turn, aids in the increase of wealth — thus facilitating the extension of cultivation over the richer soils. Therefore it is, that the higher the quality of the soils in cultivation, and the larger the amount of production, the greater must be the power of the laborer to provide for his family and himself; and the greater the need for care and economy among those who do not sell their labor, and yet are required to conform to the higher standard that has been established.

Capital being, thus, the great equalizer of conditions, the interests of all are concerned in the adoption of measures required for preventing that waste of it which results from war, or from the absence of prompt demand for the potential energy resulting from its consumption in the form of food. The more instantly the demand for human effort follows the supply, the greater must be the power of accumulation, and the stronger must be the tendency towards diminution in the proportion of the capitalist, and increase in that of the laborer.*

The following table of the results of the two systems, may now be compared by the reader with what is passing before his eyes—having done which, he can select for himself, the one he deems most in accordance with the facts.

* That the change which takes place in the mode of distribution, is a direct consequence of the limitation of value to the cost of reproduction, is thus shown by Professor Ferrara, of Turin:—

"The *present*, resting on the accumulations of the *past*, acquires a productive force which, otherwise, it could not have. Having made the acquisition, it becomes strengthened for emancipation from the need of further aid. Labor, past and present—capital and labor—meeting each other in the market, the general law of value governs all their negotiations — that law being directly constituted for the emancipation of the present from the tyranny of the past."—*Biblioteca dell' Economista*, vol. xiii. p. lxix.

	RICARDO'S DOCTRINE.			OBSERVATION.		
		Power of Land.	Power of Labor.		Power of Land.	Power of Labor.
First period.....	100	.....	100	30	20	10
Second "	190	10	180	70	42	28
Third "	270	30	240	120	60	60
Fourth "	340	60	280	180	80	100
Fifth "	400	100	300	250	100	150
Sixth "	450	150	300	330	120	210
Seventh "	490	210	280	420	140	280
Eighth "	520	280	240	510	155	355
Ninth "	540	360	180	620	170	450
Tenth "	550	450	100	740	180	560
Eleventh "	550	550	.....	870	190	680

§ 6. The next proposition is, that wealth tends to counteract these laws—preventing the necessity for resorting to less productive soils, by producing improvements in cultivation. This proposition was interpolated into the system, because of the absolute necessity for leaving a place of escape for some of the thousand exceptions to his laws, presenting themselves to the consideration of its author; and its presence there is a direct admission of the unsoundness of his doctrine.

According to Mr. Ricardo, wealth should grow most rapidly when, and where, land is most abundant — when, and where, the best soils alone are cultivated. That his followers think so, is obvious from the fact that they, one and all, attribute the rapid growth of wealth in the United States, to the abundance of land. Improvements of cultivation should, then, be most rapid where land is most abundant; but such has not been the case in any country of the world. So far the reverse has it been, that wealth has grown most slowly in those in which rich and unoccupied soils were most abounding; and for the reason, that there — the population being most dispersed — the power of association has least existed. It grows, now, most rapidly in those in which resort is being had to the soils rejected in the early periods—that being the precise manner in which improvements in the mode of cultivation are most exhibited.* The plough enables the farmer to go deep into the lower soil, while the spade facilitates his access to the marl—the railroad enabling him to change its place.

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 114.

The same road, too, brings the coal to the lime—thus facilitating the compounding of a new soil, which, according to Mr. Ricardo, *should be* worse than the old one, and yet, *is* better. With every step in the extension of cultivation, labor *should* become less productive — the growth of wealth diminishing in its rapidity, with corresponding diminution in the power of effecting further improvements; and yet, there is, with each, an increase in the power of man to command the services of nature.

The new soils are better than the old ones, or they are worse. If the first, then is Mr. Ricardo's theory wholly without foundation. If the second, then must the extension of cultivation be attended with diminished power of accumulation — producing a necessity for applying labor with less and less advantage, and leading inevitably to pauperism, slavery, and crime. The law of nature in relation to the production of food being no more to be arrested than can those in relation to the gravitation of matter, the system-maker who finds himself forced to rely upon such suspensions for the establishment of his theory, thereby furnishes conclusive evidence of his own deficiency in knowledge. All her laws are simple and universally true. That of Mr. Ricardo is complex and universally false. Had it been otherwise, there would have been no necessity for providing escape-valves for troublesome facts.

§ 7. The last proposition is, that every such improvement tends to retard the increase of rent — every obstacle to improvement tending, on the contrary, to accelerate it. The interests of the landlord and the laborer are, therefore, always in opposition to each other.

If men did commence with the cultivation of the most fertile soils, and if, with the progress of population, there did arise a necessity for resorting to those of less fertility, yielding a constantly decreasing return to labor, such must inevitably be the case. The slower the increase in the supply of food, the more rapid must be the increase in the power of the owner of land in cultivation, and the greater the tendency to poverty and disease among those required to live by labor.* The landlord must take

* "How slow soever the increase of population, provided that of capital be still slower [believed by Mr. Mill to be the case], wages will be reduced so low that a portion of the population will regularly die from the consequences of want."—MILL.

a constantly increasing proportion — the laborer becoming his slave, thankful to be allowed to live and work, although compelled to live on acorn-bread. Mr. Ricardo having, here, carried out his doctrine to its legitimate results, those results must, at some future day, be reached — his theory being correct. It signifies nothing, to say that the downward progress may be arrested. Man must be always tending in that direction, there to arrive at last, were it a thousand years hence.* The experience of Europe for thousands of years, and that of America for the last three centuries, would lead us to opposite conclusions; yet Mr. Ricardo insists that such is *the law*. Being so, when is it to begin to become operative? We know of no other of nature's laws thus hung up, *in terrorem*, over man; none, the action of which is thus suspended, to fall, at some future time, with a force increased, immeasurably, during the period of suspension. Population growing daily, and with great rapidity, the necessity for resorting to less productive soils must be increasing with every hour; yet is man permitted to go on to increase his species, in blind and blissful ignorance of the fact, that his descendants are to suffer all the pangs of hunger, while land-owners are to revel in abundance such as has never yet been known — the one class becoming masters, and the other slaves.

Admitting, now, that cultivation commences always on the poorer soils—thence proceeding to the swamps and river-bottoms — the reverse of this would prove to be the case. The quantity of rent would then increase with every improvement, and decline with every obstacle to such improvement — the interests of landlord and laborer being, thus, in perfect harmony with each other. Improvements in cultivation follow, necessarily, from the growth of wealth. The more spades and ploughs, and the better their quality, the larger is the return to human effort, and the greater the rent. The more horses and cattle, the larger is the return to human effort, and the greater the rent. The more steam-engines, the easier is the work of drainage, the larger is the return to labor, and the greater the rent. The more mills, the easier is the conversion of the grain into flour, the larger is the

* "From the operation of fixed and permanent causes, the increasing sterility of the soil is sure, in the long run, to overmatch the improvements that occur in machinery and agriculture, prices experiencing a corresponding rise, and profits a corresponding fall."— McCulloch.

return to labor, and the greater the rent. The more factories, the less is the labor required for obtaining clothing, the greater is the *proportion* that may be given to improving the land by making drains, roads, bridges, and school-houses, the larger is the return to labor, and the greater the rent. The interests of the landlord would seem, therefore, to be directly promoted by every measure tending to augment the wealth of the community, and to aid in the improvement of cultivation.

How stands it with the laborer? Seeing that, with every increase in the number and quality of spades and ploughs, engines and roads, mills and factories, his labor becomes more productive — that, with every increase in the ratio which spades and ploughs, engines and mills, bear to the men by whom they are to be employed, he is enabled to retain an increased proportion of the larger product — and that, whereas, when the land in cultivation yielded a net product of only six bushels to the acre, the owner took two-thirds, leaving him but two, now, when it yields forty bushels, he takes but a fifth, leaving him thirty-two — he *feels* that his interests are, like those of the rent receiver, directly advanced by every measure tending to the augmentation of wealth, and to the promotion of improvement in the modes of cultivation.

§ 8. The harmony of all the permanent interests of man being perfect, it would seem to be required, only, that men should be persuaded of its existence — appreciating fully the advantages of co-operation over antagonism, and seeing that, like mercy—

> "It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven,
> Upon the place beneath"——

blessing both "him that gives, and him that takes," to induce all honest and enlightened men to an effort for enabling their fellow-men, everywhere, to indulge their natural desire for association and combination — the husbandman and the artisan taking their places by each other's side. The necessity for this, and the advantages to be derived from it by all — Gaul and Briton — Russian and American — Turk and Christian — being more fully understood, peace and commerce would take the place of trading jealousy and universal discord. The harmony of classes thus begetting a harmony of nations, the love of peace would diffuse

itself throughout the earth. All would then become satisfied that, in the laws which govern the relations of man with his fellow-man, there reign the same beautiful simplicity and harmony everywhere else so abundantly evident; all, by degrees, would learn, that their own interests would be best promoted by respecting, in others, those rights of person and property they desired to have respected in themselves; and all become, at length, convinced that the whole of social science is embraced in the brief words of the great founder of Christianity: "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

Mr. Ricardo's system is one of discords. Its parts not agreeing with each other, its whole tends to the promotion of war among both classes and nations. Professing an admiration for freedom of commerce, he teaches that a monopoly of the land is in accordance with a great law of nature. Believing in freedom of action, he teaches that if men and women *will* unite in marriage — thus doing that which most stimulates to exertion, and most tends to improve both heart and mind — starvation is to be their probable reward. Thoroughly admiring sound morality, he enforces the advantages of celibacy — thus affording countenance to the many restrictions by which marriage is prevented, and profligacy promoted. Professing a desire for free trade in corn, he teaches the landlord, that his interests will be injuriously affected by it. Anxious to improve the condition of the people, he assures the land-owner, that all wealth appropriated to improvement in the modes of cultivation, must diminish the progress of rent. Desiring that the rights of property may be respected, he instructs the laborer, that the interests of the land-owner are to be promoted by every measure tending to produce a scarcity of food — rent being paid because of an exercise of power on the part of the few, who have appropriated to themselves, that which a beneficent Deity intended for the common good of all. His book is the true manual of the demagogue — seeking power by means of agrarianism, war, and plunder. Its lessons being inconsistent with those afforded by the study of all well-observed facts, and inconsistent even with themselves, the sooner they shall come to be discarded the better will it be, for the interests of landlord and tenant, manufacturer and mechanic, and mankind at large.

§ 9. That, for centuries past, the progress of affairs in England, France, and other countries, has been in the direction we have indicated, cannot admit the slightest doubt — the proportion of the land-owner and other capitalists having constantly diminished, while that of the laborer has steadily advanced, and the former having become enriched, as the latter has become free. Looking to other portions of the world, however, we see a different state of things — the proportion of the land-owner having increased in Ireland, India, and other countries, while that of the laborer has decreased. It is needed, therefore, that we now inquire into the disturbing causes producing such effects — thereby ascertaining how far they tend to the establishment, or disproof, of the proposition, *that the tendency to a decline in the proportion of the capitalist, and to an increase in that of the laborer, is in the direct ratio of the circulation of labor and its products.*

Attica, in the peaceful days which followed the legislation of Solon, exhibits to us a people among whom the capitalist's proportion was steadily declining — the people becoming, therefore, more free from year to year. Later, war and trade having become the sole pursuits, the mode of distribution changes, and man becomes re-enslaved. When next we see the seat of this once-powerful republic, we find in it a Roman province—the free citizens of earlier days having been wholly replaced by slaves, dependent on the will of men like Herodes Atticus, for the determination of the question, as to what is to be the distribution of the proceeds of land and labor. The circulation of the social body having gradually ceased, political and moral death had followed, as its necessary consequence.

Turning to Italy, we meet a repetition of what has been seen in Greece — the circulation gradually ceasing, as land becomes monopolised, and individual men acquiring power to direct the distribution of the produce of hosts of slaves. Centralization and slavery inducing always the abandonment of the richest soils, the later days of the empire exhibit the fertile Campagna as having reverted to a state of nature, while Rome itself had become the property of a few great families, recipients of enormous incomes, but wholly incapable of self-defence.*

* The great families of Rome, in the days of Alaric, were 1760 in number —many of them having annual incomes exceeding $500,000. Of the Campagna, half a million of acres had been then abandoned.

Spain expelled her most industrious people — thus producing stoppage of the circulation, and abandonment of her richest soils. Land becoming consolidated, the effects are seen in the gradual growth of power among the few, attended by corresponding weakness in the people and the State.

Louis X. proclaims the abolition of slavery — every man in France being, thenceforth, to be reputed free.* All his measures, and those of his successors, however, tending towards a total suspension of the circulation, their effect is seen in a steady consolidation of the soil in the hands of the nobles and the Church — the people perishing like flies in the autumn, while their masters wasted their substance on wars abroad, and palaces at home.†

The British policy having for its fundamental idea, the centralization of manufactures at home, and the stoppage of the circulation abroad, it is in the countries most subject to it, we should find the *proportion* of the landlord largest — the *quantity* least — and the power of the laborer over the product of his efforts, at the minimum point. That all these conditions have been complied with, is shown in the facts, that, while the Irish laborer has paid at the rate of five, six, and eight pounds per acre, the land-owners have been so completely ruined, as to have produced a necessity for the revolutionary measure of creating a special court, charged with dispossessing the rent receivers. Turning to the West Indies, we find the land-owner taking so large a proportion of the proceeds of labor, and leaving to the laborer so small an one, as to have caused the entire annihilation of nearly two-thirds of all the people who had been imported — thus producing a necessity for a constant importation of laborers, to be, in their turn, annihilated.‡ Large as was the proportion of the land-

* Proclaiming freedom for all, Louis invited the serfs of the crown domains to *purchase* their liberty. That they refused to do; whereupon he ordered his officers to take their property, and compel them to become free men. Greedy of revenue, he imposed a tax of two deniers per franc, on every contract of purchase and sale made by the Italians — then the chief manufacturers for Europe. The Jews having been expelled by previous sovereigns, he invited their return — guaranteeing them full power to pursue their debtors, on condition of giving him *two-thirds of all that might be recovered.*

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 59, for the condition of the subjects of Louis XIV., the founder of Marly and Versailles.

‡ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 297.

lords, they yet were ruined, their quantity having been but small. Looking, next, to India, we find a government claiming, as annual rent, an amount equal to a fourth of the whole value of the land, yet obtaining an amount not exceeding seventy cents per head — thus furnishing proof conclusive of the application to that great country, of the law in virtue of which, the quantity of rent diminishes, as its proportion increases.* So, too, is it in Turkey and Portugal, the societary circulation there decreasing, with constant diminution in the power of production — requiring the payment, by the occupant of land, of a constantly increasing proportion of its products to be applied in payment of rent and taxes. These, combined, absorb so large a share, that the farm-laborer is unable to command the commonest necessaries of life.

A century since, it was complained, in France, that rent and taxes absorbed eleven-twelfths of the produce — leaving but a single twelfth for the man who tilled the land. Still less than that, is now the proportion of the English farm-laborer—it being, as we see, somewhat doubtful if he receives, for his share, even a twentieth of the product of his labor. His condition is, therefore, lower than that of persons of a corresponding condition of life, in almost any community claiming a place among the civilized nations of the world.†

* "The revenue of this country was derived from taxes, and was distinct from the income of the proprietors of the country. But the revenue of India was made up of both; for our Government had, by fraud and usurpation, occupied the position of landlords and proprietors, as well as governors, in India; and the wretched twenty or twenty-one millions that we annually wrung from a starving people, were made up partly of rent that we received from the land, which never exceeded thirteen millions, and partly from the taxes. It would be impossible to add anything to the amount of our present revenue, which was partly raised by a land-tax amounting to sixty per cent., calculated, not according to the value of the land, but according to the probable value of the crop; and partly by other taxes imposed on articles of all descriptions, from those of luxury and vice down to the most indispensable necessaries of life. And yet, this small revenue was raised from a territory as large as Europe, infinitely more fertile, better peopled, more completely in the hands of the Government, blessed with three or four harvests in a year, and abounding in every production that could be named among the products of the tropics."—Speech of Mr. Anstey in the British House of Commons.

† "If we have enormous wealth, we ought to remember that we have enormous pauperism also; if we have middle classes richer and more intelligent than those of any other country in the world, we have poor classes, *forming the majority of the people of this country*, more ignorant, more pauperised, and more morally degraded, than the poorer classes of most of the countries of Western Europe."—KAY: *Social Condition of the people of England and of Europe*, vol. i. p. 6.

The farmer stands between the owner of the land and the day-laborer, who does the work; the trader, between the man who makes the coat and him who wears it; the banker, the broker, and thousands of other middlemen, between the owner of capital and those who need to use it; the lawyer, and the parliamentary agent, between those who would have roads, and those who desire to make them. It is the system of middlemen; and hence the creation of such enormous fortunes by bankers, traders, agents, and others, who live at the public cost.* The proportion of the manufacturer has fallen, but here again, and for the same reason—want of activity in the circulation—the artisan and his family are unable to command proper supplies of either food or clothing. The proportion of the owner of capital in the form of money, has fallen, and yet, the rate of interest paid by the poorer members of society, is as great as in almost any part of Europe. The cause of these phenomena is to be found in the fact, that the system tends to increase the friction of society — thus stopping circulation and building up trade at the expense of commerce.

Turning now to the United States, we see a country of almost perpetual change — the rate of interest, always high, being at times quadrupled. Seeking the cause of this, we find these changes always attending stoppages in the rapidity of circulation — the capitalist's proportion tending upwards, when the policy of the country tends to promote the export of raw materials and of gold; downwards, when it tends in the contrary

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 437, for the enormous proportions of the traders of England, and the small proportion of labor's products falling to the producer. This state of things it was, that led M. Blanqui to doubt the accuracy of the doctrine of Adam Smith, in reference to private rights — telling his readers, that, while it had produced an extraordinary development of industry, it has borne "bitter fruits in the creation of immense wealth, side by side with the most frightful poverty. Enriching the nation, it has," as he continues, "most cruelly treated a portion of its people. Therefore is it," as he adds, "that we are now obliged to seek a regulator, capable of restraining the gigantic instruments of production, which both nourish and famish a people — which clothe, while despoiling them — which relieve their distresses, while grinding them to powder"—*Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 145.

A more careful study of the *Wealth of Nations*, would have satisfied M. Blanqui that the facts he here describes, are but the consequences predicted by Dr. Smith, as certain to result to the people of England, from persistence in an insane effort to make of their country the one and only workshop of the world—thus establishing a centralization leading, inevitably, to poverty, slavery, and death.

direction. As a consequence of this it is, that free-trade periods always signalise themselves by agitations for the repeal of laws restraining the demands of moneyed capitalists. Under a system tending to the creation of a favorable balance of trade, the capitalist's proportion would tend steadily to decline—money becoming, gradually, as cheap as in any other country of the world. Under the existing one, it tends upwards; and for the reason, that the American people give a constantly increasing quantity of their own rude products, for a gradually diminishing one of all the metals, gold and silver included. The proportion of the capitalist is now steadily advancing; and hence it is, that the palaces of merchant princes so much increase in number and in splendor, while crime and pauperism make such giant strides.

§ 10. All the facts thus far laid before to the reader, in relation to wages, profits, and rents, and all those presented by the history of the world, now range themselves under the following propositions:—

That, in the early periods of society, population being small, and widely scattered, the possession of a small amount of capital gives to its owner a great amount of power — enabling him to hold the laborer dependent on his will, as serf or slave:

That, with growth of wealth and numbers, the power of combination increases, with great increase in the productiveness of labor, and in the power of accumulation — every step in that direction, being attended by decline in the power of the already existing capital to command the services of the laborer, and by increase of power on the part of the latter to command the aid of capital:

That the *proportion* of the increased product of labor assigned to the laborer tends, thus, steadily to increase, while that of the capitalist tends, as regularly, to decline:

That the *quantity* assigned to both, increases — that of the laborer growing, however, far more rapidly than that retained by the capitalist — the latter having a smaller proportion of the augmented quantity, while the former has a constantly increasing proportion of the rapidly increasing quantity:

That the tendency to equality is, therefore, in the direct ratio of the growth of wealth, and consequent productiveness of labor:

That wealth grows in the ratio of the rapidity of circulation:

That the circulation increases in rapidity, as individuality is more and more developed—with growing power for the diversification of employments among those who labor:

That, the more rapid the circulation, the larger must be the proportion of the laborer, and the greater must be the tendency towards equality, elevation, and freedom, among the people—and the greater the strength of the State.

§ 11. For half a century, the world had been positively assured, that, in virtue of great natural laws, the work of cultivation had always commenced on the "rich and fertile soils" of the earth — the poor and lonely settler invariably preferring those whose "original and indestructible powers" were greatest; that the return to the labor of cultivation had then been large; that, land being then abundant, and all at liberty to select at pleasure from among the richest soils, rent remained unknown — the laborer taking for himself the whole produce of his land; that, with the growth of wealth and population — the richer lands having been appropriated by the early settlers — there came a necessity for cultivating less fertile lands; that, simultaneously with the arrival of this *necessity* on the part of the poorer members of the community, there arose a *power* on the part of the richer ones, to claim a rent, as compensation for the use of those previously in cultivation; that the more rapid the growth of numbers and of wealth, the greater had been the need for resorting to the less fertile soils — with constant growth in the proportion of the product demandable as rent; that rent had grown as labor had became less productive — with corresponding growth of power in those who owned the land, and diminution thereof in those who labored on it; that, such having been the course of things in all the past, such must it be in all the future—"the increasing sterility of the soil" being "sure, in the long run, to overmatch the improvements in machinery and agriculture;" and that, therefore, the time must inevitably arrive, when enormous masses of every population would "regularly die of want." During all this period, the necessity for resorting to the poorer soils, has been made to bear the burthen of the "vice and misery" found existing on the globe — the whole of it being fairly attributable to error on the part of

the Creator, in subjecting man to laws, in virtue of which, population tended to increase, as the powers of the land decreased.

More careful observation has, however, enabled us to ascertain, that the course of operation, throughout the world, has been directly the reverse of this — cultivation having, and that invariably, been commenced on the poorer soils, and the growth of wealth and numbers being marked by corresponding increase of power to command the richer ones; that the return to labor given to the work of cultivation tends, therefore, steadily to increase; that the proportion demandable by the owners of the lands first cultivated, tends, therefore, to decrease; and, that the course of man, in all advancing communities, is in the direction of wealth, strength, and freedom, and not, as Mr. Ricardo would have us believe, towards poverty, weakness, and ultimate enslavement. That the facts of history are in accordance with this latter view, and that Mr. Ricardo's theory of the course of settlement is, therefore, untenable, is now scarcely at all disputed — the advocates of the latter having been unable to adduce a single fact in the history of colonization, ancient or modern, tending, in any manner whatsoever, to invalidate the great law, in obedience to which, poor and scattered men commence their operations with inferior instruments — passing thence onward and upward, to those more powerful ones, whose services they are, by aid of combination with their fellows, enabled to demand at nature's hands.

Such being the case, it might be supposed that the theory of Rent would be permitted quietly to pass into the shades of oblivion — taking its place by the side of the Ptolemaic system, the theory of the transmigration of souls, and the imaginary law upon which it had been based. Not so, however; the world being now assured, that the disappearance of Mr. Ricardo's great law has, in no manner whatsoever, changed the state of affairs — his theory of rent standing self-supported, and requiring for its maintenance, no other evidence than that which is furnished by the fact, that different pieces of land command different rents!

Mr. Ricardo gave to the world not a mere theory of rent, but a great law, in virtue of which the tendency towards the ultimate enslavement of the laborer increased as numbers grew, and as the power of the land decreased. His successors now assert,

that whether the power of man to command the services of the earth be a decreasing or increasing quantity—whether he becomes more the slave of nature, or more her master — is entirely unimportant — the law of distribution being the same in either case! Admitting that the facts had really been such as it is now asserted that they have been—cultivation having commenced on the poorer soils—"is it not clear," it is now asked, "that those poor soils must then have been the most productive?" "Did not Mr. Ricardo, when he spoke of the richest and most fertile soils, clearly mean those poor and unfertile ones which must have first been occupied? Is it not, then, perfectly in accordance with his theory to suppose that those poor soils would be the first which would yield a rent?"—that very rent whose payment he had attributed to the growing scarcity of the richer ones! Were the author of this celebrated theory now living, he would be the first to repudiate the defence of it, recently put forth by teachers who claim to rank among his disciples, and to follow in his footsteps.*

Such being the position in which it is now placed by its advocates, it might, perhaps, be dismissed from consideration without further comment, and it would be so, were it not for the character of the reasons that are adduced in support of further maintenance of this exploded theory—reasons looking to the *consequences* that must inevitably result from an admission of the truth of what is offered for consideration, as a great law of nature!

"It is pretended," says an eminent writer, "that Ricardo deceived himself when he asserted that the good lands, that is to say, the lands best fitted for certain species of cultivation, were first occupied. It is affirmed, on the contrary, that, as a matter of preference, men select the worst, for earliest cultivation. Admitting, even, that it were so, that would not, as it appears to me, in any manner, change the condition of affairs. From the moment when men cultivated, at one and the same time, poor and rich land, rent would begin to show itself, whether they had commenced with the former or the latter. What Mr. Carey says on

* "Carey generalises these facts — thinking in this manner to overthrow Mr. Ricardo's law! He has failed to see, that Ricardo spoke only of the original powers of the soil. A marshy piece of land, that must be drained at great cost of labor, possesses less of original power, than a piece of sandy land that may at once be placed under cultivation."—ROSCHER: *Economie Politique*, vol. ii., p. 26.

this subject, signifies, therefore, nothing, as regards the principle at issue. We must not the less, however, mistrust his assertion—leading, as it does, directly to protection. In fact, *if men do really commence with the poorer lands, it would be useful, in the interest of national production, to prohibit foreign corn — thereby promoting the cultivation of the richer lands, which, without that, would remain unoccupied* — and thereby, consequently, ameliorating the societary condition."*

It can scarcely here be necessary to say to the reader, how much the author of this has erred in supposing it had ever been asserted, that men selected poor lands for cultivation, when possessed of the power required for enabling them to cultivate those richer ones — capable of yielding a larger return to labor. The reverse of this is true — men always taking the best they can command, but always, in an advancing community, passing *from the poorer towards the better*, whereas, Mr. Ricardo causes them to pass *from the better towards the worse.* Far more accurate are the inferences as to the measures of policy necessarily resulting from the adoption of the real law of occupation, as compared with that imaginary one of which he is the advocate — the necessary tendency of the unrestrained operation of this latter, being in the direction of the dispersion of men, attended, as it must be, by diminution in the power of combination, exhaustion of the soil, and enslavement of its cultivators. The former being admitted to be true, nature's laws are seen to tend in the direction of increased association and combination, increased productiveness of the soil, and growing power of the laborer — pointing the statesman, and that most clearly, to the adoption of measures similar to those adopted by Colbert, and now so successfully carried into execution by Belgium, Germany, Russia, and those other countries now following in the lead of France.

Differing widely from all the advocates of the Ricardo system above referred to, a distinguished French economist assures his readers that, of the two theories, "it is certain, that that of Mr. Carey is by much the most in accordance with common sense — the facts proving that, until an advanced age of society, man no

* *Journal des Economistes*, Nov., 1851. The italics are those of the present writer.

where attacks the virgin forests—dikes the rivers, with the view of subjecting their banks to cultivation — drains the marshes — or improves the health of the humid plain — thereby enabling himself to cultivate those lands whose deep, rich soils, formed of the remains of animal and vegetable life, are destined to offer for his acceptance, a fertility elsewhere entirely unequalled. . . . . It is, however," as he continues, "asked — Of what importance is it, what is the order of cultivation? From the moment that we recognise, in different lands, a difference of production, there is irregularity of revenue — there is a *rent*. As has above been seen, we do not deny the fact of rent being paid. We say only, that in supposing the order of cultivation to be in the direction of less and less fertile lands, Ricardo has committed himself, unconditionally, to the support of the idea, that the brute labor of the earlier periods, is that which is most largely remunerated—thereby compelling himself to attribute to the payment of rent an undue importance, and to give that name to payments that are really the returns to advances long previously made, for the clearing, the appropriation, and the cultivation of lands which, even where really most fertile, have owed the discovery of that fertility to human efforts, even where it has not been absolutely due to human labor. As a consequence of this, he has been led to most sad results — results, against which we rejoice to see, that both observation and analysis now array themselves. . . . Humanity, placed in the face of lands likened by him to a series of machines of constantly decreasing power, should, and does in fact, according to him, give an increasing quantity of labor in exchange for the necessaries of life. Admitting, on the opposite side, that the order indicated by Ricardo, is not the necessary one, and that, on the contrary, it is, in many respects, the inverse of the true one — admitting that man goes most frequently from the poorer and more easily cultivated soils, to those which, thanks to the application of capital, acquire and develop a new fertility — it is the intelligent and scientific labor of the later periods, that will be most largely remunerated—humanity, in that case, tending towards an increased abundance in the supply of the rude products of the earth. Admit that their nominal prices remain high, that is of small importance, if the supply increases more rapidly than the

population — less labor being required to be given in exchange for similar quantities thereof. Thenceforward, the antagonism which it has been sought to establish between the effects produced in manufactures, and those produced in agriculture, must disappear—the fertility of *agricultural industry*, and not that of land, considered apart from labor and capital, becoming then the paramount facts in economical science, and opening to progress, on that side, as on every other, a career to which no limit can at present be assigned."*

* BAUDRILLART: *Manual d'Economie Politique*, p. 391.

The antagonism above referred to, exhibits itself in various forms, one of which may be here examined. The prices of cloths, houses, ships, and engines, tend to fall, with every improvement in the modes of production — being determined by the cost of reproduction, with the aid of the *latest and best* machines. Mr. Ricardo says, that rents rise, because of a rise of prices resulting from a growing necessity for resorting to less productive soils — the price of food being determined by the cost at which it can be obtained from the *latest and worst* machines. It being admitted, that man's course, in reference to land, is the same that we know it to be in reference to houses, ships, and engines, *from the poorer to the better*, the supposed antagonism ceases — one great principle governing in every case, and the universality of natural law being thus established. That such has been his course, is proved by the fact, that the lands first occupied in England, Scotland, Sweden, France, and the United States, are now abandoned — having proved as much unable to contend with the later ones, as are the early engines to compete with those of the present day. Nevertheless, the price of food does tend to rise, but it is for the reasons given in Chapter XXIX., and not for those asserted by Mr. Ricardo.

Mr. J. S. Mill denies the existence of any "invariable law," but admits that "the lands which require the greatest amount of clearing and drainage are seldom the first cultivated." Having found no case of exception to be produced, it would, perhaps, have been better had he frankly admitted, that they are *never* so. Let the order of cultivation, however, be what it may, the law of price, as he thinks, remains undisturbed — "those [lands] which when cultivated will yield the least return, in proportion to the labor required for their culture," always regulating "the price of agricultural produce; and all other lands" paying "a rent simply equivalent to the excess of the produce over this minimum." "If, indeed," he continues, "Mr. Carey could show that the return to labor from the land, *agricultural skill and science remaining the same*, is not a diminishing one, he would then overthrow a principle much more important than any law of rent. But, in this, he has wholly failed."

Here, as every where in the teachings of the Ricardo school, the essential difficulty consists in determining what is the exact idea meant to be conveyed by the words that are used. So far as we comprehend this, it is desired that we should show what *would be* the state of things, if the powers of man remained stationary, while numbers increased — a state of things that is of impossible occurrence — the powers of man growing always with the growth of population, and consequent increase in the power of association. With great respect for the writer of this, we would suggest, that the real subject of social science is MAN, as nature made him — *i. e.*, man, with the capacity and tendency for improvement — and not the being, human in form,

§ 12. That the facts of history are generally opposed to Mr. Ricardo, is admitted by Mr. Mill, who, nevertheless, adheres to the idea, that his theory of rent is "the most important proposition in political economy"—giving it to his readers in the following words:—

"After a certain and not very advanced stage in the progress of agriculture; as soon, in fact, as men have applied themselves to cultivation with any energy, and have brought to it any tolerable tools; from that time it is the law of production from the land, that, in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labor, the produce is not increased in an equal degree; doubling the labor does not double the produce; or, to express the same thing in other words, every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase in the application of labor to the land."*

Before that stage, the reverse of this must have been the case—increase of produce having been obtained by a less "proportional increase in the application of labor to the land." Two laws are thus exhibited to us—working in opposite directions, and leaving us to select that one which suits our purposes, when desiring to explain particular facts. Such not being the case, in any other department of science, it would seem to be little likely to occur in that one which treats of the laws that govern man.

That the law of decrease has not yet exhibited itself in operation, "does not," in Mr. Mill's opinion, "prove that the law of which we have been speaking does not exist, but only that there is some antagonising principle at work, capable *for a time* of making head against the law. Such an agency," he continues,

brute in all else, treated of in Ricardo-Malthusian books.—The passage quoted above is from Mr. Mill's third edition, and has met our eye only at the moment when this sheet is passing through the press. In it, we find, also, that we are asked to show "that in any old country, the uncultivated lands are generally those which would pay best for cultivation"—Dartmoor and Shap Fells being thereby proved "to be really the most fertile lands in England." The Swiss economist, in like manner, finding that we have asserted the passage of man from the poorer to the richer soils, will probably require us to show that Alpine peaks are richer than Lombardian plains. The most conclusive proof of confidence in our own accuracy, is to be found in accurately exhibiting the arguments of our opponents. That evidence, Mr Mill has, as we think, "wholly failed" to furnish.

* J. S. MILL: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 1, chap. xii., § 2.

"there is, in habitual antagonism to the law of diminishing return from land; and to the consideration of this we shall now proceed. It is no other than the progress of civilization. I use," he adds, "this general and somewhat vague expression, because the things to be included are so various, that hardly any term of a more restricted signification would comprehend them all."*

The answer to this, would seem to be found in the same author's own words, elsewhere used, to wit: "In order to prove that our science, and our knowledge of the particular case, render us competent to predict the future, we must show that they would have enabled us to predict the present and the past."†

Such is the great object of science; but of what advantage can that science be, which finds itself compelled to explain the past, by means of imaginary suspensions of great natural laws? Is it not clear from this, that social science, as taught by Mr. Ricardo and his successors, is only in that stage which is designated by M. Comte as the metaphysical one? Could it be otherwise, with a system which takes no note of the qualities by which man is distinguished from the beasts of the field?

§ 13. The law of distribution above presented for the reader's consideration, was first announced, twenty years since, by the author of the present work.‡ Re-appearing since, in the work of a distinguished French economist,§ its harmony and beauty are recognised by him, in the following words, whose truth will be acknowledged, by all who study it with the care and attention it so well deserves:—

"Such is the great, admirable, consoling, necessary, and *inflexible* law of capital. To demonstrate it is, as it appears to me, to strike with discredit the declamation, with which our ears have so long been dinned, against *the avarice and the tyranny* of the most powerful instrument of civilization and of *equalization*, that results from the exercise of human powers. * * * Thus, the great law of capital and labor, as regards the distribution of the products of their joint labors, is settled. The

* J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, book 1, chap. xii. § 3.
† J. S. Mill: *System of Logic.*
‡ *Principles of Political Economy*, Part I: Phila. 1837.
§ Bastiat; *Harmonies Economiques:* Paris, 1850.

absolute quantity of each is greater, but the *proportional part* of capital constantly diminishes, as compared with that of labor.

"Cease, then, capitalists and laborers, to look upon each other with eyes of suspicion, and of envy. Close your ears to those absurd declaimers, of whom nothing equals their pride, if it be not their ignorance, who, under the promise of future harmony, begin by exciting present discord. Recollect that, say what they may, your interests are one and the same — that they cannot be separated — that they tend together towards the realization of the general good — that the labors of the present generation combine themselves with those of generations that have passed — that it is right, that each who has united in the work should have a portion of the remuneration — and, that the most ingenious as well as the most equitable division, takes place among you by virtue of providential laws, and by means of free and voluntary arrangements, without requiring the aid of a parasitic sentimentalism to impose upon you its decrees, at the expense of your well-being, your liberty, your security, and your *dignity*." *

Widely different from this, are the tendencies of the doctrine which teaches, that "the landlord is doubly benefited by difficulty of production" — obtaining "a greater share," and being paid "in a commodity of higher value." † Had such, really, been the case, Mr. Ricardo would have been fully warranted in asserting, as he did, that the interests of owners of land were constantly opposed to those of all other classes of society — all the gain in their transactions with the public, accruing to them, and all the loss falling to those with whom they dealt. The system being, thus, one of universal discord, it tends, necessarily, to disturbance of the right to property in land, as is shown by

* Recognising the entire identity of the laws governing the profits of capital and the rent of land, Professor Ferrara, speaking of this law of distribution, says that it is, "to those who feel an interest in the condition of the poorer classes of society, a most consoling one." "Further," he adds, "we have shown that Providence, in thus providing by the increase of capital for an *ultimate limit* of its importance, has, by the same process, provided for its *extension*. The compensation of the capitalist finds itself, it is true, diminished in its ratio to the total product; but the *smaller proportion* of a *larger product*, in place of diminishing the reward of those possessing the accumulations of the past, causes its increase. In other words, proprietors, capitalists, and laborers, have one common interest — that of increasing the productiveness of labor."—*Biblioteca dell' Economista*, vol. xiii. p. lxx.

† RICARDO: *Chapter on Rent.*

the following passage from the work of one of its most distinguished advocates:—

"When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should always be remembered, that this sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. * * * If the State is at liberty to treat the possessors of land as public functionaries, it is only going one step farther to say, it is at liberty to discard them. The claim of the land-owners is altogether subordinate to the general policy of the State. The principle of property gives them no right to the land, but only a right to compensation, for whatever portion of their interest in the land it may be the policy of the State to deprive them of."*

Following up the idea thus presented, another distinguished teacher in the same school, has since assured his readers, that a repetition of the recent confiscation of Irish landed property, will soon be required for England.†

We have here the natural result of a doctrine from the study of which we learn, that the rent of land is compensation for "no sacrifice whatever—being received by those who neither labor nor put by, but merely hold out their hands to accept the offerings of the community." It is, as we are further told by the author of this sentence, the "reward" of the landlord "for having permitted the gifts of nature to be accepted."‡ Any policy tending to consolidation of the land is revolutionary in its tendencies — the necessary result of its pursuance being an arrest of the societary circulation, causing an accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, accompanied by a vast extension of the class having nothing, and likely to seek in revolution the means of improvement in their fortunes. That consolidation is the tendency in England, and in all the countries that follow in her lead, the reader has already seen. Its effects are visible in the total failure of respect for the rights of property, in Ireland, Scotland, and the Eastern and Western Indies — the landholder having been despoiled in the first — the tenant, in the

* J. S. Mill: *Principles*, book 11, chap. ii.
† Economist, 1852, p. 635. See *ante*, p. 91, *note*.
‡ Senior: *Outlines of Political Economy*, p. 166.

second *— the small proprietor, in the third — and the planter, in the last.†

"No man," says Mr. Mill, "made the land." Neither did any man make the bricks of which the mill is composed, or the iron used in constructing its machinery. All of these existed in the days of the Heptarchy, and all were equally valueless. All have present value, the reward of human effort. The property in all, stands on the same basis — all being governed by the same laws. Property in land is, however, held to be less sacred than that in stocks of cotton, cloth, and corn; and for the plain reason, that the whole system tends towards the extension of trade at the cost of commerce — to the conversion of a whole people into traders, at the cost of that greatest of all human pursuits, a scientific agriculture.

War among nations, and discord among individuals, grow with the growth of monopoly in land. The more perfect its consolidation, the greater must be the inequalities of society, and the more must those who labor be made to suffer, in the distribution effected between the people and the State.

* Few facts recorded in history, are more instructive than those afforded by that of Scotland in the present century, placed side by side with those of Northern Europe. Throughout a large portion of Northern Britain, tenants have been ousted from their little holdings, and under circumstances of the greatest hardship. Throughout Germany, Denmark, and Russia, the little tenants have been converted into small proprietors. Examine the British system where we may, we find it tending towards the annihilation of the middle classes—creating everywhere a body of large proprietors, landed and moneyed, mining and manufacturing, side by side with a people that *must* become more servile from year to year.

† The act of emancipation was held by the British people to be an act of duty; and, being so, its cost should have been borne by all. As it was, the value of land was destroyed, and the proprietors were ruined — these results having been consequent upon violations of well-understood agreements: the first of which was contracted when the slaves were allowed to be imported, and the second, when they were emancipated. In all the recent transactions between the British people and their colonies, might has made right.

CHAPTER XLIII.

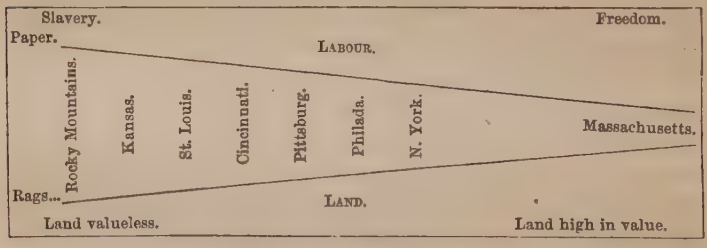
THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

III.—*The People and the State.*

§ 1. From the moment when Crusoe discovered that he had neighbors, who were poorer, even, than himself, he lived in constant fear of his life. Friday, however, having joined him, he felt that his security was increased — the one being free to watch, while the other slept, or labored. So has it been, and so is it now, in all the early settlements of the world. Compelled to provide for their security, the early people of Greece and Italy placed all their towns on the tops of hills — a course of proceeding to which they would have thus been led, even had they possessed the power to cultivate the fertile soils of the valleys, capable of yielding thrice the return to labor. So was it, in Southern England — almost every hill-top there presenting, even now, the evidences of early occupation. — So was it, with the Puritans of Massachusetts, and with the Cavaliers of Virginia; so is it, now, with the settlers of Kansas and Oregon — every man being compelled to prepare himself for self-defence. The systematic and regular application of labor, to the work of obtaining command over the great natural forces, having, therefore, no existence, the potential energy of man remains latent — he, himself, continuing poor, because of the absence of power for combination with his fellow-men.

Friday's arrival exercised upon Crusoe's condition, a double influence — greatly increasing its effectiveness, when applied, and enabling him more continuously to apply it. His wants and his powers being here, as everywhere, a constant quantity, every increase of the latter was attended with an enlargement of his proportions — the resistance of nature to his further efforts diminishing as his powers of attack increased. So is it, in all new settlements — security growing in a ratio far exceeding that of

numbers — and being obtained in return for contributions of time and mind, or the produce of both, constantly diminishing in the proportion borne by them to the quantity of things produced. Seeking proof of this, the reader may turn to Greece in the days of Solon — comparing it with the Greece of Homer; to the Germany of Tacitus, as compared with the countries embraced in the German Customs-Union; to Gaul of the days of Cæsar, as compared with France of the present day; to Massachusetts of the seventeenth century, as compared with that of the nineteenth; to the land of William Penn, a century since, when scattered settlers were liable, at any moment, to attacks from savage tribes, with the Pennsylvania of the present; or, to Kentucky, of the days of Daniel Boone, as compared with those of Henry Clay. Look where he may, he will find evidence that the course of man towards security, wealth, happiness, and civilization, is represented by the diagram already more than once submitted for his consideration: here again reproduced, in evidence of the universality of the law which there is represented.



On the left, there is no security—the law of force, alone, being recognised. The weak of arm, or of sex, is there the slave of those who have physical strength, to be taxed at a master's pleasure. Passing towards the right, we find employments becoming gradually more and more diversified, and individuality becoming more and more developed. The power of association and combination, therefore, steadily increases, until, at length, on arriving in Massachusetts, we find ourselves in the midst of a community enjoying a higher degree of security, and giving, in exchange for it, a smaller proportion of the products of labor, than in any other country of the world.

Passing upwards, through English history, we obtain results

exactly corresponding with those obtained in passing from the less populous countries, to those more fully peopled, of the present day. The men of early England, harassed alternately by Danes and Saxons, enjoyed even less security than did those of Norman England, in the days of the first and second Henries. From the time of the Edwards, to that of James I., there was no security in the northern and western counties. Elsewhere, the wars of the Roses, and the execution of 72,000 persons in a single reign, bear their testimony to the almost total absence of security in the enjoyment of the rights of person and of property. The reign of Elizabeth exhibits to us, a series of depredations upon the people of the coast, by Algerine and other pirates. The close of Scottish wars is followed by civil war; yet, great as is the waste of human energies, we trace, through all these facts, a growing steadiness in the movements of society, consequent upon increase in the proportions borne by land and labor, and diminution in those of the class deriving its support from the contributions of the men who owned the land, and those by whom it was tilled.

Here, as everywhere, we have evidence, that the highest test of advancing civilization is to be found in the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products — the former rising, as the latter fall. With each successive step in that direction, men are more enabled to combine together for the maintenance and extension of their own, and their neighbors', rights — obtaining more perfect security at diminished cost, and being thus enabled to give their labor more continuously to production; while accumulating, with increased rapidity, the machinery by means of which their efforts may be made effective.*

Wealth consists in the power to command the services of nature. The more that power, the greater is the tendency to its equal distribution, and towards having every member of society stand forth a MAN, in the presence of his fellow-men.

§ 2. In the early ages of society, the contributions required for the maintenance of security, bear, as we see, a large proportion to the property of the persons of whom the community is

* In the social world, as in the physical one, motion tends, thus, to constant acceleration—attraction increasing, as resistance diminishes.

composed. Whence, however, are they taken? Whence *can* they come? Of fixed property there is none — the little capital there is, consisting of cattle, hogs, corn, slaves, and other movable commodities and things. Hence it is, that, at this period, we find the lord exercising his power over the application of labor and its proceeds—stopping the circulation of society, that he may be enabled to claim the lion's share of the services, or things, to be exchanged. At times, he requires personal service on the farm: at others, on the road, or in the field. At one moment, he stops the corn on the road to the mill: at another, the meal on its way to the oven: at a third, the wool on its road to the clothier: at a fourth, the cloth on its way to the people who desire to wear it. At one time, he calls in heavy gold and silver coins — paying for them in others that are light: at another, he repudiates the light — compelling his subjects to purchase of him those which are heavy, and thus pilfering that which, openly, he dares not take.

Wealth and population, however, increasing, and employments becoming more and more diversified, the proportion borne by movable to fixed property, tends steadily to decrease — land and labor acquiring value, as commodities lose it, and men becoming free, as their masters become enriched. The power of interference now steadily declines — the mill and oven monopolies passing away, and lords and masters being more and more required to look to fixed property as the source of revenue. The slave now becomes a tenant — *contracting* with the land-owner for the payment of a fixed and certain rent for the use of land, to be received in full discharge of the variable and uncertain demands for personal service, thus far made. The tenant, too, becomes a freeman — *contracting* with his sovereign for the payment of a certain fixed sum, and thus freeing himself from interference with the exchanges he may wish to make with his fellow-men.

§ 3. That the course of affairs *should*, in all advancing communities, be such as is above described, will be obvious to the reader on an examination of the foregoing diagram — the space occupied by property in motion being a constantly contracting one, and that of the land, and the man by whom it is cultivated, being a constantly enlarging one. With the contraction of the

first, the power of interference steadily diminishes — the quantity of things liable to be arrested on their passage from the producer to the consumer, bearing a constantly diminishing proportion to that produced. With the enlargement of the last, the power of the producer to treat, directly, with those who perform the duties of government, grows steadily and rapidly—its growth manifesting itself in a steady and regular effort for removing the difficulties standing in the way of commerce.

That such *has been* the course of things in all advancing countries, may be seen by those who study the movements of Attica, from the days of Theseus to those of Solon, when so many thousands were freed from all necessity for carrying to their masters the produce of their labor—being, thenceforth, permitted freely to exchange among themselves. It will be found, again, by those who examine the course of England, from the time when Plantagenets bought and sold wool — when they debased the currency — when almost the only mode of taxing the land was found in stopping it on its passage from hand to hand, by means of purveyance, wardship, taxes on alienation, and the like — down to the passage, in 1692, of a specific tax, on the pound of rental yielded to the owner. — Turning next to France, in the feudal times, we find the land wholly exempt from taxation — the slave by whom it was cultivated being, meanwhile, liable to contributions of personal service in every form, and all his products being taxed at every step of their passage from the land on which they were produced, to the persons by whom they were to be consumed. Passing thence to the Revolution, we find the Constituent Assembly, in 1791, abolishing numerous taxes tending to stoppage of the circulation, and substituting direct contributions by lands and houses — now constituting the most important items in the revenue. — Spain, too, has done the same — a general land-tax having superseded the *alcavala*, which affected every transfer of movables, large or small, and numerous minor taxes tending to the stoppage of property on its way from the producer to the consumer. — Looking to Germany, we find, in all its parts, a growing tendency to the substitution of fixed money-rents for personal service; and of taxes on land, houses, and other fixed property, for those heretofore paid on movables passing from hand to hand, or from place to place.

Coming next to the United States, we find a corresponding state of things on passing from the Southern States, in which land is held in large plantations, and cultivated by men who are enslaved, to those of the North and East, in which land is divided and men are free. In South Carolina, nearly the whole expenses of the State are paid by taxes on slaves, free negroes, professions, and merchandise. Out of a total sum of $380,000, North Carolina takes but $105,000 in the form of taxes on land — looking for the remainder, to contributions by the owners of movable property.*

Virginia taxes traders and tavern-keepers, venders of lottery-tickets and physicians, attorneys and dentists, clocks, harps, pianos, horses, carriages, slaves, and other commodities and things —in this manner, providing for all the expenditures of a community of 1,400,000 persons, with the exception of $250,000 derived from taxes on lots and lands. Quite recently, it has been proposed, by the executive of that State, to increase the revenue by an export-tax on oysters!

Of all the communities of the world, it may be doubted if there is one occupying a country more blessed by nature, than is, or was, Virginia. Nevertheless, the powers of her land are gradually dying out; the proportion of movable to fixed property is gradually increasing; while she, herself, as regularly declines in wealth, power, and position in the Union. The cause of this, is shown in the following passage from an influential journal, the production of a writer whose highest aspirations are found in a desire for further extension of the power of trade, and more complete extermination of commerce:—

"What have we done? What markets have we built up? What great thoroughfares have we constructed? These are questions which now direct themselves forcibly to our interest, and should awaken us to a sense of the lethargy and indifference

* The triviality of the sources to which communities, in which there is little fixed property, are forced to look for public revenue, is well exhibited in this State, in the following list of commodities and things taxed: bowie-knives, pistols, pianos, harps, playing-cards, billiard-tables, bowling-alleys, circuses, shows, watches, plate, pleasure carriages, carriage venders, drugs and medicines, peddlers, retailers, taverns, inns, livery stables, drovers, stocks of merchandise, negro traders, liquor dealers, auctioneers, insurance companies, bankers, exhibitors of natural curiosities, singers, dancers, and lecturers for reward, etc. Nothing seems to escape; yet, the total revenue is less than fifty cents per head!

that have characterised our movements. While no State in the Union is blessed with a greater variety and multiplicity of natural advantages, probably no State has been more unmindful of them. With climate, soil, productions, minerals, *grades*, all in her favor and all pointing out the feasibility and incalculable advantages of a great thoroughfare to the great West—enabling her to rival successfully all competitors — she is asleep, or, if not asleep, 'dragging her slow length along,' so mournfully, so sluggishly, that the hearts of her most hopeful sons are gradually sinking, deeper and deeper, into the slough of despair. They are almost afraid of looking into the future, so uncertain is the policy which obtains in Virginia respecting the progress of internal improvements. At one session of the Legislature, a fresh impetus will be given to enterprises of this kind; appropriations of a somewhat liberal character will be made, and the hope engendered that, in a few years at most, Virginia will be in a condition to retrieve some of her heavy losses, and become a successful competitor for a trade, which as legitimately belongs to her as do the waters of the James to the Chesapeake. At a subsequent session, however, the tide will be suddenly reversed, the purse-strings of the Commonwealth will be tied up into a thousand knots, and the great improvements of the day will be suspended in the tangled web of scheming log-rollers. Past appropriations are sorely regretted, and further liberality — as it is improperly termed—is fairly hooted at and repudiated. Debt! debt! taxes! taxes!"*

Pennsylvania raises more than $3,000,000 annually, two-thirds of which are derived from fixed property. The remainder comes from taxes on movables — on the passage of property from its owner to his heirs — on legal proceedings — and from licenses to be concerned in various trades.

With a population two-fifths as great, the taxes of Massachusetts are but $400,000, seven-eighths of which are derived from fixed property — leaving but the remaining eighth to come from interferences with commerce. A tax on auction sales, yielding but a small amount, constitutes the only portion of the State revenue, not derived from direct and honest application to the parties by whom it is to be paid.

* Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

Boston, the chief city of the State, raises thrice as much — the whole, with the exception of a poll-tax of $1.50 per head, being derived from taxes on property. In no part of the world, is it so fully understood, that both men and property are entitled to pay for the advantages derived from the maintenance of security; and in none, therefore, is taxation so direct, or the government so economically administered.

Reviewing, now, the communities above referred to, we find that commerce grows, as we pass from those in which taxation is indirect, towards those in which it is direct — the circulation becoming more rapid — consumption following more instantly upon production — production, itself, increasing, because of the economy of human force — and wealth augmenting, because of a growing power of association consequent upon the removal of governmental interference with the free exchange of ideas and services, commodities and things.

§ 4. Evidence of progress towards civilization being found in the substitution of direct for indirect taxation, evidence of decline towards barbarism should be found in the opposite direction. That such is the case, is proved by all the movements, upwards and downwards, of the little community of Attica.

In the days of Solon, men were becoming more and more free, from year to year — the slave of an individual owner passing into the free citizen of a State. Taxation then addressed itself to fixed property — that of the *pentacosiomedimnus*, or largest land-owner, being entered on the books at its whole amount; the *knight*, or second class, at five-sixths thereof; and the *zeugite*, or third class, at four-ninths; the tax being fixed at two per cent. of the amount so entered. The fourth class, or simple laborers — the *thetes* — being ineligible to office, escaped taxation altogether, whether in the form of money contributions, or service in the field. Passing thence to the days of Demosthenes, men are found to have been re-enslaved, while taxation had been so far extended, as now to embrace all capital, whether employed or unemployed, slaves, raw and manufactured materials, cattle, and household furniture — "in short," says Professor Boeckh, "all money and money's worth."* Frauds, of course, were almost

* *Public Economy of Athens*, book 4, ch. vi.

universal—they being the invariable companions of indirect taxation; as that, itself, is a consequence of decline in the value of land and labor.

Passing thence to Italy, we meet the same phenomena — like causes producing, always, like effects. In the days of Ancus Marcius, when the Campagna abounded in towns and cities, the taxes were paid by property, and were not varied, or diminished, on account of claims upon its owner. Ancus Marcius, himself, created a salt monopoly, which appears to have been the sole exception to the system of direct taxation. Passing thence to the aristocratic period, we find a personal taxation of a more oppressive kind than almost any other recorded in history—the small proprietors being liable, at any moment, to be called to the field, and to have their farms plundered, and their houses burned, if they failed to answer to the summons.* There arrived, they were required to serve at their own cost — leaving the booty that was obtained, to pass into patricians' chests. Returning home, and finding their fields untilled, they became, of course, dependent upon their masters for the means of supporting life; and hence it is, that the Roman history of this period is that of a constant series of contests between debtors and creditors — private dungeons everywhere abounding, and the number of free citizens regularly decreasing, preparatory to the thorough consolidation of the land, and annihilation of the class of small proprietors, that subsequently took place.†

At a later period, that of the empire, we find the land of Italy to have become almost valueless — the free population having nearly disappeared. As a consequence of this, the condition of the government, as regarded revenue, was almost precisely similar to that presented on the left of the foregoing diagram, — a necessity for stopping the products of labor, on their passage from the producer to the consumer, having grown with the decline in the value of labor and land. Mines of every kind becoming the property of the State, the right of working them becomes a privilege to be largely paid for. Duties on imports and exports — on the passage of country produce into towns and

* Niebuhr: *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 139.

† "Every patrician house was a jail for debtors; and in seasons of great distress, after any sitting of the courts, hordes of sentenced slaves were led away in chains, to the houses of the noblesse."—*Ibid*, vol. i. p. 436.

cities—on the passage of rivers—on sales by auction—on almost every kind of property in motion—mark the later portion of the history of the republic, and the whole of that of the empire. Slaves could not change masters, nor could property change hands by legacy or donation, without the payment of a tax. The raising of cattle, and the consumption of salt, were privileges to be paid for to the State. The consumer of water, and he who needed to void it, alike were taxed. Nothing was so trivial in appearance, as to warrant its escape from the hands of the tax-gatherer, provided, only, that it promised to add to a revenue required for the maintenance of a system under which labor and land declined in value, and slavery took the place of freedom.*

§ 5. Coming now to modern Europe, we find, in Holland, the country that, recently, has devoted itself most to trade, and least to the promotion of commerce. Land, there, early becoming divided, the richer soils were improved as manufactures grew, and commerce increased with great rapidity. Later, the thirst for trade producing a necessity for ships and colonies, the history of the country becomes one of constantly recurring and long-continued wars, producing so great a necessity for taxation, that the commodities consumed were said to be thrice paid for—once, to the producer, and twice, to the State. Since then, the course has been ever in the same direction — the effects being seen in the following picture, furnished in a recent public document :—

"Almost the entire revenues of government are raised from taxes within; and, in this respect, never was a country more burdened. No occupation of trade or labor is exempt, and but few of the necessaries of life; almost every transaction pays its toll, and taxes are literally levied on taxes."† War, trade, and

* "Clouds of *publicains* were posted at the entrances of ports, at the mouths of rivers, at the outlets of valleys—taxing there, without mercy, the property that sought for passage, and adding, too, to their profits as tax-gatherers, the further one of monopolists of various articles of consumption. Of legal limitation to the taxes levied, there was none — the figures having become so elastic, that the cultivator could never know exactly what portion of his product was his own."— BLANQUI: *Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. i, p. 95.

The reader who desires to study the history of Roman taxation more at large, is referred to M. De la Malle's *Economie Politique des Romains*, vol. ii, book 10.

† Report of Secretary of State, U. S., on commercial changes, Sept. 30, 1855, p. 142.

restrictions on commerce, travel always, thus, together. The national debt of this country is fearful in amount, requiring a contribution of $142.80 per head, and having accumulated at a most rapid rate, since the loss of power to compel the nations of the world to use the ships of Holland for the transportation of their products, and her ports, and counting-houses, as their places of exchange. Admirably situated for intercourse with the world, Holland might now rank high among the nations of the earth, had she not failed to remark the fact, that wealth and strength are obtained by means of commerce; whereas, poverty and exhaustion — physical and mental — have been the invariable consequences of an exclusive dependence upon trade. As it is, the land of the De Witts, of Rubens, Erasmus, Grotius, Leeuwenhoek, and Boerhaave, has lost all consideration in the world of art, science, or literature — retaining but little even in that of trade.*

In Turkey, we have a reproduction of the system of the Middle Ages of France—taxation, there, having no reference, whatsoever, to the value of the land, but only to the ability of the collector, and his agents, to squeeze from its cultivator the largest share of its products. Of the little that escapes their grasp, but a portion belongs to the wretched being to whose labor its production had been due—a part being taken from him, whenever he finds it necessary to send it abroad, in payment for commodities that he may not make at home. Adding to this, a constantly increasing adulteration of the coin, we have a taxation of movables so grinding, as fully to account for the fact, that land and labor are too entirely worthless to become the subjects of direct taxation.

In Sicily, once the granary of Rome, as we have seen, land has become consolidated, and has lost its value. As a conse-

* "In the midst of the variegated picture presented by the history of European taxes, there is found one country whose annals offer, more fully than any other, a sort of *resumé* of the modes of taxation existing in our modern communities. Direct taxes on lands and houses — taxes on dividends and salaries — taxes on articles of consumption, almost infinite in number — strange taxes, such as nowhere else are found, such as those levied on marriages and deaths — all these financial combinations exhibit themselves to us, in the history of the country in which the stamp-tax was invented, and in which the tax on property in mortmain was conceived, a century before its introduction among ourselves."—*Journal des Economistes*, June, 1854, p. 305.

quence of this it is, that taxation is derived, mainly, from the arrest of property that seeks to move—grain being heavily taxed on its way to consumers without the island, and paying fifty per cent. at home, when it takes the form of bread.

Turning next to India, we find a hundred millions of people, with a government whose revenue is wholly derived from taxes levied on movable property. Land there pays no tax, the share of government being taken from among its products; and the amount taken being wholly dependent on the presence or absence of care, skill, and industry in the person by whom it is occupied. A direct tax has reference to the value of the *land*—being proportioned thereto, and being the same in amount, whether the crop be large, or small. The man who works assiduously — thereby obtaining from his little piece of land, twice as much as is yielded by the larger property of his neighbor — enjoys the fruits of his extra labor, wholly undiminished by reason of taxation. The taxes of Hindostan, on the contrary, have reference to the qualities of the *man* — being more, or less, as the wretched cultivator has worked or played. So, exactly, is it in Carolina. The slave having labored well, his master — like the East Indian government — obtains large reward for little land. The former having neglected his task, the latter obtain small returns for much land. Adding, now, to the tax thus levied, throughout India, on labor and its application, taxes on all the tools in use, from the fisherman's boat to the goldsmith's tools, and further and most enormous taxes on salt and opium, we obtain a revenue system the most grinding of any the world has yet seen; and purely personal, from its commencement to its close. As a consequence, the selling price of land rarely exceeds thrice the amount of taxes to be paid by him who cultivates it, and millions of people perish annually, for want of power to sell their labor.*

* "The vast rent of the Company, and the fortunes that 'nabobs' bring, every now and then, to this country, are made up of very minute rents and dues, wrung from the most insignificant cotters, and cultivators, and artisans, either for a hut, or a little ground, or liberty to practise some calling. To collect these pittances, we must employ a race of collectors, of many degrees, and with all kinds of names, familiar enough to Indian ears, but conveying little distinction of ideas to the untravelled and unread Englishman. The task is very difficult at all times; and, therefore, of the Europeans, the Company makes the best men collectors, the worst men judges. But, in a famine, after a short rainy season, the task becomes almost im-

Looking next to Mexico, we find a system of taxation almost entirely indirect — seven-eighths of the revenues being the produce of export and import duties, taxes on playing-cards and tobacco, postage, lotteries, and stamps. Thus far, as we see, the poorer and weaker the country, the less is the power of those by whom it is governed, to apply to those possessed of capital, material and mental, for direct contributions to be employed in the maintenance of the public peace.

§ 6. Turning now to Great Britain, we find the course of affairs to have been precisely the same with that above recorded in regard to Greece and Italy — direct taxes having gradually disappeared, to be replaced by those which are indirect. The land and house taxes had their origin, as the reader has already seen, in the reign of William III. — progress having been manifested by the passage towards a direct application to the people, for the means of supporting government. In the early period of its existence, the first of these was variable — vibrating between a tenth and a fifth of the annual rental.

possible. Yet the Company must pay its dividends, its officers, its armies, its fleets, its public works. The money must be found, the screw must be put on. So the pressure, applied at the head-quarters of the system, reaches to its lowest and furthest extremities, and comes at last to a very hateful class of fiscal and judicial agents—for they are one and the same—who have to deal with a still more miserable class, without shame, with no position, reckless of life, and indifferent even to pain, and caring only for one thing, which by long habit they have come to care for — the possession of a few rupees. Of course, there is a perpetual collision between these two classes — the one bullying and threatening, extorting and grinding, and practising every art to extract money; and the other evading and cheating, and lying, and enduring anything rather than pay. Everybody knows how it has been done, and what is the last resort. The merciless, and often unjust, peons screw the rupees out of the ryots, by all sorts of torture. It is not torture of the high European sort, which made a five-feet man six feet, or, *vice versâ*, which pressed him as flat as a pancake, or dropped water on him till he died. No: Indian torture is ready, impromptu, ingenious, cheap, annoying, disgusting, revolting, and petty in the extreme. It is the torture of very wicked children, suddenly become men and women, but without acquiring a particle of self-respect. It is done with twisted sticks, and heavy stones, and the fibres of trees, and chillies, and red ants, and burrowing worms, and acrid juices. This is the whole apparatus of the Indian Inquisition, but it is made up by dexterity and promptness. The defaulter—no matter the age or sex—a dozen defaulters, half a village, are trussed in a row, like so many fowls, with big stones upon their necks, and laid to bake under the midday sun. They do n't seem to care much for it—much less do others care for them. Pain is part of their religion, and they live by it, both here and forever. Pain and ignominy are respectable with them."—*London Times.*

Being, however, at length fixed, permanently, at the highest of these proportions, an act was then passed, for enabling the owners of land to buy off the tax — thus freeing their property, at once and forever, from all contributions for the public service. Almost simultaneously therewith, appeared a new theory of population — proving, as its author supposed, that mankind had always erred, in supposing that the wealth and strength of a nation tended to increase, with increase of numbers. Directly the reverse of this, as the British people were now told, was the fact — the supply of food tending to diminish in its ratio to population, as wealth and numbers increased. This, too, as they were assured, was a consequence of a great natural law, not to be evaded, in virtue of which the land-owner took a larger proportion, as the return to labor diminished — obtaining, thus, a constant increase of power to command the laborer's services. Such being the case, however slow might be the process, the relation of master and slave must ultimately be re-established.

The poor-houses being everywhere filled, and pauperism becoming, more and more, the habitual condition of a growing proportion of the laboring people, it was needed that the facts should be accounted for. This was done by Mr. Malthus, who — rejecting the simple explanation furnished by Adam Smith* — invented a great law of nature, for the purpose of accounting for results produced by the action of man. The policy of the country, for more than thirty years, having tended towards the enslavement of the artisan, by those who, being rich, did not need to work, all these theories and measures were in keeping with each other. The year that followed the one in which the wealthy proprietor of land — abounding in coal and iron-ore — was enabled, at trivial cost, to emancipate his property from taxation, witnessed the passage of a law prohibiting colliers from seeking, abroad, that remuneration for their services which was denied them at home; thus, in effect, imposing a personal tax for the benefit of the rich and powerful, at the moment when the latter had been freed from all taxation, for the maintenance of that security of person and property which he so much required.

From that time forward, every movement was in the same direction — that of arresting the wheels of commerce, for the

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 415.

benefit of those deriving their means of support from the public treasury. Taxes were piled on taxes, until they reached, said Sidney Smith, "every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth, and in the waters under the earth; on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home; taxes on the raw material; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug which restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin and the ribbons of the bride; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay.

"The school-boy," as he further said, "whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid seven per cent. into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back upon the chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary, who has paid a license of a hundred pounds, for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble; and he is then gathered to his fathers, to be taxed no more." *

Thus far, as we see, the progress has been *from* the taxation of fixed property, *to* the taxation of property in motion — being, precisely, towards the state of things now existing in all the semi-barbarous countries of the East; towards that, too, which had prevailed in France and England of the Middle Ages, when land and labor were of little value, and when fixed property scarcely at all existed.

Five-and-thirty years later, we meet with another step in the same direction, in the repeal of the tax on houses, by which was nearly closed the history of direct taxation in the United King-

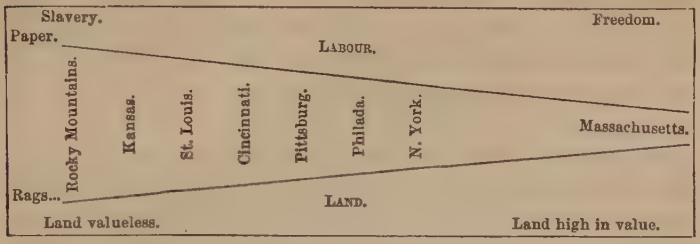
* *Edinburgh Review.*

dom. The result is seen in the fact, that, in the year 1854, there were collected £21,000,000 as duties on imports—£16,000,000 as taxes of excise—£7,000,000 from stamps—£3,000,000 from taxes on horses, carriages, railroad passengers, etc.—£7,500,000 from taxes on profits—and £1,500,000 from taxes on epistolary intercourse and other minor sources of income—making a total of £56,000,000=$270,000,000—being $10 per head of the whole population, almost nine-tenths of which were derived from an exercise of the power to stop property, or ideas, on their way from the place of production to that of consumption. Such is what is called freedom of trade.

§ 7. Freedom of commerce looks to the promotion of rapidity in the circulation of property, whether material or mental. Freedom of trade looks, as we see, to the arrest of the circulation, with a view to the collection of contributions for the support of government. The one applies *directly*, and honestly, to the man who has property requiring to be protected. The other does so *indirectly*, and fraudulently—filching from his pocket, the amount required. Who is it, however, that ultimately pays the vast amount of taxes now collected for the service of the British government? Is it the auctioneer, who pays the auction duty? Certainly not; for he includes it in the commission charged to the owner of the goods. Is it the broker, who pays an income-tax? Certainly not; for he lives by taking a portion of the goods he sells. Is it the trader, who pays the stamp-tax? Certainly not; for he charges the stamps to his principal. Is it the railroad owner, who pays a tax on the people who travel in his trains? Certainly not; for he charges it to his passengers. Is it the publisher of newspapers, who pays a tax on advertisements? Certainly not; for he makes his customers pay it. Is it the merchant, who pays a tax on letters? Certainly not; for he charges his correspondents with their postage. Is it the publisher who pays a tax on paper? Certainly not; for he includes it in the price of his books. Is it the ship-owner who pays a tax on his insurance? Certainly not—insurance being, like freight, a charge to be borne by the goods insured.

Who, and what, is it, then, that pays this enormous sum? Seeking an answer to this, the reader will do well to consult,

again, the diagram representing the movement of society, here reproduced, because of the importance of the question now submitted for his consideration.



The broker, the auctioneer, the trader, the payers of stamp and auction duties, the tax-gatherers, and the men who live by the produce of taxes, each and all, stand between the men who produce and those who consume — all living out of the share taken by them from the produce of the land, in the act of passing from the hand by which it is produced, to the mouth that is to eat it, or the back by which it is to be worn. In the early periods of society — the obstacles to circulation being great — middlemen abound, and land and labor have little value. In the later period, they become less numerous—all the saving consequent thereon, being divided between the labor and the land, both of which acquire value, in the direct ratio of the removal of impediments standing in the way of circulation. Who and what, then, is it, that pays the taxes? What *can* it be, but the labor given to the raising of the corn and the wool, and to the conversion of raw materials into cloth? The broker produces nothing. The trader adds nothing to the quantity, or quality, of things produced. The tax-gatherer affords no aid in the work of production. The fields would be as well cultivated, and yield as much corn, did there exist neither politicians, admirals, nor generals. The great farmer, who takes the place of small proprietors, merely replaces men who had every inducement to exertion, by others who know, and feel, too, that they have none. The more of such people there are, the smaller will always be the product — the larger must be the proportion borne by movable property to that which is fixed — the larger the proportion of the diminished product taken by the middleman — the poorer the

laborer — and the less the value of land. So it has ever been, and so must it ever be. The land and labor of a country are the ultimate payers of all the taxes, let the mode of collection be what it may. It is, therefore, to their interest, that it be as direct, and as little costly, as possible — they being the parties who are to foot up the account, for all the additions made for the promotion of individual interests.

§ 8. Turning, now, once more to the diagram, we may study the condition of the people of India — the men who sell cotton wool at less than a penny per pound, and buy it back, in the form of cloth, at from twenty to forty pence. Following that wool, we find it contributing largely towards the fortunes of British officers, and towards the dividends of the East India Company — towards the freight of ships — the pay of sailors — the hire of warehouses — the tolls on railroads — the commission of brokers, and the stamps on notes — passing through thousands and tens of thousands of hands, and, at every step of its passage, contributing towards the support of government, by means of a system of indirect taxation, that reaches every member of the community, from the poor man who indulges in a pinch of snuff, to the great bank-director, who contributes to the income-tax. The more numerous the hands through which the commodity passes, the more numerous are the opportunities for collecting taxes out of it. The consequences of all this, are seen in the facts, that the Hindoo who raises the cotton is too poor to buy cloth, while the Manchester operative is so poor, as to be unable to obtain a sufficient supply of bread; and poverty and slavery are near relations.

Looking now to Carolina and Alabama, we obtain the same result. Cotton leaves the plantation at five, six, or eight, cents per pound. When it returns, in the form of cloth, it commands sixty, seventy, and eighty cents — flour, even then, constituting an important portion of its weight. In its course, it has paid taxes in every form and shape — so large a portion having been absorbed on the road, that the man who raised it remains a slave, while he who has converted it is scarcely able to buy a shirt.

Turning, next, to the English farm-laborer, we find him receiving, in return for a year's labor, the price of fifty bushels of

wheat — being, perhaps, a fifteenth or a twentieth of the quantity whose production is due to the labor he has given to the land. Inquiring into the condition of the mill operative, the consumer of corn, and his immediate neighbor, he finds that, like himself, he is receiving but little more than the price of a bushel — four-fifths of labor's produce being absorbed, as wages or profits, by the persons who stand between them. The more numerous these persons, the less must be the value of labor and land — *they being the ultimate paymasters of all the persons who stand between the man who raises the raw material, and him who consumes the finished commodity.* That this *is* so, is shown by the fact, that precisely as the prices of the two approximate, by reason of the gradual exclusion of the middlemen, land and labor rise in price; while precisely as they recede from each other, both are found united for the payment of the charges attendant upon getting to market—furnishing evidence of the fact in the decline of the one in value, and in the enslavement of the other. Man's powers, and his needs, taken together, are a fixed quantity — the one increasing as the other diminishes. The first grow with the elimination of the middleman; the latter increases as the trader acquires power. With the growth of his powers, land acquires value; with their decay, it loses it.

Desiring, then, to see the people and the land which pay the British taxes, we must look for them among those who produce the raw materials, and those who consume the commodities produced — finding them in the exhausted lands and people of Ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, Jamaica, and Carolina. That done, we may next look to the lands and people of the United Kingdom itself — finding the first, notwithstanding the substitution of the railroad for the turnpike, to have but little increased in value in the last forty years; while the last exhibits deterioration, and not improvement.*

The real payers of English taxes, are the people of all the countries that supply the raw materials of manufactures — buying them back in a finished form. Counting, as they do, by hundreds of millions, evidence of the exhaustive character of the system is to be found in the trivial amount of taxes, when compared with the large number of the persons upon whom they are assessed.

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 80, *note*.

The cause of this is found in the fact, that the system tends, throughout, to increasing the space, and thus augmenting the friction, between the producer and the consumer — always the road towards barbarism, as exhibited in the diagram. Five-and-twenty years since, Ireland furnished the people of England with thirty millions of bushels of grain; now, the quantity exported is insufficient to pay for that which is imported.* The deficiency here, and elsewhere, being made up by imports from more distant countries, the effect is, necessarily, that of increasing the proportion of profits, while diminishing that of wages and rents — thus producing an augmentation of the amount subject to the tax on profits.

The large amount assessed under the provisions of the act imposing the income-tax, being frequently referred to, as evidence of improvement in the condition of the English people, under the existing system, we may here inquire into its operation. Turning once again to the diagram, the reader will see that, as he passes from barbarism towards civilization, the proportion borne by profits decreases steadily; while increasing with equal steadiness, as he passes from right to left — from civilization towards barbarism. The more numerous the persons standing between the producer and the consumer, the more *must* the profits be, but the smaller *must* be the value of land and labor. That the former does not become more valuable, is proved by the facts already given. That the latter does not, is proved by the extraordinary destruction of human life in Ireland, and by an emigration from Great Britain that has almost entirely arrested the growth of numbers.

The average amount of taxes raised in the three years ending in 1815, exceeded £70,000,000. Since then, the population has increased more than fifty per cent.—giving 10,000,000 more of people by whom the taxes are required to be paid. The wealth of the country, too, were we to judge by the returns above referred to, has much increased; and yet, the difficulty of providing for the public service is undiminished — the oppressiveness of taxation being even more severely felt. This appears strange;

* The export in 1854 was 2,073,180 quarters, nine-tenths of which consisted of oats; whereas, the imports of the more costly grains, wheat, barley, and Indian corn, amounted to 1,727,000 quarters.

yet is it easily accounted for. The more the land becomes consolidated, the larger is the proportion that becomes subject to the income-tax — the thousands and tens of thousands of small proprietors, who would have been exempt, having been replaced by the large ones, by whom their properties have been purchased, or the farmers by whom their lands are cultivated. So, too, with the smaller manufacturers, who have passed away — giving place to the gigantic operators of the present time. Centralization growing from year to year, with every stage of its progress, the profits of trade bear a larger proportion to rent and wages — the apparently taxable income of the country increasing, as real wealth decreases.

§ 9. The Government of the United States has, throughout most of its existence, been misled by the erroneous idea, that indirect taxation was the legitimate mode of raising the public revenue. At brief intervals, a contrary course has been pursued, as in 1828 and 1842, when tariffs were arranged with special reference to the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished commodities — revenue then becoming a mere incident, and protection being the object. In both cases, the adoption of that system of policy was followed by a prosperity rendered remarkable by comparison with the poverty and wretchedness that had, just previously, been experienced. The duration of both, however, was exceedingly limited, neither having been permitted an existence of even half-a-dozen years. As a rule, revenue has been regarded as the especial object of interference with foreign intercourse — protection being to be granted, only to such extent as was consistent with obtaining the largest receipts for the public service. Such was the policy adopted after the close of the war with England, in 1816; again in 1834; and again in 1846. In all cases, it has been followed by the same results — great apparent prosperity — large receipts at the treasury — large profit to the capitalist, at the cost of the land and labor of the country — followed in 1822 and 1842 by financial crises which, like that of 1857, almost stopped the societary circulation.

What have been the effects of this policy, is seen in the facts already stated, in relation to the comparative prices of the agricultural products they need to sell, and those metallic ones they

require to purchase — the experience of forty years having exhibited a steady and regular increase in the quantity of wheat, flour, rice, tobacco, and cotton, required to be given in exchange for smaller quantities of lead, tin, iron, copper, gold, and silver. That being the road towards barbarism, and the course in that direction having been continued with remarkable pertinacity, we are thus supplied with an explanation of the facts, that the power of trade grows steadily, while that of commerce declines, and that in the land in which all men were once declared to be free and equal, "free society" is now declared to have proved "a failure."

The countries in which direct taxation tends to supersede that which is indirect, are those in which commerce is gradually acquiring power over trade—in which the circulation is becoming more rapid—and in which land and labor are gradually acquiring value — Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Spain, and Russia; all of which follow in the lead of France, in adopting the policy of Colbert. Those in which there is an increasing tendency towards indirect taxation, are Turkey, Portugal, India, the United States — being those that follow the lead of England, in preferring the supremacy of trade to the extension of commerce. In all of them, the prices of raw products and finished commodities recede from each other — land and labor decline in value — and men become less free.

§ 10. The more perfect the power of self-protection, the more continuous becomes the demand for human effort — the more regular is its application — the larger is the quantity of production — and the greater the facility of accumulation. Every step in this direction, is attended by a diminution in the necessity for dependence on governmental aid, and diminution in the *proportion* of the products of labor required for the support of persons charged with the performance of governmental duties.

The greater the power of accumulation, the greater is the tendency towards subjugation of the richer soils — towards division of land — towards diversification in the demands for human faculties — towards increase in the proportion borne by fixed to movable capital — towards increase in the rapidity of circulation — and towards the substitution of fixed and well-understood

rents and taxes, for the indirect taxation levied by means of claims for personal service, or interference with the movements of commerce.

The greater the tendency towards direct taxation, the less, therefore, will always be the proportion borne by taxation for the support of government, to the amount of production by the people.

That such are the facts, is shown by the history of all advancing communities, of ancient and modern times. More especially is it shown in the recent history of France and Northern Europe. Enormous as is the political centralization of France, and burdensome as is her taxation in the forms of personal service and pecuniary contribution, no one can study her history for the last and present centuries, without remarking a steady increase in the proportion of the product retained by the laborer, and diminution in that taken by the government. A century since, the Farmers General were the real rulers of the kingdom — paying the sovereign for the privilege of taxing his people at their pleasure. Their fortunes growing with the growth of taxes, they, of course, omitted no contrivance by means of which the contributions might be augmented. Taxation is still most oppressively heavy; but, so far as regards land, while remaining in the hands of its owner, is a fixed and certain quantity, the payment of which is a guarantee against arbitrary demands by hosts of government agents, such as were of daily occurrence in the days of Louis XIV. and his immediate successors. Although the value of landed property, as the reader has already seen, has more than doubled, the amount of tax has remained almost unchanged since the period of its first imposition, fifty years since —thus proving the diminution in the proportion taken for governmental support, that accompanies a gradual substitution of direct for indirect taxation.*

§ 11. Such, too, is the tendency in all the countries of Northern Europe, and for the reason, that, as taxation becomes more direct, it addresses itself more to the reasoning being recognised

* The direct taxes of 1854, of every description, amounted to 412,000,000 francs, and constituted nearly a third of the ordinary resources of the Treasury — the total amount having been 1,265,000,000.

as MAN, and less to the unreasoning one treated of in the Malthusian school — always moved to action by passions over which he has no control, and remaining, therefore, little better than a brute. The one is asked to pay a direct contribution, the proceeds of which are to be applied to the maintenance of security for himself, his wife, and children, in the exercise of their rights of person and of property. The other is urged to drink, to gamble, or to adventure in the lottery, that the government may have the opportunity of picking his pocket, while so employed.

In no part of Europe does the value of person and property advance more rapidly than in Denmark. In none, has man more rapidly advanced towards civilization; and in none, therefore, has the tendency towards the substitution of fixed payments for the use of land, to its owner, and to the government, made more rapid progress; with necessary tendency towards diminution in the proportion borne by taxes to production. The revenues of towns and cities are all, there, derived from taxes upon property — abstinence from interference with the passage of property from the producer to the consumer, being the rule of action.*

So, too, is it, in Germany — the great increase in the productiveness of labor, and in the value of land, being there attended by a decided tendency to the substitution of fixed and certain taxes, for those interferences with the movement of society known as "taxes on consumption."†

* *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*, article *Octrois*.

† "The German bauer," now owner of his little property, "looks on the country as made for him and his fellow-men. He feels himself a man; he has a stake in the country as good as that of the bulk of his neighbors; no man can threaten him with ejection or the workhouse so long as he is active and economical. He walks, therefore, with a bold step; he looks you in the face with the air of a free man, but of a respectful one."— HOWITT: *Rural and Domestic Life in Germany*, p. 27.

How strong is the tendency of the state of feeling thus described, towards production of the security that needs no aid from governments, is thus shown by another English traveller:—

"Every peasant who possesses one of these estates becomes interested in the maintenance of public order, in the tranquillity of the country, in the suppression of crimes, in the fostering of industry among his own children, and in the promotion of their intelligence. A class of peasant proprietors forms the strongest of all conservative classes. * * * Throughout all the excitement of the revolutions of 1848, the peasant proprietors of France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, were almost universally found upon the side of order, and opposed to revolutionary excesses. It was only in the provinces where the land was divided among the nobles, and where the peasants were only serfs, as in the Polish provinces, Bohemia, Austria, and some parts of South Germany, that they showed themselves rebellious. In

So, too, is it in Russia — the tendency there being, everywhere, towards a limitation of the proportion of personal service due to both proprietor and government, for the use of land, and towards the substitution of direct and certain demands, for the indirect and uncertain ones heretofore in use.*

Look where we may, among the advancing nations of the world, we find a diminution in the proportion of the product of labor and land, required for the maintenance of government, accompanied by a growing tendency towards an honest appeal to reasoning men for the payment of direct taxes, and towards an abandonment of the system which looks to filching from them a large proportion of the products of their labor.

§ 12. The more rapid the circulation, the greater is the tendency in the direction above described — the value of land and man increasing, in the direct ratio of increase in the rapidity with which consumption follows production. The slower the circulation, the larger is the proportion taken by governments, and the greater is the tendency towards indirect taxation — the first look-

Prussia, they sent deputation after deputation to Frederic William, to assure him of their support; in one province the peasant proprietors elected his brother as their representative; and in others they declared, by petition after petition forwarded to the chamber, and by the results of the elections, how strongly they were opposed to the anarchical party in Berlin."— KAY: *Social Condition of the people of England and of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 33, 273.

* The free peasants of Russia constitute, as yet, a small class, but they live "as free and happy men, upon their own land; are active, frugal, and, without exception, well off. This they must be, for considerable means are necessary for the purchase of their freedom; and, once free, and in possession of a farm of their own, their energy and industry, manifested even in a state of slavery, are redoubled by the enjoyment of personal liberty, and their earnings naturally increase in a like measure.

"The second class, the crown peasants, are far better off (setting aside, of course, the consciousness of freedom) than the peasants of Germany. They must furnish their quota of recruits; but that is their only material burden. Besides that, they annually pay to the crown a sum of five roubles (about four shillings) for each male person of the household. Supposing the family to include eight working men, which is no small number for a farm, the yearly tribute paid amounts to thirty-two shillings. And what a farm that must be which employs eight men all the year round! In what country of civilised Europe has the peasant so light a burden to bear? How much heavier those which press upon the English farmer, the French, the German, and above all the Austrian, who often gives up three-fourths of his harvest in taxes. If the crown peasant be so fortunate as to be settled in the neighborhood of a large town, his prosperity soon exceeds that even of the Altenburg husbandmen, said to be the richest in all Germany. On the other hand, he can never purchase his freedom: hitherto, at least, no law of the crown has granted him this privilege."— JERMANN: *Pictures from St. Petersburgh*, p. 23.

ing towards the MAN, recognised by Adam Smith as the subject of social science; the last towards the slave — the subject treated of by Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo — required, as he is, to give to his various masters, a constantly increasing proportion of a constantly diminishing quantity yielded by the earth.

How small were the rights of person in Jamaica, and in the other British islands, is shown by the fact, that, out of 2,000,000 of persons imported, less than 800,000 were found existing at the date of emancipation — all the remainder, together with the millions that should have resulted from their natural increase, having been hurried from existence by the driver's lash. How little the rights of property have been respected, is shown in the adoption of a series of measures, resulting in the total ruin of nearly all the persons by whom the land was owned. Seeking the cause of this, we find it in a system that, by limiting the planters to the labors of the field, produced a necessity for making all their exchanges elsewhere — thus affording an opportunity for taxation, used with such severity, that the producer perished in the field, while the Englishman who, could he have sold his labor, would gladly have been his customer, was driven to the poorhouse to seek for bread.*

How small has been the security obtained in India, in return for taxes paid, is shown in the gradual disappearance of the whole class of small proprietors — the men who paid directly to the government — and the substitution of great zemindars, a class of middlemen, through whose hands must pass all the moneys contributed by the people for the service of the State.† How miserable is the present condition of the people, is shown in the fact, that it is precisely as we recede from Bengal, the country longest subjected to the Company, we find the Hindoo becoming more and more a MAN.‡

Throughout the country, the whole system of taxation tends towards stoppage of the circulation — the amount of contribution increasing with every additional effort on the part of the laborer, and diminishing as he ceases to apply himself to any pursuit calculated to aid production.§ Offering, therefore, a premium for inactivity, the result is seen in the payment, as taxes, of a

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 296.
† Ibid, p. 355.
‡ Ibid, p. 356.
§ Ibid, p. 342.

larger proportion of the produce of land and labor, than in any other country of the world. Inquiring into the cause of this, we find it in the great facts, that the circulation of society has been annihilated, and that the cotton which leaves him at a penny a pound, comes back at a cost of thirty pence — the whole difference having been absorbed, on its passage from his little field to the bodies of himself, his wife, and children.

Turning next to Ireland, we find a steady decline in the value of land and labor, accompanied by an increase in the proportion of taxation to production, strikingly manifested in the extension over her, of a tax on profits that, when Ireland was comparatively prosperous, was limited to Britain alone. Desiring to understand the cause of this, the reader may find it in the facts before referred to, that Irish food and wool are so heavily taxed on their road from the field in which they are produced, to the backs on which the cloth is worn, that circulation of labor, or of its products, can scarcely be said to have existence.

Coming now to the United States, we find the government contracting debts in the free-trade period from 1818 to 1825 — paying them off in the protective one from 1826 to 1834 — re-contracting them in the free-trade one from 1836 to 1842 — paying them off in the protective one from 1843 to 1846 — re-contracting them again between 1847 and 1850 — and then again paying them off, by means of revenues derived from enormous importations, based upon private debts, requiring an annual payment of interest, to an amount greater than the average export of food to all the world. Indirect taxation, and interference with commerce, having now become recognised as the proper and permanent source of revenue, the result is seen in the fact, that the public expenditure has quintupled, in a period within which the population has little more than doubled.

Lastly, arriving in England, we find expenditures increasing as profits are more and more taking the place of production, and as taxes on consumption more and more replace the few direct ones which previously had existed. At the date of the repeal of the house-tax, the average amount of contributions for the support of government was £46,000,000. Since then, it has grown rapidly — having reached an average of £48,000,000 in the period from 1836 to 1841 — £53,000,000 in that from

1844 to 1849 — £54,000,000 in 1854 — and £71,000,000 in 1856.

Look where we may, we shall find evidence that, as men become more free, the proportion of taxation to production tends to decline — that diminished proportion tending, more and more, to assume the form of a direct and honest application on the part of those who govern, to those who are governed, with constant growth in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those by whom the public revenue is expended.—Where, on the contrary, man declines in freedom, the proportion grows, with constant increase in the necessity for privately abstracting from the pocket of the contributor what dare not be asked directly; and as constant decline in the feeling of responsibility on the part of governors towards those who are governed — abundant proof of this, being found in the phenomena which now meet our view, in Ireland and India, Jamaica and Turkey, Virginia and Carolina, Great Britain and the United States.

§ 13. Why not, then, it will be asked, at once abolish all the duties of excise, duties of customs, and other interferences with commerce—establishing perfect and entire freedom of intercourse between man and man, throughout the world? Such is the idea at times suggested by men who hold, that the happiness and prosperity of men are to be advanced by extending the dominion of trade, and who see, in the growth of the number and size of ships, the most conclusive evidence of that advance. As well, however, might they ask—Why not give to each and every man a farm? Why not make all men proprietors? Why not, at once, quadruple the wealth of the community, and thus enable every member of it to feel himself enriched? In the natural course of things, land tends to become divided; men's faculties tend to become developed; wealth tends to increase; the division between the few and the many tends towards the production of equality; and taxation tends to become more direct. All these phenomena, however, are evidences of civilization — appearing, invariably, in all communities in which the circulation increases in rapidity, and disappearing as the circulation dies away. The more the demand for human

force tends to become *instant* upon the existence of the power to produce it, the greater is the tendency towards that state of things in which direct taxation becomes *possible*. The longer the interval elapsing between production and consumption, the larger are the proportions borne by movable to immovable capital, and the greater must be the tendency towards seeking to obtain, by indirect and deceptive means, the supplies that cannot be directly asked for. In proof of this, we beg the reader to turn again to the diagram in the previous pages, with a view to see where, on the left, he can find the means of direct taxation. Man is there a mere slave, and land is so utterly valueless, that hundreds of square miles would be given in exchange for a single dollar. Coming nearer, we find the government purchasing millions of acres, for an amount of money that would be refused in France or England, were it offered in payment for a single property. Where, then, are the subjects of direct taxation?

Passing further east, the margin for profits decreases, with constant diminution in the power of indirect taxation. Land and labor steadily assume larger proportions — the slave of the earlier period being replaced by the freeman of the later one, and the wretched owners of vast bodies of land, being replaced by thousands, and tens of thousands, of wealthy farmers, owners of the soil they cultivate. The man and his land may now be taxed; but, before they are so, the freeman must be consulted, as to the mode of taxation to be adopted — the extent to which it may be carried — and the purposes to which the proceeds are to be applied.

Taxation tends to become direct, as men become free; and the greater that tendency, the more rapid is the diminution borne by the claims of government, to the power of the community to meet them. Men become free, as the prices of raw materials tend more and more to approximate — the former rising and the latter falling. That approximation takes place in the ratio of the existence of the power of association and combination — that, in turn, being found in the ratio of the diversity in the demand for labor. The more perfect the society — the more various the demands for mental and physical faculties — the more rapid must be the circulation, the greater the power of accumulation, the

larger the proportion borne by fixed to movable capital, and the greater the power to obtain, through direct taxation, the means of meeting those expenditures required for maintaining order, and thus securing all in the peaceful enjoyment of the rights of person and of property.

Such are the tendencies in all the countries following in the lead of France — land and labor there rising in value, as prices more and more approximate, and direct taxation tending, there, to the supercession of that which is indirect.

The reverse of this, is found in all of those which follow in the lead of England. India gives more cotton for less iron, lead, tin, copper, and gold, than she did forty years since. Land and labor declining, therefore, in value, her government becomes, from year to year, more dependent on salt and opium monopolies for support. How, under such circumstances, attempt to abolish indirect taxation? Jamaica gives more sugar for all the metallic products, than she did forty years since, while having less to sell. Portugal, Turkey, and Ireland, are in the same condition — all having less to sell, and obtaining lower prices for what is sold. So, too, is it in the United States, all of whose rude products have declined steadily in price, during a period of forty years; whether measured by copper or iron, tin or lead, silver or gold. Throughout the country, the proportion of movable to fixed property is a steadily increasing one — producing a constant increase in the necessity for looking to interferences with commerce for the means of obtaining revenue. So was it, in the period from 1817 to 1824, and in that from 1835 to 1842 — both of which are now recognised as the periods when the policy of the country was directed towards the maintenance of such interference, as a part of the systematic policy of the government — protection being then regarded merely as an incident attendant upon the acquisition of revenue. So was it *not*, in the periods from 1828 to 1834, and 1842 to 1847 — the demand for the means of supporting the government having then assumed a more direct form — protection having then become the distinct object of the tariffs of those periods, leaving the question of revenue to occupy the incidental place. Land and labor then rapidly increased in value; and for the reason, that the prices of rude and finished commodities steadily approximated to each

other — thus affording the highest evidence of that approach towards civilization, required for enabling a government to apply directly to the people for all the means of its support.

Commerce becomes free, as indirect taxation ceases to exist. The power of indirect taxation diminishes, as the farmer is more and more freed from the oppressive tax of transportation. That tax diminishes, as the faculties of man are more developed, and as the power of association more and more arises. That it may arise, and may extend itself, diversity in the modes of employment is an indispensable requisite. The production of such effects having been the intent and meaning of the protective tariffs of 1828 and 1842, and those effects having been realised, not only in this country, but in all of those which follow in the lead of France, adopting the policy of Colbert, the experience of the world may be adduced in proof of the assertion, that the road to perfect freedom of commerce is to be found in the adoption of measures tending to the creation of a domestic market, and to the consequent relief of the farmer from that first and most oppressive of all taxes — the one resulting from the necessity for effecting change of place. Such, precisely, was the idea of Adam Smith, when enlarging upon the advantages to commerce, resulting from combining tons of food with hundreds of pounds of wool, in the form of pieces of cloth, that could so readily be transported to the most distant quarters of the world.

§ 14. The more perfect the commerce among its people, the greater is the power for honest and direct taxation, and the greater the strength of the State. Commerce grows as employments become diversified, as individuality becomes developed, and as agriculture becomes a science. That the countries which follow in the school of Colbert, are becoming stronger, has been proved by the facts, that Russia maintained her credit during an exhausting war, while Prussia maintained neutrality, in despite of every effort of the Western Powers. That those which follow in the train of the economists of England, are becoming weaker, is proved by the cases of Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, and the Indies of both the West and East. It is further proved, by all the experience of the United States — comparing the States of the South and West, with those of the North and East, or the

Union with itself, at different periods. Florida and Mississippi follow in the train of England, and stand, at the present moment, in a state of repudiation. California now does the same, while Massachusetts enjoys a credit equal with that of any country of the world. The Federal Government extinguished its debt, in 1835, by help of the tariff of 1828; whereas, in 1842, with no war upon its hands, it was unable to borrow at any rate of interest. The strength of the State grows with growth in the value of land and labor, and with increase in the proportion borne by fixed to movable capital. American policy tends towards increasing the movable capital at the expense of that which is fixed, and hence the growing weakness of the State.

§ 15. The views thus presented, differing wholly from those of the Ricardo-Malthusian school — trade being there regarded as first among the pursuits of man, and slavery, as the goal at which he must arrive — we may, for a moment, turn to one of its most distinguished professors, for the reasons offered in support of the doctrines therein taught.

"Indirect taxes," says Mr. McCulloch, "have been the greatest favorites of princes and subjects;" "there being," as he thinks, "very sufficient reasons for the preference" — constituting, as they do, "an ingenious plan" for extracting from the people a portion of their substance, leaving their "prejudices" untouched.*

In support of this view, he quotes from the Marquis Garnier, who highly approves of filching the means of maintaining governments — it being "in the midst of the profusion of the repast, that the taxes have ever been and still are paid — the public treasury thus finding a source of profit in the provocatives to expense excited by the gaiety of feasts."

This is, certainly, a very proper argument, to be used by those who regard man as a mere beast of burden — an animal that *must* be fed, that *will* procreate, and that *can be made* to work; but, how far it is a proper one to be addressed to the thinking MAN — the being created in the image of his Maker, and endowed with faculties qualifying him for obtaining dominion over nature, the reader may determine for himself.

Mr. McCulloch is opposed to direct taxation in general, but

* MCCULLOCH: *Taxation and Funding*, p. 147.

more especially to taxes on land, as "perpetual premiums" to "those who had been idle and improvident"—leaving their properties unimproved; while their neighbors had been causing theirs to produce twenty, thirty, or forty bushels to the acre, where five, six, or eight, had been, before, the usual crop. The reply to this would seem to be found in the fact, that the most rapid augmentation in the productiveness of agriculture, recorded in British history, is that of the half century preceding the abolition of the land-tax—that period, too, having been marked by a great improvement in the condition of the agricultural laborer. Since then, direct taxes have disappeared, but the rental of the land of the United Kingdom has remained, for forty years, nearly stationary; while the condition of those who plough the land has much deteriorated.*

Turning to the continent, we find land increasing rapidly in value, where taxation is becoming more and more direct, while diminishing, in all of those in which it is becoming more indirect. Looking to Italy and Greece of ancient times, we see direct taxation to have been in use when land was rising in value, and man was becoming free—indirect taxation having taken its place, as land became consolidated, and man became re-enslaved. Mr. McCulloch's theory would seem, therefore, to be little more than a record of the phenomena observed in all countries, in which, as now in Britain, land was becoming monopolised, and small proprietors were disappearing from the land. The owner of large estates can afford to be "idle and improvident;" small proprietors cannot.

Taxes on land being thus objectionable, Mr. McCulloch finds no substitute in those which might be imposed upon stock in banks and insurance companies—holding, that they "would really be a tax on the property of some of the most useful and industrious classes of the community." Such taxes, tempting many persons to keep their capital idle at their banker's, or in the strong-box, would, as he thinks, do an injury to the industrious classes, without securing any corresponding advantage to the State." †

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 95. The land of England was assessed, in 1814–15, at £34,330,463, and that of Scotland at £5,075,242—making a total of £39,405,705. In 1848, the total was £47,982,221. In the same time, the land of Ireland had greatly declined.

† *On Taxation and Funding*, p. 117.

Taxes on the accumulations of the past, tending, thus, in Mr. McCulloch's view, to produce idleness and improvidence, he turns, necessarily, to interferences with commerce, and taxes on the labor of the present, for the means of making working people more industrious. It being, as he thinks, "abundantly certain, that taxes, when judiciously imposed, and not carried to an oppressive height, occasion an increase of industry and economy,"* he finds, in contributions by malt, beer, cloth, and other articles, on their way from the producer to the consumer, "the fairest, most equal, and least burdensome of taxes"— quoting Arthur Young in support of the idea, that the Dutch, "deservedly esteemed the wisest nation in Europe," have been "enabled to preserve their industry," under heavy burdens, "principally by their having adopted this mode of taxation."† It may, however, as he says, "be doubted, whether the taxes on tobacco and spirits have added materially to the wages of the laborer."‡ Equally, as we think, might it be doubted, if the necessity for carrying all his products to his master, leaving to him the work of distribution, "added materially to the wages" of the slave of Brazil, or Carolina.

The taxation of the United Kingdom, including poor-rates and local expenditures, being, according to Mr. McCulloch, £73,000,000, and largely exceeding the rental of landed property, were the whole confiscated, it would still, as he says, "be necessary to raise several millions a-year by additional taxes."§ The question, however, is: Would the amount of taxation be one-half of what it now is, or even one-third of it, had those who have directed the affairs of government, been compelled, at all times, to go directly to the people for the revenue they needed? Would the American Revolution, or the series of wars that terminated at Waterloo, have taken place, had it not been that ministers were, by means of the system advocated by Mr. McCulloch, enabled to filch from the people, the contributions that they dared not ask from the holders of fixed capital? Had there been no such wars, should we now see Great Britain — wielding, by means of her machinery, a power of hundreds of millions of men — struggling under a weight of

* *On Taxation and Funding*, p. 6.
† Ibid, p. 241.
‡ Ibid, p. 93.
§ Ibid, p. 51.

taxation so terrific? Would the doctrines of over-population, and eventual slavery, ever have been invented? Could it be, that, in this enlightened age, we should have distinguished economists assuring us, that "government has done its duty" when it has found the things best suited to bear taxation*—"equality of contribution" being left wholly out of view, as "an inferior consideration?"† Assuredly not. Sound morals require, that every man should contribute his fair share, towards the maintenance of the government that affords protection to himself and his, in the exercise of their rights of person and of property. Who, however, are the people that pay taxes on malt, hops, tobacco, sugar, tea, and coffee? The men who labor, and have little to protect. Who is it that escape taxation? The men who have stocks and bonds—representatives of the accumulations of the past. The whole system tends to prevent capital from becoming fixed — to increase the proportion that remains movable — to augment the necessity for interferences with commerce; and the result is seen in the payment of an amount of taxes that is greatly more than the whole annual value of the land. Had the system looked to the maintenance of commerce, in accordance with the advice of Adam Smith, the land would now be twice as valuable, while taxes would not be a fifth as great.

§ 16. Beginning, as did Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo, with the false assumption that men began with the rich soils of the earth, they were, of course, led to find "a fear of want" accompanying that growth of wealth and population which produced a necessity for resorting to poorer soils, with constantly decreasing return to labor. Such being the great law of God, it followed, inevitably, that the time must arrive, when the laborer, pressed by famine, would gladly sell himself, his wife, and children, to the land-owner — slavery being the goal at which society was destined ultimately, and certainly, to arrive. Hence it is, that Mr. McCulloch finds in *fear*, the means of stimulating men to action — leaving wholly out of view, the idea of *hope* for further improvement.

Adam Smith believed in commerce. His successors worship at

* *On Taxation and Funding*, p. 20. † Ibid, p. 18.

the shrine of trade. The one held, that the nearer the consumer and the producer, the larger must be the production, the greater the power of accumulation, and the greater the competition for the purchase of the laborer's services. The other holds, that ships are more productive than cornfields — the former increasing in their powers from year to year, while the latter as steadily decline. The more distant the producer from the consumer, and the more numerous the middlemen, the larger, as we are assured, must be the quantity of things produced — consumers and producers finding the demand for their services increasing, as they become more widely separated. The one desired to produce competition for the *purchase* of labor; and therefore did he denounce the system based upon the idea of cheapening the raw materials of manufactures, labor included. The other — seeking to produce competition for the *sale* of labor — advocates a system based upon cheapening corn and cotton, and requiring "a cheap and abundant supply of labor," by means of which to convert them into cloth.*

The lower the price of land and labor, the greater must be the necessity for indirect and fraudulent taxation. The higher those prices, the greater must be the power of a government, openly and honestly, to claim that both shall contribute to the expenses of the government; and the higher will the community rank among the nations of the world. Centralization tends in the direction of the one, while concentration leads towards the other.

§ 17. The road towards freedom lies in the direction of rents and taxes, certain in amount — leaving the owner, or occupant, free to determine, for himself, how he shall employ his land, or his time, and what he will do with the product, when obtained. That tending towards slavery, is found in the adoption of taxes on property in motion — the malt and the hops paying in the form of a charge on beer; sand, and other materials, paying in that of one on glass. These are indirect taxes; but a higher form of indirection, would be found in the interposition of a fluctuating money value — the beer and the glass paying more, or less, as prices changed from day to day. Such, precisely, was the mode of the Spanish *alcavala*, by means of which the State obtained a

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 239.

tenth of the money price at which commodities were sold. On one day, a certain quantity of flour would pay fifty cents; on another, it paid a dollar. In one part of the country, that quantity paid twenty-five cents; in another, on the same day, the tax was twice or thrice as great. The greater the scarcity of food, the higher was the tax. The greater its abundance, the smaller was the revenue. The interests of the State and people being thus opposed, frauds, of course, abounded. Financially and morally, it was the worst of all the systems that had been devised; yet, is it the one selected by the United States.

Adequate protection, looking, as it does, to the relief of the farmer from the perpetually recurring, and most oppressive, tax of transportation, tends towards raising the value of land and man — thus enabling the State to establish direct and honest taxation. Interferences with commerce, for merely revenue purposes, look to the maintenance of indirect taxes, as the permanent source of revenue. This last is, apparently, the fixed policy of the American people. Instead, however, of taxing the piece of cloth, or the ton of iron, and thus requiring all importers of those commodities to contribute, in fair proportion, to the revenue, they take the highest form of indirection — interposing a money value, and assessing taxes thereupon. The system being thus, precisely, that of the *alcavala*, the results of the two are in perfect correspondence — the State obtaining much revenue from sugar, tea, and iron, when they are scarce and dear; and little, when they are abundant and cheap. The interests of State and people being thus in opposition, frauds are universal, and honesty, in dealing with the government, has become so very difficult, that men of character are driven from the business of importation.*

The political system of the United States, based, as it is, upon the idea of local action, is the most perfect of all the forms of government; yet, does its very perfection tend to the exaggeration of every evil resulting from error in its course of policy. The officer charged, at London or Liverpool, with the collection of the revenue — having been taken from among the whole British

* In a recent report of a select committee of the British Parliament, it is shown that, trivial as was, then, the revenue derived from *ad valorem* duties (£188,000), nearly all the frauds occurred in them, and that bribery and corruption had been very general until specific duties were introduced.

people—is free from that local feeling, which might lead him to countenance frauds upon the State, with a view to benefit his particular port. Directly the reverse of this, is found in the United States—the collectors of the customs having local interests, tempting them to the permission of fraud, at the cost of the interests of both State and people. Hence it is, that the centralization of trade, at a single port, is growing with such rapidity, and that slavery makes such rapid strides. The more the social system tends towards concentration of the people, and augmentation of commerce, the more certain is the correction of the evils of political centralization. The more it tends towards dispersion of the population, and augmentation of the power of trade, the more certain is the production of political centralization, and the greater the tendency towards the ultimate enslavement of man.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF CONCENTRATION AND CENTRALIZATION.

§ 1. The people of the Happy Valley commenced the work of cultivation on the slopes of the hills standing between them and the outer world. Studying their movements, in the early stages of their society, we find an occasional family scattered here and there—cultivating thin and poor soils, in sight of others possessing all the qualities required for fitting them to yield liberal returns to labor. Nature, however, being there all-powerful, and they being poor and weak, they find themselves compelled to enter upon the contest with her at those places where she, too, is weak—being almost powerless for good, and, therefore, little capable of resistance to their efforts.

Their numbers, however, increasing, and wealth accumulating, we see them passing, from every point, slowly downward towards the valley—working always inward. Cultivation extending itself, and the facilities of intercourse increasing, the younger people are more and more enabled to associate—with growing tendency towards binding together the various settlements by means of the marriage tie. Population further augmenting, employments become diversified—farmers' sons becoming blacksmiths and tanners, tailors and hatters, masons and carpenters, weavers and millers, with growing sense of the advantage to be derived from extended commerce. Exchanges becoming from year to year more numerous, a town at length arises—the little community thus gradually becoming more complete, and more capable of self-support, were it to be forever debarred from intercourse with the outer world. The more perfect the power of the individual to command the services of nature—the greater his wealth—the more does he become individualised and independent; but the greater is his power of combining with his fellow-men. So, too, is it with communities—the power of maintaining intercourse with others, growing with every diminution in the necessity therefor.

Entering, now, the house of one of these happy farmers, we find him, also, looking inward — his wife, his children, and his farm, standing foremost among the objects of his affection, and it being among them, that he seeks for happiness. Were we, however, to suppose the man whose thoughts were thus concentrated, to be thereby incapacitated from association with his fellow-men, we should greatly err — his power to remain at home being a direct consequence of the growing facility of combination. The miller being near him, he is not obliged to leave his farm when desiring to have his grain converted into flour. Close neighbor to the tanner, the hatter, and the weaver, he discusses with them the laying out of roads—the opening of streets through the little town — the building of churches — and the establishment of schools — combining with them, and all around them, for the maintenance of security, and, equally with them, contributing towards the expenses thence resulting. Combination promoting security, and facilitating the growth of wealth, wealth, in turn, enables him more and more to concentrate his thoughts and economise his time. That, again in turn, facilitates the further growth of wealth, by enabling him more and more to reflect upon the measures required for promoting the common good — to give his leisure for the benefit of those of his neighbors who have been less successful than himself — to devote both time and mind to the acquisition of further knowledge — and thus, in every manner, to advance the interests of the society of which he is so fortunate as to be a member. Public labors being divided, the share of each is small. Public work is inexpensive — being done by men who themselves contribute towards the payment for it. All, thus, working, wealth grows rapidly, with corresponding diminution in the quantity of effort required for the maintenance of that entire security of person, and of property, the desire for which prompts to the association of men with their fellow-men.

Cultivation gradually extending itself over the rich soils, production steadily increases, with rapid growth of wealth, manifested by increase of power to control and direct the great natural forces, and as constantly declining power of resistance to human effort. Manure abounds — the consumer having taken his place by the side of the producer. Millers, carpenters, farmers, and blacksmiths, exchanging directly with each other,

and force being thus economised, the horse and the wagon have almost ceased to be required on the road, and are free for aiding in extending the work of cultivation, or in beautifying the little farm.

Placing ourselves, now, upon the mountain top, and looking downwards to the various little valleys, we see that, in all of them, the course of operation has been the same — each and all having commenced the work of cultivation on the higher and poorer lands, and the attention of all being directed towards a common centre, placed among the richer soils. In each and all, the growing facility of combination among themselves is attended with increase of power for intercourse with others — the existence of this latter being attested by the gradual construction of roads leading over the hills which form the line of separation.

Intercourse increasing, the habit of union, so well begun in each, is seen to spread. Wealth and population further growing, commerce becomes more rapid — consumption following more closely after production, and enabling each and every man to find, on the instant, a purchaser for his labor, or its products. The habit of combination further extending, a larger association is formed, having in view the maintenance of peace and harmony among the various communities that have thus been formed. Union becoming more complete, rules are adopted for determining the relations of each community with every other — leaving to the general body the task of regulating intercourse with the outer world. General laws now embrace the whole of these societies — all constituting one great pyramid, wide of base, but slight in elevation.

Looking among the people of the several communities, we see that, to their members, the importance of these laws diminishes with increase of distance. First stands *the* home; next, the common home of many families; lastly, the general home of the several communities. In the first, each finds his chief source of happiness. In the second, the means of augmenting that happiness, by combination with his neighbors for the maintenance of the roads in daily use by himself and them — for the support of schools for his children, the library required for himself, and the church frequented by his family. In the third, he combines with more distant neighbors, for the maintenance of roads which he

sometimes uses, and for the regulation of affairs of general interest, by which he may sometimes be affected; whereas, in the regulation of those of his own community, he has a daily and hourly interest; and in those of his own particular home, an interest that ceases neither day nor night.

Though general laws are made, local regulation remain untouched — each of the lesser bodies preserving its entire identity, rendered yet more perfect by combination with its neighbors. The union of all adds to the power of each, for the maintenance of that perfect security of person and property which is so essential to the growth of wealth and force, and to the further extension of cultivation over the richer soils. Each having its own government, for the regulation of matters pertaining to its several members, each submits to general rules, determining the relations between their own members, and those of the communities with which they are associated. The base of each widening, the richer soils come more and more into cultivation; and, with every step in that direction, their relations become more intimate — the habit of union steadily increasing, with constantly growing strength, and further development of individuality. Each, now, has its various churches, and its schools. Each has the consumer and the producer placed side by side. Each has its roads and bridges, and each its local court for the settlement of differences among its people. The machinery being simple, the cost is light—those who look to the affairs of the community doing so in the intervals of their own employments, and desiring to have little waste. In time, twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred communities — at first scattered over the land, and separated by broad tracts of forest, deep and rapid rivers, or hills and mountains — are brought into connection with each other, to form a greater pyramid, or State. Perfect concentration, however, still exists — local rules still governing local interests, and local judges deciding local differences. Local roads and bridges are made under the direction of local officers; while mills, shops, and factories, relieve the farmer from the tax of transportation — making, at home, demand for all the various products of the earth.

Wealth and population steadily increasing, the great union grows in strength because of the development of the parts of

which it is composed — they, in turn, growing in power, because of their perfect control over the commerce among themselves — that commerce on which man is most dependent. That growing, its effects are seen in the exhibition, by each little community, of a constantly increasing number of persons possessing each *his own* land, and *his own* house, upon which he concentrates his exertions for *his own* improvement — *his own* wife, and *his own* children, in whom centre his hopes of happiness; and for the promotion of whose ease, comfort, and enjoyment, he is at all times ready to exert his physical and mental faculties. The machine is simple. It moves of itself — each man moving his share. The work is done, yet it is difficult to see by whom. The labor is light, being done by many. Its form being natural, the tendency towards stability is most complete. Its capability of resistance is great, but its power of assault is small, and hence its tendency towards peace.

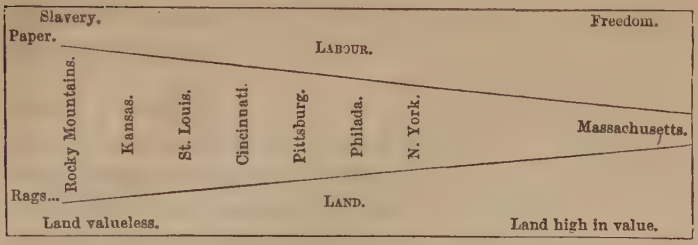
§ 2. Such is concentration, a term expressing precisely the same idea presented to the mind by that of commerce, or society —it being the simple and natural form imagined by Adam Smith, when discoursing of "that order of things which necessity imposes in general," and which is "promoted by the natural inclinations of man." Had "human institutions never thwarted those natural inclinations, the towns could never," as he thought, "have increased beyond what the improvement and cultivation of the territory in which they were situated, could support," and men—freed from the tyranny of trade—would have been enabled to enjoy those "beauties of a country life," and that "tranquillity of mind," which such a life affords, and which the author of the *Wealth of Nations* so much admired. Believing, as he did, in the humanising tendency of commerce, as compared with traffic and transportation, he did not fail to see the great injustice to the farmer, resulting from the separation of consumers from producers, sought to be produced by the people among whom he lived, and to whom he addressed his work. His eyes, as his readers clearly see, were fully open to the great advantage everywhere resulting from compressing tons of food, and hundredweights of wool, into pieces of cloth — thus enabling the farmer readily to maintain intercourse with the distant world.

Perfectly aware of the advantage of concentration, he, throughout his work, declares himself opposed to centralization. The one, always looking inward, promotes a love of home, and of quiet happiness. Facilitating commerce, it promotes a love of union. Freeing the farmer from the most oppressive of all his taxes, it aids in creating a scientific agriculture. Promoting the growth of wealth, it enables men to have leisure for reflection on what they see around them, and on what they find recorded by their predecessors. Developing the individual faculties, it promotes the habit of independent thought and action. Enabling each to combine with all, it facilitates association, and thus developes MAN — the subject of social science.

Looking always outward, centralization tends to the fomenting of war and discord — thereby producing a dislike for peaceful pursuits, preventing the growth of wealth, and retarding the development of the vast and various powers of the earth. Under it, men are forced to move in masses, governed by ministers, generals, and admirals — the habit of independent thought or action having no existence. Here, no man directs his own business; no man controls the application of his labor, or its proceeds. The State manages everything — being, itself, composed of those who live by profits derived from managing the affairs of others.

Tending towards steadiness in the movement of society, with daily increased security, the one looks to an extension of the proportions borne by fixed to movable property; while the other — producing always unsteadiness and insecurity — increases the movable, at the expense of that which is fixed. The one looks towards peace, wealth, and freedom; the other towards war, pauperism, and slavery.

§ 3. The more rapid the circulation of society, the greater is the tendency towards concentration — towards the maintenance of peace — towards the growth of wealth — and towards the production of the real MAN, the being made in the image of his Creator, and endowed with faculties fitting him to control and direct the forces of nature. For proof of this, we must, now, once more, call the reader's attention to the diagram here submitted:—



On the left, he finds the trader, or the warrior-chief, taking a large proportion of the product of labor — leaving the laborer so little, that he remains enslaved. On the right, the proportion to be divided among the middlemen is very small, while labor is largely paid. In the one case, the power of the trader to purchase service is very great; in the other, it is very small.

The peaceful effects of the beautiful law of nature which controls and determines the distribution of the things produced, are here exhibited, and in a manner worthy of serious attention. Examining history where we may, we find that when population is small, wages are very low; while the *proportion* of labor's products taken by the trader, or warrior, is very large — facilitating the hiring of men, to aid him in the accomplishment of his desires. So is it, now, in all declining countries — it being easier to hire thousands, for warlike purposes, in Ireland, India, or Mexico, than hundreds in Massachusetts. So was it, in the early ages of England, as is shown by the large proportion of the population that, in the days of the Plantagenets, was constantly in the field. So, too, in those of France, as is proved by the facility with which armies were raised, by kings and nobles, throughout the reigns of the various sovereigns of the Valois family. The castles of counts and dukes, destitute, as they were, of even the commonest comforts, were thronged with their retainers; and yet, the revenues of men who were followed to the field by hundreds, if not even thousands, scarcely equalled those of tolerably prosperous farmers of modern times. Even so late as the middle of the last century, "Cameron of Lochiel, a gentleman," says Adam Smith, "whose rent never exceeded £500 a-year, carried 800 of his own people into the rebellion

with him." On the other hand, the laird of the little island of Skye, contributed no less than 2000 of his own retainers to the support of government.

So is it, even now, in the slave States of the American Union. Wretched as are, not unfrequently, the house accommodations of the planter, and destitute, as he almost everywhere is, in regard to clothing, books, or pictures, his house is filled with servants, half-a-dozen of whom are required for doing the work that should be done by one — the same facts thus presenting themselves in all countries, ancient or modern, as we recede from those times, or places, in which the prices of raw materials and finished commodities approximate, towards those in which they are widely separated from each other.

On the right of the diagram, the soldier and the trader have little power of disturbance. Commerce, therefore, grows — the circulation becoming more rapid from day to day, with large development of the mental faculties, and great increase of wealth and freedom. On the left, the power of the soldier and the trader is great. Commerce, therefore, declines — the circulation becoming more sluggish, and men becoming more and more enslaved, as we move in that direction.

Concentration grows in the one—man and land there acquiring value, and society taking, more and more, that natural form described by Dr. Smith. Centralization grows in the other — man and land losing value, and society assuming the form regarded, by the teachers of the Ricardo-Malthusian school, as being the one fore-ordained by the Being who gave to man the faculties required for enabling him to control and direct the vast and various powers of air and earth.

§ 4. Studying the history of Greece, we find, through many centuries, a tendency towards an union such as is above described — exhibiting itself in the gradual formation of the Athenian and other States, and in the extensive combinations for the maintenance of the Olympic, Isthmian, and Nemean games, as well as in the Amphictyonic league. So, too, in the union of the cities of Latium, of the communities of the Netherlands, and of India. Man, however, in the early ages, having been poor, and destitute of power to subject to cultivation the richer lands, he is

found, invariably, occupying the higher and poorer soils; and hence the frequent contests for the possession of tracts of land that appear, to us, to have been entirely insignificant. Poverty tends, thus, to produce war — that, in turn, stopping the circulation of society, augmenting the difficulty of obtaining food, and producing a necessity for further war; as is so well exhibited in almost every page of Gallic history.

Throughout the Middle Ages, France presents a series of civil wars; rarely broken, except when kings and barons united for plundering their weaker neighbors. The consequences of this are seen in the fact, that down to the Revolution, the right to labor was held to be a privilege, to be paid for to the crown, while kings and nobles made of themselves the conduits by means of which the wealth of the kingdom was passed to foreign countries, in payment for luxuries that, under existing circumstances, could not be produced at home. Eleven-twelfths of the products of the land, had to go forth from the place of production, in payment of the *taille*, and other taxes — the people being *corvéeable à volonté*, for making the roads by which they were to pass towards the central city for distribution. In no part of Europe was centralization more complete. In none, were the obstacles standing between the producer and the consumer so great. In none, therefore — extremes always meeting — were the people poorer, or those by whom they were governed more magnificent.

Centralization, in that country, is still exceedingly great. The road requiring repair, orders therefor must come from Paris — passing through a series of forms, requiring the co-operation of hosts of officials, before the permission can be granted. — The land-owner, desiring to mine his coal, must seek permission at Paris — paying liberally for it, and waiting years before it can be obtained. — The people of a neighborhood, desiring to open a bank, find themselves precluded therefrom by a monopoly secured to a few individuals, owners of the Bank of France. — The baker, desiring to open a shop, must seek a patent, and pay for it. — The son, desiring to aid his father in supporting his mother and sisters, finds that the State has a mortgage on his services, covering several of the most important years of life. Stoppage of the circulation would seem almost to be the rule of French

society. Nevertheless, so great have been the advantages of a system tending towards bringing the consumer and the producer together, and thus relieving the farmer from the oppressive tax of transportation, that the product of agriculture, which, in 1700, was but 1,300,000,000 francs, rose to 5,000,000,000, in the period from 1830 to 1840 — the share of the laborer, meantime, rising from thirty-five to sixty per cent., and giving him 500 francs, where, before, he had had but 135. The amount divided, in the first period, among the other classes of society, was equal to the wages of 6,000,000 laborers; whereas, in the last, it would purchase the services of only 4,000,000.*

The cost of war increases with every increase of the laborer's proportion. The power of the few to disturb the repose of the many, declines in a corresponding ratio — their share of the product of labor diminishing, as the prices of rude products and finished commodities approximate, and as land and labor rise in value.

French taxes, great and oppressive as they yet are, bear to production so much smaller a proportion than they did a century since, that, but for the compulsory military service, French armies would not now be sufficient to cause much disturbance of the peace of Europe.†

That centralization tends to diminish as land and labor acquire value, is a fact proved by every page of history. That acquisition being, always, consequent upon approximation in the prices of raw materials and finished products, it follows, necessarily, that the tendency towards freedom must be in the ratio of the growth of commerce, and the decline of power among those who live by trade. However great, then, may be the oppression of existing governments — however much their tendency towards war — the steady pursuit of a policy tending to bring the consumer to take his place by the side of the producer, *must*

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 60.

† The conscription is, of all the forms of taxation, the most oppressive and unjust. Falling, as it does, almost entirely upon those who need to sell their labor, it compels those who have little property to protect, to pay a heavy tax, from which the great capitalist is almost entirely exempt. If he should be drawn, he readily obtains a substitute. His poor neighbor, unable to pay, *must* serve; and, during his years of service, his whole allowance consists of food and clothing, and about five dollars a-year, of wages.

lead to the ultimate establishment of peace as the habitual condition of a community.

§ 5. Centralization grows with the growth of the trader's power — the prices of raw materials and finished products then receding from each other—land and labor then declining in value — and the proportion borne by taxation to production being an increasing one.

The gross taxation of Great Britain and Ireland, for all purposes, seven years since, was stated by Mr. McCulloch at £73,000,000, but it now exceeds £90,000,000, and is, probably, nearer to £100,000,000; while the total annual value of land does not, certainly, exceed £55,000,000 — the persons who direct the government, thus, taking two-thirds more than all that goes to the persons by whom the land is owned. The total taxation of France, for governmental purposes, is 1,200,000,000 francs. Adding to this, for local contributions, and for the tax imposed by the conscription, even 500,000,000, we obtain a total of 1,700,000,000 — being less than five-sixths of the annual value of the land. Such being the case, it follows, that the proportion borne by English taxation to the value of land, is almost exactly twice as great as is borne by that of France.

Who it is, that pays these heavy taxes, we have already seen. They are the contributions of the land and labor of all the countries that are compelled to exhaust their soils in sending abroad rude products — receiving back a trivial portion in the form of manufactured goods.*

How are they applied? For an answer to this question, we may turn to Mr. Cobden, who told his readers, some years since, and before the breaking out of the Crimean war, that, since 1835, they had been constantly augmenting the number of their troops. In that year, they stood, as he says, at 145,846. At the date of his letter, they were 272,481; and this, too, entirely independent of the Indian army, amounting to 289,529 men — giving a total of 562,010.† During that war, the number was much augmented, but war in India, and wars with China and Persia, have caused a subsequent and great increase.

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 86.

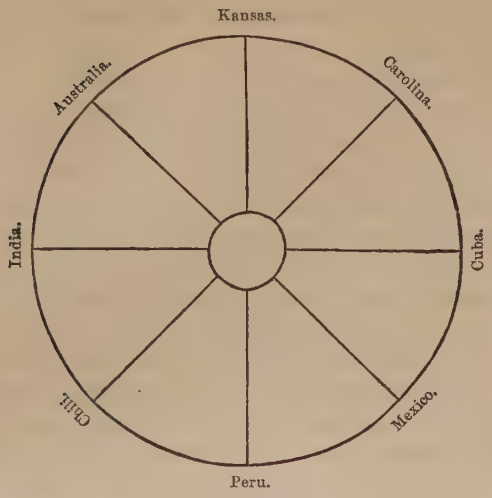
† Cobden: *Letters on* 1793 *and* 1853.

Freedom of trade was, as we were assured, to bring with it the era of universal peace; yet do we seem to be further removed from it than we have ever been. English armies are now greater than they ever were before, in time of peace, and wars more frequent. The period referred to by Mr. Cobden, had been one of almost constant conflicts; of which Affghanistan and Scinde, Burmah and the Punjab, China and Africa, Syria and Russia, have been the seats. Peace with Russia was followed by war with Persia — that, in turn, being succeeded by a second war with China, having in view the opening of a market for cloth and iron, and the further extension of trade.* Look where we may, throughout history, the trader and the soldier are found marching by each other's side. Why it has been, and ever must be so, may readily be seen. The greater the trader's power, the longer is the time elapsing between production and consumption — the slower is the circulation — the larger is the proportion borne by movable to fixed capital — the poorer are the people — and the more numerous are the opportunities for pilfering, by means of indirect taxation, the means required for the support of armies, and for the payment of the class that lives, moves, and has its being, in virtue of the exercise of its appropriative powers.

§ 6. Of all oppressions, there is none that is at all comparable with that resulting from trading centralization. Tending, as it does, to the final, and utter, destruction of the value of land and labor, nothing escapes it — neither the palace of the great proprietor, nor the poorest cabin on his estate. How it operates, will be seen on an examination of the following diagram:—

* The reasons for the commencement of a war likely to cause the destruction of hundreds of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of the property of unoffending people, thus given by the leading English journal, furnish a proper exhibit of the morals of trading centralization:—

"The advancing enterprise of England came in contact with the isolated fabric of Chinese society. The paltry details, whether *this* act is legal or that act judicious, passed into oblivion. In the regular and inevitable development of the world, it was necessary that, at some period, an adventurous maritime people, like the English, should *force* themselves into connection with a feeble, unprogressing race like the Chinese, *inhabiting a rich country open to our trade.*"—*London Times.*



We have, here, a wheel with spokes of enormous length. In the performance of a revolution, its hub moves through yards, while the tire, *in the same time*, passes over thousands of miles —the slightest change in the action of the one producing, therefore, immense changes in the other. Such being the case, nothing short of the most perfect steadiness of movement, would prevent the total disruption of its various parts. What, then, would be its condition, were the hub to be turned, at one moment, at the rate of a yard in a minute; at another, two; at a third, ten; and at a fourth, thirty — coming, next, to an almost total stop? Under such circumstances, must not the machine be shattered into fragments—the hub alone remaining whole and undisturbed?

Such, exactly, is the effect of trading centralization — acceleration of motion at the centre, producing acceleration increasing as the square of the distance, to be followed by ruin, increasing in its intensity, as we pass from the place where the power is applied, towards those upon which it acts. Hence it is, that changes in the monetary world of Britain, have always produced effects so fearful in the newer settlements of the United States. So, however, is it, everywhere. At one moment, the machine moves rapidly, and the poor Hindoo is urged to raise more cotton. At the next, the machine having almost stopped, the

price has fallen, and he is ruined. The farmers and planters, throughout the world, find their commodities rising and falling in price from day to day, and from year to year, exactly in accordance with the more or less motion at the centre, on which they are so much dependent. Wheat being dear in London, it is dear everywhere. Cotton and tobacco, sugar and coffee, being cheap there, they are cheap everywhere. If dear, the producers are enriched: if cheap, the sheriff sells them out. Under such circumstances, there can be none of that steadiness of motion required for the conversion of movable into fixed property—the highest evidence of civilization. Therefore it is, that, in all the countries dependent on the chances and changes of the British market, the value of land is little more than nominal—nearly all the existing property consisting of raw materials on their road to market, or finished commodities on their way to the consumer, to be so nearly absorbed on their passage, that the man who raises food can obtain little clothing, while he who raises cotton perishes for want of food.

The past half century presents a series of financial crises—all originating in England. In 1815, the wheel moved rapidly, and farmers and planters were prosperous. Three years after, it moved slowly, and all were ruined. Five years later, motion was increased, and all again prospered. Four years later—the wheel having almost stopped—ruin and desolation were spread throughout the earth. The following fifteen years exhibit a succession of changes of motion—ending, at length, in 1841, with the almost total ruin of the agricultural nations of the world. What, however, was the condition of those who, standing at the centre, controlled the movement? They were enriched—their money commanding large interest, while property and commodities were cheap. The trader profits by change—variations of price enabling him to buy cheaply and sell dearly. Trading centralization giving him this power, throughout the earth, the more perfect it becomes, the more imperious is the necessity imposed upon the agricultural world for abstaining from the conversion of movable into fixed capital—the greater is the necessity for ships—the larger the amount of exports and imports—and the less the value of land and labor throughout the countries subject to it.

§ 7. "The history of the colonies," said an eminent British statesman, "is that of a series of losses, and of the destruction of capital; and if, to the many millions of private capital which have been thus wasted, were added some hundred millions that have been raised by British taxes, and spent on account of the colonies, the total loss to the British public of wealth which the colonies have occasioned, would appear to be quite enormous." *

That this is, and must be, true, will be obvious to all who reflect on the object had in view, in the maintenance of so many costly establishments. Gibraltar facilitates the smuggling of cloth, and thus prevents the people of Spain from combining for the establishment of mills for making cloth at home. The dependence on foreign mills and ships is, thereby, much increased; but what is the profit that thence results to England? None whatsoever — the whole of the merchandise sent to Spain being, in amount, far less than the cost of maintaining the soldiers and sailors required for doing the work. Malta and the Ionian Islands do the same for Southern Europe, and with the same result — the cost being thrice greater than all the profits realized. Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have annihilated the manufactures and commerce of India. Hong Kong and Singapore are maintained as dépôts whence to smuggle opium, and thus destroy the Chinese people. Quebec and Montreal facilitate the violation of American laws; and thus are almost all the British colonies used for the single and simple purpose of destroying the power of association throughout the world.

Look where we may, throughout the countries following in the lead of England, we obtain the same results — a daily increasing difficulty of developing the resources of the earth, consequent upon increased dependence on the will of those who control the movements of the one great market. Land and men, therefore, decline in value — slavery taking the place of freedom; and with every step in that direction, recovery becomes more difficult. †

* PARNELL: *On Financial Reform.*

† "Let me tell you," said Law to the Marquis d'Argenson, "that the kingdom of France is governed by thirty intendants. You have," he continued, "neither Parliament, nor estates, nor governors—nothing but thirty masters of requests, on whom, so far as the provinces are concerned, welfare or misery, plenty or want, entirely depend." Trading centralization tends to make of the world a single kingdom, plundered by a multitude of intendants.

§ 8. In the growth of the United States, we have the nearest approach to the natural system first described. From the days of the Puritans, to the present time, we find the few and widely scattered people of the early settlements gradually coming together, to form counties, towns, and States — the whole ultimately resolving themselves into an Union, based upon the theory of leaving to local institutions the exclusive management of local affairs, and confining the general administration to those without the limits of the States.

In Massachusetts, this approach is most complete — local action being there more perfect than in any other country of the world. Passing south and west, we find a gradually diminishing tendency towards concentration, accompanied by growing centralization, until, on arriving at the extreme south, we find communities wholly composed of slaves and traders — the former being obliged to bring to the latter all the produce of their labors, to be by them distributed. North and East, we find much fixed and little movable property. South and West — land having little value — the proportion of fixed property is small, while that of the movable is large.

Based upon the idea of local action, or concentration, the Federal Constitution, or act of union, was intended for its promotion. More or less, such was the general idea of those charged with the administration of the government, during the first half century that followed its establishment. Since then, however — the policy of the country, as finally settled in 1846, having tended exclusively to the promotion of trade, and to the establishment of indirect taxation as the permanent means of raising revenue — "the diminished importation of highly protected articles, and the progressive substitution of domestic rivals," has come to be regarded as a grievance — requiring to be remedied. So rapidly, at that date, was the substitution going on, and so rapidly was commerce relieving the people from the necessity for trade, that import duties were, as they were assured, "becoming dead letters, except for purposes of prohibition" — threatening, "if not reduced, to compel their advocates to resort to direct taxation to support the government."*

* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1845. Of all the documents published by the U. S. Government, since its first establishment, there is

Freedom and peace come with the growing power of a government to rely upon direct and honest application to the people, for the means required for its support. Declining freedom among the people, and war among the nations, are the companions of growing centralization and indirect taxation. How far the truth of this is proved by American experience, is seen in the facts, that, thirty years since, when the policy of the country tended towards the creation of domestic markets for the farmer — towards increasing the value of labor and land — towards entire freedom of intercourse, abroad and at home, as a consequence of protection — and towards the ultimate substitution of direct for indirect taxation — the public expenditures but little exceeded $10,000,000. Fleets and armies then required only $6,000,000 — peace with all nations, as a consequence of respect for the rights of all, being then the habitual condition of the country. Ten years later — trade having, meantime, been adopted as the policy of the country — the expenditures for fleets and armies had been, already, tripled. Five years later, the policy of peace and commerce having, for the moment, been re-adopted, the expenditure for military purposes fell to $12,000,000. Since then — trade having been, to all appearance, finally adopted as the policy of the country — the cost of army and navy has risen to $30,000,000; and the results are seen in a perpetual succession of foreign and domestic wars. The sister republic of Mexico has been invaded and dismembered. Cuba has been attempted. Greytown has been destroyed. Japan has been visited and threatened. Chinese forts have been destroyed. Indian tribes have been annihilated. Civil war has raged in Kansas, and vigilance committees have governed California. Preparatory to further wars, expeditions have been fitted out for the exploration of African and South American rivers, while expensive missions have been sent to Persia, China, and other countries.

Concentration would, at an expense of less than two millions of dollars, render the Ohio and Mississippi navigable throughout the year — thus relieving the country of an annual tax of

none so much abounding in rash and unfounded assertions, as those which emanated from the author of this Report—none displaying a more thorough incapacity for comprehending the importance, to the farmer, of being relieved from the grinding and oppressive tax of transportation.

twenty millions. Centralization neglects the rivers at home, that it may open up those abroad. Trade becomes, from year to year, more and more master of the country's fortunes; and hence it is, that while the highest judicial authority of the country decides that freedom is sectional and slavery national, the private trader employs his ships in the transportation of coolies, and the planter seeks the re-opening of the trade in negro men. Look where we may, the people become less free, as the trader grows in power.

§ 9. Concentration tending, as it does, towards the ultimate freedom of commerce, and the substitution of direct for indirect taxation, brings with it that application of the public revenues which looks to the general development of the potential energies of man and matter — thus placing those who are weak of arm on a level with the strong. Centralization, on the contrary, looking to obtaining indirectly the means of supplying fleets and armies, tends towards strengthening the already strong, at the expense of those who are weak. Massachusetts relies almost wholly on direct taxation; and therefore it is, that, while she expends little on her governor, she raises millions for the support of common schools. The Federal Government, on the contrary, having now adopted a system looking to the perpetual maintenance of indirect taxation, doubles the salaries of secretaries and ministers, at a time when the artisan finds a daily increasing difficulty of obtaining food and clothing for his children; and trading cities treble their expenditures, while pauperism advances with giant strides.*

Prussia pays her ministers of State 10,000 rix-dollars = $7500, and educates her people; but her policy tends towards commerce and direct taxation. England rewards chancellors and bishops by salaries of ten and twenty thousand pounds; but her policy tends towards trade and indirection. Generals are rewarded with estates whose cost is counted by hundreds of thousands, while the mass of the people can neither read nor write. India is required to pay her officials at a higher rate than almost any

* The expenditures of New York city have risen, in seven years, from three to nine millions of dollars, and the fees of the city attorney have advanced, from the moderate amount at which they stood a few years since, to $71,296 for a single year!

country of the world; while those who pay, perish for want of food and clothing. France taxes the poor man's salt, and requires his son to serve for years, at nominal wages — while enabling ministers, generals, and financiers, to accumulate enormous fortunes.

Turning, now, to the France of the last century, we find the same difference between the *pays d'états* and *pays d'élection* — those which had, and those which had not, retained the right of taxing themselves — that now are found in passing from those counties whose policy tends to the extension of commerce, to those in which it looks towards trade. In Languedoc, one of the former — the *taille* bearing wholly on landed property — not only did every one know beforehand what he had to pay, but he had, also, the "right of demanding a comparison of his quota with that of any other resident of the parish he chose to select" — "being," says M. de Tocqueville, "precisely the process that is now pursued."*

The effects of this were seen in the vast expenditures for works of public utility — the annual appropriations therefor, just prior to the Revolution, having been no less than 7,000,000 livres = $1,400,000. The central government being shocked at this large expenditure, the province pointed proudly to its roads, all of which had been made without resorting to the *corvée*, or system of forced labor, then usual throughout the kingdom — adding, that, "if the king will grant permission, the estates will do yet more — improving the local roads, which affect so many other interests." "Further," said the memorialists, "the king need be at no expense for the establishment of workhouses in Languedoc, such as have been required in the rest of France. We ask no favors of the kind — the works of public utility we ourselves undertake, standing us in the stead of workhouses, and furnishing a remunerative demand for all our labor."†

Directly the reverse of this, was what was witnessed throughout most of the other provinces — the *taille* having there been "arbitrarily distributed and levied," and having "varied constantly with the fluctuations in the means of those who paid it."‡ As a consequence of this, those provinces made no roads,

* *L'Ancien Régime*, chap. xii. † Ibid, appendix. ‡ Ibid, chap. xii.

fixed property was trivial in quantity, and the people were unemployed.

Concentration looks towards the development of the faculties of all — thereby enabling each and all to become competitors for the purchase of the services of those around them. Centralization looks to increasing the power of the already rich, at the expense of those who are poor — thereby diminishing, instead of increasing, the competition for the laborer's services. The one tends, therefore, as naturally towards peace and freedom, as does the other towards slavery and war.

§ 10. Concentration tends towards promoting the rapidity of circulation, and thus developing the potential energies of man. Therefore is it, that it everywhere leads to development of the latent powers of the earth — the localization of capital — the creation of a scientific agriculture — the establishment of local schools — and the creation, throughout a whole country, of smaller societies, in the bosom of which each and every man may find all the appliances required for enabling him to add to his means of production and enjoyment. More than any other countries of the world, Germany and Denmark are moving in this direction — the results being seen in a growth of wealth and freedom not exceeded any where.*

Centralization, on the contrary, tends towards destroying the circulation, and thus dwarfing the communities subjected to it. Trading centralization seeks the extension of these effects throughout the world. Therefore is it, that it everywhere tends towards rendering latent the powers of the earth — towards the centralization of capital — the destruction of agriculture — the annihilation of local schools and colleges — and the creation of large cities, in which, alone, instruction or amusement can be found. Absenteeism is its necessary consequence.

The Athenians, lords of a thousand cities, were, in effect, great absentee proprietors — disposing, at their pleasure, of their sub-

* See *ante*, vol. i. chaps. xxii, and xxiv.

"By far the largest number of the great men of Germany, especially in art and science, have sprung from the smaller cities, or have come from the country. The concentration of mind to one point, is what makes the great man; and this it will be difficult to find in the encyclopedial spirit of the great city."— RIEHL: *Land und Leute.*

This is equally true of all countries — large cities being the graves, and not the nurseries, of intellect.

jects' revenues. Temples were built, and theatres were supported, out of contributions thus obtained; but the larger the one, and the more attractive the other, the more pauperised were the people, and the weaker became the State.

In the early days of Roman history, absenteeism was a thing unknown. Cincinnatus left his little farm to take command of the forces of the State — returning to his work, when his public duties had been performed. Later, the banker becomes the ally of the warrior — the Rothschilds and Barings of their day, supplying the means by which the sovereignty of the world may be obtained. Land becoming consolidated, local attraction gradually ceases, and all who seek instruction or amusement — all who have fortunes to make or to spend — are forced to resort to Rome itself; and thus do absenteeism, pauperism, and weakness, grow together.

More than any other countries of the world, Great Britain and the United States devote themselves to the advancement of trade, at the expense of commerce. Centralization, therefore, grows with them; while concentration steadily advances in the despotic countries of Northern Europe. Annihilating the local legislatures of Scotland and of Ireland, the British Parliament now centralizes within itself those duties of legislation that should be performed by local bodies — the consequences being seen in the fact, that parliamentary agency has become one of the surest roads to fortune. The bank centralizes the money power in London; and there it is, that picture-galleries are created, and parks laid out — every step in that direction, tending to lessen the attraction of the other towns and cities of the empire, while increasing that of the great central city. Absenteeism, therefore, increases daily, with constantly growing necessity for substituting governmental commissions for that local action by which England was once so much distinguished.

So, too, is it in the United States — centralization and absenteeism growing there in the direct ratio of the dispersion of the people. Five-and-twenty years since, the public lands passed, almost without exception, directly from the government to the men who sought to cultivate it, free from charge for intermediate agency. Five years later, in the free-trade period of 1837, dispersion became the order of the day. Speculators

went ahead of settlers — accumulating large fortunes at the cost of those who were driven out from the older States. It is, however, within the last ten years, and since the final adoption of the free-trade and dispersive policy, that the management and control of the public lands has passed almost wholly into the hands of men, and companies of men, doing business in New York.*

The progress of man, whether upward or downward, is one of constant acceleration. The more the dispersion, the greater are the profits of speculators, and the greater is their power to procure, from needy members of Congress, further grants of the public domain, and further legislation tending to compel the closing of mills and furnaces — thus producing further dispersive tendencies, and larger profits. "The rate of profit does not, however," says Adam Smith, "rise with the prosperity, and fall with the declension, of society;" it being, on the contrary, "always highest in those countries which are going fastest to ruin."† So is it here. The rate of profit has been, for years, higher than in any country of the world, and higher, perhaps, than it has ever been known even here — the corresponding tendency towards "ruin" being shown in a growth of centralization wholly without parallel, to have been accomplished in so brief a period. Half a century since, when it was deemed expedient to purchase Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson thought it necessary that Congress should "appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which they must previously pass for its admission" — the Constitution, as it stood, having "made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union." For Congress, alone, to do so, "would," as he thought, "make the Constitution blank paper by construction;" and yet, in the last ten years, the whole energies of the Union have been turned in that direction — wars having been made, negotiations having been maintained, treaties having been concluded, and millions upon millions of dollars having been paid, for the sole and exclusive purpose of adding to a territory that was already large enough, under a different system, to enable ten times its popula-

* The quantity of land granted to transporting companies, in the last ten years, exceeds 50,000,000 acres.

† *Wealth of Nations*, book 1, chap. xi.

tion to live in affluence. Trading centralization having brought with it executive and legislative usurpation, the latter is now followed by judicial usurpation, in the recent decision of the Supreme Court, denying the right of the whole people to manage and direct the public property, and annihilating rights of citizenship that, at the date of the Constitution, existed in most of the original thirteen States.

Progress towards wealth and freedom is marked by a diminution in the necessity for the services of the trader, the soldier, and the sailor. Progress towards poverty and slavery is marked by growing necessity for the services of those who stand between the men who produce and those who consume. In this latter direction, tend both Great Britain and the United States; and hence it is, that London and New York, Liverpool and Philadelphia, increase so rapidly, and that absentee proprietorship becomes so common.*

§ 11. The views here presented, on the subject of centralization, and its necessary attendant, absenteeism, differ totally from those of Mr. McCulloch — that gentleman being wholly unable to see that the people of Ireland could be "benefited in the least" by a domestic consumption of that portion of the produce of the soil, which goes to the landholder, as rent. "If," says he, "you have a certain value laid out against Irish commodities in the one case, you will have a certain value laid out against them in the other. The cattle are either exported to England, or they stay at home. If they are exported, the landlord will obtain an equivalent for them in English commodities; if they are not, he will obtain an equivalent for them in Irish commodities; so that, in both cases, the landlord lives on the cattle, or on the value of the cattle; and whether he lives in Ireland or in England, there is obviously just the very same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon."†

With these cattle, however, the landlord purchases services in

* "Capitals are necessities; but, if the head grows too large, the body becomes apoplectic, and wastes away. What will the consequence be, if, by drawing all the talent of the kingdom to Paris, and leaving to the provincials no chance of reward, or motive for ambition, the latter are placed in a state of dependence, and converted into an inferior class of citizens?" —Mirabeau: quoted by De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime*, chap. vi

† Examination before Committee on the State of Ireland, session of 1825.

Paris, Rome, or London — thus quickening the circulation in the city in which he resides, and thereby economising human force, which, of itself, is capital. By withdrawing the cattle from Ireland, he, in a corresponding degree, renders the Irish circulation more sluggish — thereby producing a waste of capital. Why, however, does absenteeism stand so conspicuous among the grievances of Ireland? Because political centralization has transferred to London the demand for mental force. Because trading centralization has transferred the demand for mental and physical force, to Lancashire and Yorkshire. Because the two have combined for the annihilation of that demand for the potential energies of man, without which, his faculties must remain undeveloped. Because they have combined, too, to augment the wasting tax of transportation — producing a necessity for exhausting the powers of the soil, and thus diminishing the produce, while lessening the price to be realised for the things produced.

The more perfect the diversification of employments, the greater is the tendency towards augmentation in the proportion of fixed capital — towards competition for the purchase of physical and mental services — and towards strength in the people and the State. The less that diversification, the greater is the tendency towards augmentation in the proportion of movable capital — the greater is the competition for the sale of human powers — and the greater is the weakness of both State and people. Concentration being attractive, brings with it combination, prompt demand for human powers, and rapidly augmenting force. Centralization, being repulsive, is found in company with consolidation of the land, dispersion of the people, sluggish demand for services, and declining force. Localization of the capitalist, and growing competition for the *purchase* of the laborer's services, attend the one; while consolidation of the land, absenteeism, and increasing competition for the *sale* of human service, attend the other.*

* Absenteeism was universal throughout France, except as regarded those provinces in which the people had retained the right to tax themselves. One of them, as the reader has seen, was Languedoc — that one in which the energies of the people were most directed towards relieving the farmer from the tax of transportation, and in which, consequently, fixed property had the largest value. How great was the strength thence resulting, may be inferred from the fact, that "the central government often applied to it for endorsements, and borrowed in the name of the province at lower rates than would have been charged to the crown."—De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime*, chap. xii.

CHAPTER XLV.

OF COMPETITION.

§ 1. FINDING no competitor for the purchase of his services, Friday was glad to sell himself for food and clothing — becoming Crusoe's slave. Had the island contained half-a-dozen Crusoes, their competition would have enabled him to make his election among them all — exercising, thus, that power of self-government by which the freeman is distinguished from the slave.

Will you buy? Will you sell? The man who has a commodity, and *must* sell, is forced to ask the first of these questions — obtaining, for that reason, ten, twenty, or thirty per cent. less than might otherwise be regarded as the fair market price. His neighbor, who buys, and is not forced to sell, waits for the second of them — thereby obtaining more, perhaps, than the ordinary price. Such being the case with commodities and things that admit of being held on hand, waiting for a purchaser, how much more must it be so, in reference to that potential energy resulting from the consumption of food, which cannot be preserved, for even a single instant, after its production? The trader takes the market price for his perishable oranges, however great may be his loss — knowing that it will become greater with every day's delay. He stores his iron — waiting for a better market. The farmer sells his peaches on the instant, low in price as they may be; but he carries wheat and potatoes to his barn — hoping for better prices. The laborer's commodity being yet more perishable than either the oranges or the peaches, the necessity for its *instant* sale is still more urgent.

The merchant, having stored his sugar, and the farmer, having housed his wheat, can obtain advances, to be returned when their commodities shall be sold. The laborer can obtain no advance upon his present hour — his commodity perishing at the instant of production.

Further, the merchant may continue to eat, drink, and wear clothing — his stock, meanwhile, perishing on his hands. The farmer may eat his potatoes, after failing to sell his peaches. The laborer *must* sell his potential energies, be they what they may, or perish for want of food. In regard to no commodity, therefore, is the effect resulting from the presence or absence of competition so great, as in relation to human force. Two men competing for its purchase, its owner becomes a freeman. The two, competing for its sale, become enslaved. The whole question of freedom or slavery for man is, therefore, embraced in that of competition.

§ 2. The man who finds a purchaser for his own labor, competes for the purchase of that of others. The more instant the demand for his services, the greater is his power of purchase, and the more instant become his demands for other services — the more rapid is the circulation — the larger the production — and the greater the tendency towards accumulation. Each and every man who has physical or mental effort to sell, is, therefore, interested in promoting increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation — it being in that direction he is to look for such competition for the purchase of his own services, as will enable him to obtain, in exchange therefor, the largest quantity of the necessaries, conveniences, comforts, and luxuries, of life.

What is true of the individual man, is equally so in regard to communities composed of millions of men — the nation whose members find instant demand for all their powers of body and of mind, being thereby enabled to have much to offer in exchange for the labor of others, and to consume much of what is produced by those others. Each and every community is, therefore, directly interested in promoting the rapidity of circulation in each and every other — it being in that direction they are to look for increase of competition for the purchase of the commodities they have to sell. The harmony of international interests is, therefore, perfect — all the laws of nature tending towards the establishment of freedom and peace throughout the world.

Such being the case, it follows, necessarily, that a course of proceeding in any one community, tending to lessen, anywhere,

the power of production, is an offence against mankind at large, and should be so regarded.

§ 3. The greater the competition for the purchase of labor, the more perfect is the power of the laborer to select for himself the pursuit in which his powers shall be employed, and the person with whom, or for whom, he will work — and to exercise control over the distribution of the things produced. Competition for the *purchase* of labor leads, therefore, towards wealth, freedom, and civilization.

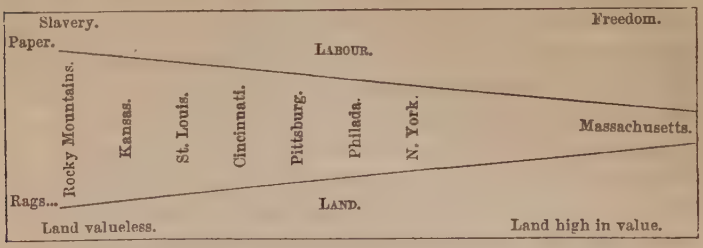
The greater the competition for the sale of labor, the less is the power of the laborer to determine how, for whom, or on what terms, he will work. Competition for the *sale* of labor leads, therefore, towards poverty, slavery, and barbarism.

The planter of Alabama, or of Texas, of Cuba or Brazil, tolerates no competition for the purchase of the labor of the persons who till the land upon which he has placed himself. Requiring each and all of them to bring to him, alone, the products of their toil, he makes the division in the manner that best may suit himself. The consequences of this are seen in the fact, that he and they have little to sell, and can, therefore, purchase little of the products of others — the destruction of competition for the purchase of labor at home, being thus attended by diminution in the competition for its purchase abroad. Slavery in any one community of the world, tends, therefore, towards the production of slavery in all.

The trader, in like manner, tolerates no competition, when he can, by any means, prevent it. The history of the world is a record of contrivances for the maintenance of monopolies — beginning with the secret expeditions of the Phœnicians, and closing, for the present, with the annihilation of the cotton manufacture of India, and the extension, over the whole of that vast country, of patent laws, in virtue of which machinery cannot be improved without the consent of people who are many thousands of miles distant. It is, too, a record of wars for the same purpose — the Carthaginians having been as fully determined to prevent, at any cost, competition for the purchase of the potential energies of Central Africa, as were the Venetians and Genoese, for those of Eastern and Western Europe — the

Dutch, for those of the Asiatic islands — or the people of England, for those of Jamaica, or of the occupants of the lands on Hudson's Bay.*

Turning now, once more, to the diagram representing the gradual changes of society, here once more given —



we find, on the left, no competition for the purchase of labor — the trader being there sole master, and sole director of the division between himself and the men who do his work.† Further, we find an almost total absence of circulation — a most trivial amount of production — and an entire inability to

* "It would be easy to fill a goodly volume with interesting accounts of this sealed country, this region hidden from the knowledge and industry of mankind, during nearly two hundred years, in order that a body of private individuals might realise handsome profits. * * * It is impossible to look without interest on a country containing three millions of square miles, abounding in mineral wealth, and capable of growing corn enough to feed the whole of Europe, yet whose sole destiny it is to furnish four shiploads of skins annually, of the value of five hundred thousand pounds." —*Household Words*, vol. viii. p. 453.

† "Living in rude tents, subsisting on kammas, or preserved bulbs, pemmican, and dried fruits, they [the aborigines of the Hudson's Bay settlements] had little desire for civilised luxuries. Of athletic form, and taking abundant exercise, they enjoyed robust health, and the calling of the 'medicine-man' amongst them was entirely confined to the healing of wounds obtained in the chase or war. Their weapons for slaughtering the buffaloes or deer were bone-point arrows and spears, which latter were formidable instruments of destruction in their hands. These animals being found in great numbers, often in thousands at a time, it was seldom they ran short of a good store of dried pemmican for the long winter months.

"For upwards of a century, the fate of these once-happy races was hidden from Europe. All within that great 'beaver preserve' was a sealed book in this country. But, in the course of time, the truth oozed out slowly but sadly. Tales reached England of the extermination of entire tribes and races by starvation, intemperance, and disease introduced from Europe. Stories were listened to, but scarcely credited, of cannibalism from sheer starvation, of wholesale murders in the madness of intoxication, and it was said that, at the then rate of human destruction, the footprint of a native would not be seen on the wastes of the Indian territories by the end of the present century."—*Ibid.*

become competitors for the purchase of the labor of others — the slavery of the people of the West tending, thus, to the production of slavery among those of the East.

Turning towards the right, we meet a condition of things that is widely different — competition for the purchase of labor being there found — production being large — consumption being great — and the power of competition for the purchase of the produce of foreign climes, being found existent in a high degree.

Such being the case, it is obvious, that the interests of mankind at large are to be promoted, and the love of freedom, and of peace, to be increased, by the close approximation of the prices of rude products and finished commodities, not only throughout the region here embraced, but throughout the world.

Looking to France in the days of the Valois, or to England in those of the Plantagenets, we find a state of things nearly approaching that now found on the left of the diagram — competition for the purchase of labor there scarcely at all existing — — production being small — and the power to make demand for the products of other countries, being most insignificant.*

Tracing, upwards, both those countries, we find competition for the purchase of the laborer's services increasing, as the rude products of the earth command higher prices — the freedom of man thus keeping pace with the growth of value in the land. The higher the wages, and the greater the *amount* of rent, the greater, necessarily, becomes the power of competition for the purchase of the produce of other lands, and the greater the tendency towards freedom abroad — that, in turn, tending to increase of freedom at home. Every community is, therefore, directly interested in the adoption of measures tending towards increase in the value of land and labor in each and every other; while all are equally interested in the resistance, *by all*, of every measure tending to produce the reverse effects — the harmony of real, and permanent national interests, being most perfect.

§ 4. Centralization tending, as it does, to produce competition for the sale of labor, is adverse to the freedom of man. Centralization being, however, of two kinds, political and trading,

* See diagram, *ante*, p. 118.

it is essential that they be distinguished from each other, and that most carefully. The sovereign, desiring to centre power in himself, imposes heavy taxes; but, beyond the interference required for their collection, or that resulting from their expenditure, he derives no advantage from any measure tending to lessen the power of association among his subjects. On the contrary, it is desirable to him, that their labor should become productive — their ability to contribute to the public revenue being, thus, increased. Leaving to him the administration of the government, his people may combine for peaceful purposes — his power growing with every increase in the rapidity of circulation, and in the quantity of things produced. Certain exceptions being allowed for, his interests, and those of his subjects, are one and the same; and therefore it is, that we see, in some of the most despotic countries of Europe, such constant effort for facilitating every movement tending to increase the competition for the purchase of the services of the laborer, and of the rude products of the farm.

Directly the reverse of this, is trading centralization — its *primary object* being that stoppage of the circulation which, in political centralization, is but an incidental result. The trader desires to keep the people apart from one another — thus producing a necessity for numerous changes of place and ownership, at each of which their produce may be taxed.

The power of the sovereign grows with the growing diversity of employment — with the development of human faculties — with increase in the proportions of fixed property — and with the growth of wealth. That of the trader grows with the growing necessity for circumscribing the range of employment — with increase in the proportions of movable property — with the dwarfing of human faculties — and with the growth of poverty and wretchedness among his slaves. Of all the forms of slavery, the most searching and exhaustive is that of trading domination — seeking, as it does, to annihilate competition for the purchase of the rude products of the earth, and thus destroying the value of both labor and land. To what extent it does so, we may now inquire.

Less than half a century since, an account of the cotton manufacture would have included "no less than a description of the

lives of half the inhabitants of Hindostan."* India then exported cotton cloth to all the world — having first clothed the hundred millions of a population, described, by one of the most eminent of all the men that England has sent to that country, as being "not inferior in civilization to the people of Europe."† Political centralization then existed in its fullest force; but trading centralization was greatly modified by the exercise of a sovereign power, that yet stood between the trader and those who were engaged in the production, conversion, and consumption of cotton wool. Trade, however, subsequently carried the day, compelling its unhappy subjects to submit to the free importation of cotton cloth from Europe, while prohibiting the export of machinery of any kind, or of the artisans by whom it might be made.‡ The domestic manufacture, consequently, disappeared — carrying with it, all competition for the purchase of labor, or its products. As a consequence of this, the potential energies of a tithe of the human race, are almost wholly wasted, to the essential injury of the world at large — the man who cannot sell his labor, being unable to compete for the purchase of things produced by that of others.§

Fifty years since, the people of the United States had established, among themselves, competition with Europe for the purchase of cotton wool — that, in turn, bringing with it competition for the purchase of human faculties, to be employed in its conversion into cloth. Undisturbed, it would, long since, have grown to such extent, as to have produced, throughout the planting States, that competition for the purchase of labor which leads to freedom. Obliged, however, on repeated occasions, to

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 339.

† "I do not exactly know what is meant by civilising the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient; but if a good system of agriculture — if unrivalled manufactures — if a capacity to produce what convenience or luxury demands — if the establishment of schools for reading and writing — if the general practice of kindness and hospitality — and, above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy toward the female sex, are amongst the points that denote a civilised people, then the Hindoos are not inferior in civilization to the people of Europe."— Sir Thomas Munro; quoted by Sleeman: *Rambles in India*, vol. i. p. 4.

Colonel Sleeman, himself, says: "I am much attached to the agricultural classes of India generally, and I have found among them some of the best men I have ever known. The peasantry in India have generally very good manners, and are exceedingly intelligent, from having so much more leisure, and unreserved and easy intercourse with those above them."

‡ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 347. § Ibid, p. 360.

succumb to the assaults of trade, the result is seen in the fact, that the people of those States, and the hundred millions of India, have, during the whole of this period, been engaged in competition for the *sale* of their products — a course of proceeding leading, inevitably, to exaggeration of the evils of slavery where it already exists, and to its production where, as yet, it is not found. Exporting always the rude produce of the soil, the same effects are seen in both — exhaustion of the land, with growing tendency towards commercial and moral death, and political dissolution. In the one, the government is dependent upon monopolies of salt and opium for its support; while, in the other, we witness a frantic determination, at any hazard, to extend throughout the continent a system that, seventy years since, was regarded, by the most eminent men of the Southern States, as a blight and a curse, requiring to be removed.

Half a century since, there yet existed competition for the purchase of Irish labor. Political centralization had long existed; but it remained for that of the trader to annihilate all competition for the purchase of human energies at home, and to terminate all Irish competition for the purchase of those abroad. The consequences are seen in the fact, that the 8,000,000 of Irish people do not make a market for the chief product of India and Carolina, to so great an extent as is now made by a single million in Massachusetts.

Half a century since, Mexico suffered under the oppression of political centralization, yet she still was prosperous. Since then — having become politically independent — she has fallen under the trader's power. The consequences are, that, producing little, she has little to sell; and her markets are, to the rest of the world, almost wholly worthless. So is it with Turkey, Portugal, Jamaica, and every other free-trade country — their power of production being so very small, that they scarcely appear in the world as competitors for the purchase of the labor of other nations.

How stationary, even where not declining, is the condition of the people of all those countries, and how useless they are to the rest of the world, is shown in the fact, that, of the addition made to the supply of cotton, in the last twenty years, nearly the whole is consumed in those countries which seek to produce competition

for the purchase of labor at home, as preparatory for increase of competition for its purchase abroad.*

Competition, by A, for the purchase of the labor of B, tends to the production of competition by B for that of C, and, through him, to the end of the alphabet; or it does not. If it does, then are all those communities whose policy tends in that direction, moving towards freedom for themselves and the world; while those whose tendencies are opposite, must be moving towards the establishment of slavery, both at home and abroad. Such is the fact; and yet, strangely enough, while the first embrace many of the despotisms of Europe, the last are found in thé two especial traders of the world, Great Britain and the United States — self-styled friends of freedom, and patrons of the revolutionists of the world.†

* The average product of cotton, in the four years 1839–40 to 1842–3, was 1,950,000 bales. That of the four ending 1856–7, has been about 3,000,000 — the increase having been 1,050,000. In the last twenty years, the consumption of Germany has increased more than 1,000,000 cwts. = 250,000 bales. From 1842 to 1847, the American consumption increased 380,000 bales. Adding to this, the increase of Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and France, under steady protection, and that of the United States, consequent upon the perfect protection so long given to coarse cottons, it will be found that the whole increase of crop has been absorbed by the protected countries of the world.—That the countries which, being themselves manufacturers, *purchase* raw materials, are the best customers of France, is shown, *ante*, vol. i. p. 557. That those which sell them, and thereby exhaust their soil, are her poorest customers, is shown by the fact, that, of an export averaging, during five years, 1,092,000,000 francs, the whole quantity taken by the hundred millions of the people of India, and the foreigners by whom they were governed, scarcely exceeded 3,000,000; Portugal took 3,000,000; Turkey, 17,000,000; but, of the latter, no inconsiderable portion was probably intended for consumption without the limits of the Turkish empire. Germany, now so vigorously engaged in manufacturing for herself, was a customer for French labor to the extent of 42,000,000; while the whole of South America, capable of maintaining hundreds of millions of people, could pay for only 72,000,000. See *L'Annuaire de l'Economie Politique*, 1855, p. 61.

† Totally forgetful of the extermination of the population of the Scottish Highlands, of the annihilation of the Irish nation, of the entire disappearance of the millions of blacks that should now be found in the British islands, and of the conversion of millions of small proprietors in India into mere laborers, the British people regard themselves as the special protectors of those of Greece and Italy — although maintaining colonies for the single object of preventing that combination of action without which freedom can neither be obtained nor maintained.—The American people rejoice in revolutions abroad, as leading to freedom, while pursuing a policy tending to the production of slavery abroad—the whole energies of the Federal Government being, meanwhile, directed to the re-establishment, throughout the Union, of the right to buy and sell men, women, and children. Exclusive advocates of freedom, the American and British people are ever ready to patronise disturbers of the public peace abroad — disturbance being favorable to the growth of trade. Both now rejoice in the growing *freedom* of

§ 5. Cheap raw materials are, however, as we are assured, indispensable to the prosperity of the British people. If so, there can be no harmony of interests — cheap raw materials being, and that invariably, the accompaniment of barbarism, slavery, and valueless land. That it is not so, is obvious from the facts, that the advocates of the system regard the cheapening of English labor as being essential to the maintenance of manufacturing prosperity;* and that eminent Englishmen now present us with pictures of vice, crime, and degradation, not to be exceeded in the world.†

Cheap labor and cheap raw materials mean, simply, barbarism — they being a natural result of the absence of that competition for the purchase of both, which results from small production. Production declines in England; and hence it is, that one of the most philanthropic of travellers, after a careful survey of England, is impelled to tell his readers, that, while "much is, in that country, being done, and of the noblest sort, for the lower classes — much which has called forth humane sympathy, patient labor, and genuine sacrifice — you cannot avoid the reflection, that *it has been begun too late.*

"It is not," as he continues, "merely, that you pass through filthy streets, meeting with wretched and abandoned men and women, and seeing old rookeries of murder and of crime. Such things are to be met with, in some degree, even in the new streets of our newest cities in America.

"It is the amount, the mass of these evils, which astounds. To go through school after school, refuge after refuge, and see, in every new place — not merely ragged, and dirty, and criminal children — but children absolutely homeless, and cast out, with all the marks on face and body of being the wild animals of the street; to hear that those in the private institutions are but a small part of this refuse population in the city, and that, still beyond them, is the class of foundlings and orphans, cared for by the government; to walk on and on by the day, through lanes crowded with filthy, blear-eyed, tattered multitudes; to watch the almost agonising, and, in any other circumstances,

Neufchatel — its growth having already manifested itself in the imposition of heavy indirect taxes, where, before, all contributions for the service of the State had been direct, and therefore light.

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 239.

† Ibid, pp. 442, 446.

amusingly ingenious contrivances, without number, to earn only *bread;* to go on, day after day, through scenes of poverty, drunkenness, and degradation, through streets where the nuisances and sources of poison of ages have collected; and to know that, not merely is this misery heaped up among these crowded two millions and a quarter of London, but, that it is relatively worse, in some of the other great cities, and is sprinkled like a curse over the country; — it is all this which makes one feel that, in England, they have waited too long for the cure. The Englishman is sure, when he begins to move against his social evils. We have great confidence in his reforms; but he is very slow. The evils of London, alone, seem to me gigantic; against which the operations of ragged schools, model lodging-houses, bath-houses, and the like — useful as these are — appear like the sand-dykes against the tide.

"There are thousands and thousands of poor children, who never enter the schools; and the great majority of them must grow up and make their living among old haunts of wickedness. The lodging-houses can affect but a small number of the hundreds of thousands of laboring people. New acts of Parliament to improve pestilential streets, may purify certain quarters; but the great proportion of the old districts are badly built, and the laborers must live near their business, even if the street be undrained, and the house cover a typhus-breeding cesspool." *

That the facts are so, is proved by all the contemporaneous literature of England. Reading the works of Dickens, Thackeray, or Kingsley, we are ever presented with pictures of an incessant struggle for the means of sustaining life, as existing throughout that portion of English society which needs to sell its labor. Turning thence, to public documents, we find abundant confirmation of the sad truth, that, as power has been obtained for commanding the services of nature, the condition of the people has not improved.†

* Brace: *Walks among the Poor of Great Britain;* published in the *New York Daily Times.*

† "The scenes through which the reader has accompanied us are, it is believed, truthful representations of what may be termed the poor man's world. That world, for him, is for the most part stagnant, foul, and dreary. The comfort of a real home is too often denied him. Himself, his wife, and his little ones, are exposed to the poisonous influences of bad air and bad water, or to the miasma of imperfectly drained rural districts. The mor-

A hundred thousand men, employed in producing coal and iron, give command over the services of a willing slave, that does the work of 600,000,000 — requiring, in return, neither food, clothing, nor shelter; and yet, the strife for life becomes more intense, with every increase of wealth and power. Why is it so? Because English policy is based upon the idea, that domestic interests are to be promoted by the adoption of measures tending to the cheapening of the land and labor of other people, and leading, inevitably, towards the enslavement of man in all the countries subject to it. Fortunately, however, there is, throughout the world, a harmony of interests so perfect, that no nation can commit injustice, without being required to bear a part, at least, of the burdens thereby imposed upon the communities affected by it. *Whatever tends to deteriorate the condition of man anywhere, tends to do so everywhere* — the land and the men of Europe profiting, by all that is wisely done in America, and those of America suffering, by all that is unwisely done, in Europe, Asia, or Africa.

In the physical world, action and re-action are equal and opposite. So, too, is it, in the social one — the community that devotes its potential energies to the stoppage of motion elsewhere, being arrested in its own. So was it with Athens and Rome, and so, too, during many centuries, with France. So is it, now, with Great Britain — whose people become poorer, with every increase of power to command the aid of steam, electricity, and other wonderful forces placed at the command of man. Where, however, is it to end? "In the same misery," says the Rev. Mr. Kingsley, speaking in the person of a poor tailor, "as

tality amongst his class is heavy. Thousands are annually permitted to perish, who might be preserved from disease and death, at a less cost than that of the most economical war we could indulge in. The children of this class are growing up, not only enfeebled in body, but neglected in mind. Nearly a million receive no education at all, or none that is of any practical value; whilst of those who are professedly taught, few carry away from school a wholesome and permanent impression. Moreover, there are millions in this country, belonging to the same class, who, more or less, habitually neglect even the outward ordinances of religion. In short, as has been well said, there are two nations in the same kingdom: the one, poor, ignorant, and suffering; the other, comfortable, moderately well instructed, fairly enjoying life. Yet the needy and distressed far outnumber those who are wealthy or at ease. The rich and educated are insignificant in point of numbers, compared with the poor and ignorant."—Inquiry into the War with Russia, by an English Landowner, chap. vi.

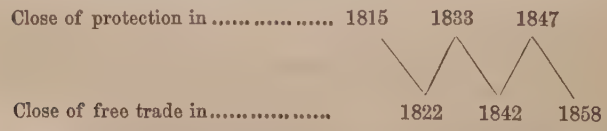
15,000 out of 20,000 of our class are enduring now. We shall become the slaves, often the bodily prisoners, of Jews, middlemen, and sweaters, who draw their livelihood out of our starvation. We shall," as he continues, "have to face, as the rest have, *ever decreasing prices of labor*, ever increasing profits made out of that labor by the contractors who will employ us — arbitrary fines, inflicted at the caprice of hirelings — the competition of women, and children, and starving Irish — our hours of work will increase one-third, our actual pay decrease to less than one-half; and in all this we shall have no hope, no chance of improvement in wages, but ever more penury, slavery, misery, as we are pressed on by those who are sacked by fifties — almost by hundreds — yearly, out of the honorable trade in which we were brought up, into the infernal system of contract-work, which is devouring our trade and many others, body and soul. Our wives will be forced to sit up night and day to help us — our children must labor from the cradle, without chance of going to school, hardly of breathing the fresh air of heaven — our boys, as they grow up, must turn beggars or paupers — our daughters, as thousands do, must eke out their miserable earnings by prostitution. And, after all, a whole family will not gain what one of us has been doing, as yet, single-handed." *

This is slavery; and that slavery, too, a consequence of a long-continued effort for the enslavement of others, to be accomplished by means of monopolies of the command of great powers given by the Creator, for the use of all mankind. Had the people of Ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, and Jamaica, been encouraged to avail themselves of the command of steam — had they been urged to develop the powers of the earth, by bringing to light their various ores — had there been thus produced, throughout those countries, a competition for the purchase of the potential energies of man and land — all would now be different. Producing much, they would have much to sell — becoming better customers to the people of England, from year to year. As it is, they produce little, and can buy but little — that little, too, becoming less, and the competition for the purchase of labor diminishing, when it should increase. England, herself, as has been shown, no longer produces *things* to be given

* Alton Locke.

in exchange for those she needs — her whole consumption of cotton, sugar, tea, coffee, and other commodities, being supplied by *profits* derived from standing between the people who labor to produce, and those who need to consume.* The larger the profits, the more wretched must be the condition of the agricultural communities of the earth — the share of the trader always growing most rapidly as the people upon whom he lives, and upon whom he acts, tend most towards slavery and barbarism.

§ 6. Following in the lead of England, the general tendency of American policy has been in the direction of trade, and adverse to commerce. The effects are visible in the facts, that they have been constantly increasing the competition for the sale of all the raw materials of manufactures, and thus producing decline of prices both at home and abroad, to the disadvantage of all the agricultural nations of the world. At times, and for brief periods, commerce has obtained control, as in the periods terminated in 1817, 1834, and 1847; but her resistance having now ceased, trade has, to all appearance, obtained the mastery of the nation's destiny. Such being the case, we may, if we seek to cast its horoscope, consult with advantage the following diagram, representing the highest and lowest conditions of the laborer, in the last half century:—



At no period in the history of the country, has the competition for the *purchase* of labor, at home and abroad, been so great as in 1815, 1833, and 1847—the closing years of the several periods of protection. At none, therefore, has the improvement in the laborer's condition been so great.

At none, has distress been so universal — at none, has the competition for the *sale* of labor been so great — as in 1822, 1842, and the moment at which we write.

At none, has the tendency towards an increase in the competition for the sale of labor been more marked than in 1850, when

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 86.

the downward movement was arrested by the discovery of Californian gold deposits, whose influence has already disappeared — competition for the sale of labor now steadily increasing, and the quantity of food and clothing obtainable in exchange for labor as steadily diminishing.

All commodities tend towards those places at which they command the highest prices — human energies being no exception to the general rule. Men going always to those places at which they are best paid, the movement of immigration should afford conclusive evidence of the effect of the several systems in producing competition for the purchase, or the sale, of labor. That it does so, will be seen by the following facts :—

From 1825 to 1834, the number of immigrants increased with great steadiness, until, from 10,000 in 1825, it had arrived, in 1834, at 65,000. Thenceforward, it became very unsteady — rising and falling after the several periods of excitement and depression by which this period was characterised, but giving an average, for the eight years ending in 1842, of only 70,000 — having scarcely at all increased. Once again, it went up rapidly, until, in 1847, it had already reached 235,000 — increasing, then, to 297,000, in 1849. In the years that since have passed, it has been stimulated by the thirst for California for gold ; but it has fallen now to a little more than 100,000.*

§ 7. The men who produce cotton are, everywhere, too poor to compete with others for its purchase — the Hindoo being compelled to limit himself to less than is required by common decency, and the Carolina slave being obliged to rest content with the trivial quantity of clothing his master can afford to give him. Why should this be so ? Because the prohibition, to India, of the use of machinery, and the constantly recurring failure of all efforts to introduce it into the Southern States, have compelled the cotton producers of the world to compete with

* In all the operations treated of by social science, time is an element of much importance ; but especially is it so, in regard to immigration. Demand for labor in one year, produces supplies in future years ; and therefore it is, that the average of the years from 1835 to 1842, slightly exceeds the quantity of 1834. Low wages do not arrest immigration in the year in which they occur, but in later ones ; and therefore it is, that 1843 is lower than 1841 and 1842.

each other, for the sale of their products, in a distant market, with constant, and necessary, decline of price.

So, too, is it with food — the rice producers of India and Carolina obtaining little to eat, and being, like the cotton producers of both, obliged to compete with each other for the sale of the little they have to sell. The trader desires to produce competition for the sale of all the raw materials of manufactures, food, cotton, and labor — the greater that competition, the larger being the proportion that falls to him, and the greater being his profits.

So, too, is it with corn — the American price of which, for forty years, continued steadily to fall.* Why should this be so? Because the inability to make a market on, or near, the land, produces a necessity for competing with Germany, Russia, Egypt, and Italy, for the sale of food, with injury to all. The greater the competition for the sale of the rude products of the earth, the larger is the proportion of the trader, and the greater is the tendency towards the slavery of man.

Throughout Central and Northern Europe, there is an universal tendency towards competition for the *purchase* of labor, and of the rude products of the earth; and therefore it is, that land is there increasing in value, and becoming divided, as men become more free. Throughout the countries that follow in the train of England, there is a growing competition for the *sale* of labor and raw materials; and therefore it is, that, in all of them, land declines in value, and becomes consolidated, as man is more and more enslaved.

§ 8. We are told, however, that all nations may now manufacture, if they wish — that machinery may be exported — that artisans are free to go abroad — and that the people of England rejoice in seeing the extension of manufactures. All people, too, are free to read; but, before they read, they must be taught. The growth of the habit of association comes with wealth; but wealth, itself, can never grow, under a system tending to exhaustion of the soil. That man may acquire wealth, he must have a scientific agriculture, which *always follows*, and *never precedes*, manufactures. By forbidding the existence of the latter, cen-

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 189.

tralization forbids the creation of the former; and hence it is, that the decline in the value of land and labor becomes more rapid from year to year, in all the unprotected countries of the world.

Raw materials and labor gravitate towards the centre; and the greater their tendency so to do, the greater must be the competition for the sale of labor, and the less the power, at the centre, for its purchase — decline in the prices of all the raw materials of manufactures, at the centre, corresponding with the increase in the competition for their sale that is thus produced. Such were the effects so clearly pointed out by Adam Smith, as resulting, necessarily, from a system based upon the idea of having but a single workshop for the world. That such results have been produced, is proved by the fact, that the agricultural laborer of England receives but a shilling and a half of his day's labor, a fifth of which goes for the rent of his cottage — leaving him, on an average, not more than a shilling with which to purchase food and clothing for his wife, his children, and himself.* Deprived of competition for the purchase of his products at home, the distant farmer and planter find little abroad — declination in the value of their own land and labor being followed by similar effects elsewhere. They are thus effectually prevented from accumulating the wealth required for promoting the growth of that power of combination, so indispensable to the maintenance of competition with advanced communi-

* The following is given as the distribution of the wages of an English field-laborer:—

	s.	*d.*
Rent	1	6
Tea	0	6
Bacon	0	5
Bread	5	0
Soda, soap, etc.	0	5
Fuel	0	8
	8	0

Here are ten cents per week for meat, sixteen cents per week for fuel, and a dollar and twenty cents for bread, for a family; yet is the condition of these poor people comfortable, compared with that of tens of thousands of hand-loom weavers, always receiving low wages, even when employed, and often wholly deprived of employment. It is comfortable, compared with that of the hundreds of thousands who fill the cellars, or occupy the lanes and alleys, of London and Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow; *all of whom are competitors for the sale of labor*, leaving the buyers to fix the price.

ties, for the purchase of rude products, and for the sale of finished articles. Such is the difficulty that must everywhere exist, however favorable may be the circumstances in which a nation naturally finds itself. Added to all this, however, are the monopolies now, everywhere, being established, by means of international copyright and patent laws — securing to the communities that make improvements their exclusive use.* Piled on this, there being the wonderful power exercised by combined traders, competition for the purchase of labor, as will readily be seen, can arise in no country whatsoever, in which the whole people do not unite together for their own protection against a centralization which, as we are told, "enables a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition"— large capitals thus becoming "instruments of warfare against the competing capital of other countries," and producing that competition for the sale of land and labor, which destroys the proprietor, and enslaves the laborer.†

Combination of action is required for resistance to invading armies, and equally is it required for resistance to the system here described. The army, having secured its plunder, may retreat; and, in a little time, all will be as it was before. Invasions of traders, bent upon annihilating the power of association, produce effects more permanent — reducing a country to a state of barbarism, extrication from which is scarcely to be hoped for.

* The patent laws of Great Britain have been recently extended over the hundred millions of the people of Hindostan.

† For the Parliamentary document in which these ideas are fully set forth, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 420.

"During the present year, the prices of iron in America have been steadily declining; best brands having fallen about $5, and inferior qualities from $7½ to $10, during the year. In the last three years, the make of iron in America has very largely increased: from 1853 to 1855, the annual production is believed to have been doubled, or to have increased from 500,000 tons to 1,000,000 tons, and that it is since increasing at fully 200,000 tons per annum. * * * These facts have led some interested in the trade to the conclusion, that it would be sound policy for the Staffordshire ironmasters to reduce prices next quarter-day £2 per ton, with a view to regain the command of the American market, and to *get rid of the competitors* who are supplanting English iron in the United States. Doubtless, if the price of iron could be reduced to that extent for some considerable period, *it would ruin many of the American manufacturers, and would for a time open the way to a large demand for English iron.*"—*London Mining Journal*, Dec. 1856.

§ 9. Freedom of commerce has, as we are told, much advanced. What, however, have been the causes of that advance? Forty years since, the British navigation laws were still continued, and in their fullest force — their object being that of preventing competition for the purchase and transport of the rude produce of the earth. They have now ceased to exist; but why? Because of determined resistance on the part of the United States, Prussia, and other countries. Forty years since, Germany exported wool and imported cloth—paying twelve cents per pound, for the privilege of passing it through the looms of England. That charge is now no longer made. Why? Because Germany established competition with England for the purchase of wool. At that time, cotton, and all other raw materials, paid duty; but, step by step, as France, Germany, Russia, the United States, and other countries, became competitors for their purchase, the duties disappeared. Every advance towards the emancipation of international commerce, thus far made, has been directly consequent upon efforts made by the agricultural nations for the establishment of competition, at home, for the purchase of labor, and of the rude products of the soil. Every advance towards freedom, among men, in the last forty years, has resulted from a determination to resist the trading centralization sought, by Britain, to be established. Every descent towards slavery is to be found among the people who have submitted to the system. To these things there is, and can be, no exception — slavery being a direct consequence of exclusive agriculture, and freedom always resulting from that diversification in the modes of employment required for developing the individual faculties of man. The road to perfect freedom of commerce, domestic and international, is, therefore, to be found in the adoption of the system advocated by Colbert, and maintained by France — that one, by means of which men are enabled to combine their efforts for developing the powers of the earth — for becoming masters of nature — for increasing the proportion borne by fixed to movable capital — and for producing that state of things, in which competition for the purchase of labor will be universal, while competition for its sale will cease to have existence.

§ 10. The agricultural nations of Europe, it may be thought, profit by the poverty of the Hindoo, the wretchedness of the

Irishman, and the slavery of the negro — competition for the purchase of cotton wool being thereby diminished, and its price reduced. At what cost, however, do they obtain this profit? The total production of cotton but little exceeds a pound and a half per head; and, were the price doubled, it would require, for its purchase, an additional contribution, amounting to ten or fifteen cents per head. On the other hand, the people of India, and of the United States, unable to make a market on their land for its products, are obliged to force their rice, wheat, corn, flour, and pork, upon the one great central market, to the heavy loss of the farmers of Poland and Russia, Italy and Egypt. The price of the whole product being fixed by that of the trivial quantity they export, the thousand millions of bushels produced in the United States, are forced to submit to whatever reduction is produced in the central market by Russian and Turkish competition. The production of such competition being the object of trading centralization, its effects are seen in the fact, that the purely agricultural nations of the world are unable to compete for the purchase of the labor of either domestic or foreign artisans; while the latter, in turn, are unable to purchase food. Stoppage of circulation anywhere, tending to produce stoppage everywhere, the land and labor of the world pay in dollars for imaginary advantages that count by half-pence. The complete establishment of the cotton manufacture in the United States, would enable their people wholly to withdraw from competition with the Russian farmer, for the sale of grain — thereby adding hundreds of millions to the money value of Russian crops, and enabling their producers to make large demand for cotton, which now they cannot purchase. The emancipation of Turkey from a system under which her manufactures have disappeared, would enable her to restore to cultivation the rich soils which are now abandoned, and to develop the mineral wealth that everywhere abounds. Producing much, she would then have much to sell, and much to buy — supplying wool to Germany, while relieving her of competition for the sale of wheat.

Look where we may, we find a perfect harmony of real interests — all nations being concerned in the universal adoption of a policy tending to the promotion of competition for the purchase of the raw materials of manufactures — labor and skill, wool and cotton, hides and corn.

§ 11. Of all the agricultural communities of the world, claiming a place among those which are civilised, the single one that rejects the idea of promoting domestic competition for the purchase of the produce of the field and the plantation — thus following in the train of England — is that of the United States. The follower, nevertheless, seeks the attainment of objects directly the reverse of those the leader would accomplish. The first rejoices in witnessing foreign competition for the purchase of food and cotton, and for the sale of cloth — regarding his interests as likely to be advanced by having raw materials high, and cloth cheap. The last rejoices in the destruction of competition for the purchase of raw products, and for the sale of cloth — holding that his interests will be promoted by taking much from the planter and farmer, and giving little in return. That which the leader desires, is, thus, that which the follower would reject; and yet, strange to say, the course of policy urged by the former, is adopted by the latter.

Between the nations of continental Europe and the United States, there is a perfect harmony of real interests — each and all profiting by increase of competition for the purchase of raw materials, and for the sale of finished commodities. Between all these nations and Great Britain, there is opposition — the latter desiring to bring about a state of things directly opposed to the real interests of the former.

Such being the case, it might naturally be supposed that American policy would be in harmony with that of continental Europe. The reverse of this, however, is the fact; and therefore it is, that the world is presented with the extraordinary spectacle of two great communities, claiming to be leaders in the cause of freedom, yet acting together for the accomplishment of the one great object of annihilating competition for the purchase of the rude products of the earth — thereby establishing slavery as the normal condition of the laboring portion of the human race.

The despotic countries of Northern and Western Europe move in the opposite direction, and seek to increase the competition for the purchase of raw materials — a course of proceeding leading, necessarily, towards the ultimate establishment of perfect freedom.

Continuing onward in their present course, both must, ultimately, attain the goal — freedom establishing itself in Celtic and German Europe, and slavery becoming the rule throughout those portions of the world controlled by what is called the Anglo-Saxon race. The reader who doubts the accuracy of this prediction, may satisfy himself thereof, by studying the course of affairs in the United States at the present moment, and in Ireland, Turkey, Jamaica, and India, of both the past and present.

The policy that tends to increase the proportion borne by fixed property to that in motion, is the one that leads to freedom and peace. In that direction now moves the greater part of Continental Europe. That which tends to increase the proportion borne by property in motion, to that which is fixed, is the one leading to slavery and war. In that direction Great Britain and the United States are moving, and with daily accelerated force.

§ 12. The more the competition for nature's services, the more rapid is the advance in the value of land and labor — her power being limitless in its extent, and her disposition to render service being equal to all demand that can be made. A century since, steam power was scarcely known in England: now, it does the work of 600,000,000 men. Like England, Turkey and India have coal; and yet, the people of those countries scarcely know the use of steam. Why it is so, is, that English policy has sought, invariably, the annihilation of competition for obtaining control over a great natural force, provided by the Creator for the use of all mankind. A century since, the command of the services of iron was trivial — that used in England having been, chiefly, obtained from Russia: now, it is produced by millions of tons. India and Turkey, too, have coal and iron ore, but they cannot mine them. Why? Because great capitals are now regarded as the true "instruments of warfare" upon the industry of other countries. The American people have coal and iron to an extent unknown in any other portion of the world, and capable of furnishing power equal to that of thousands of millions of men; yet are they busily engaged in exhausting themselves and their land, in the effort to obtain a quantity of iron so very

trivial, that the average consumption might be more than supplied by means of the proper application of the waste labor of a single city. Why is it so? Because they follow in the train of teachers from whom they learn, that the road to prosperity lies in the direction of cheap raw materials, and cheap labor. Slavery, therefore, grows — gradually taking the place of freedom.

France, Germany, and Northern Europe generally, are becoming competitors for nature's services; and therefore it is, that, in all those countries, the prices of raw materials steadily approximate — that land acquires value — and that the true MAN tends, more and more, to make his appearance on the stage.

§ 13. The more the competition for control of nature's powers, the greater is the demand for human service — the higher is the quality of service needed — and the greater is the development of human faculties. The more complete the power of the farmer to obtain command of the force of steam, to be used in converting wheat into flour, and flour and wool into cloth, the more does he find demand for those of his faculties required for the development of a scientific agriculture; and the greater is his power to make demand for the skill and taste required for the production of cloth and cotton, books and pictures. In that direction the countries of Northern Europe now move, and hence the steady advance of agriculture, and of the finer manufactures — producing demand for the higher qualities of man, and aiding in the development of scientific, literary, and artistic power.

Great Britain moves in a contrary direction — becoming more and more a mere carrier and trader, and thus increasing the competition for the purchase of those of the human powers that are held by man in common with the brute. Destruction of competition, at home, for the higher qualities of the men of Ireland, was accompanied by foreign competition for the purchase of the mere brute force required in the soldier, and in the canal and railroad laborers, by whom the public works of Britain have been constructed.* Annihilation of competition, in India, for the higher qualities of man, is accompanied by competition for the sale of the lower ones, to be employed in carrying arms and

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 240.

making war. Diminution of such competition, in England, produces emigration, and thus makes demand for sailors, the class of men that, as a rule, occupies the lowest of all positions in communities claiming to be civilised — that class which, in common with the soldier, is obliged to bear the lash. The more that men are enabled to associate, and to combine with each other, the larger is the demand for mental power, and the less for that which is purely physical; yet British writers rejoice in the dispersion of British and Irish people, because of the demand it makes for ships and sailors!

Following in the lead of England, the United States pursue a policy tending to limit competition for the higher faculties, while making demand for ships and sailors, and thus increasing the cost of transportation. Turning to the diagram, we see that civilization advances as men are more and more enabled to dispense with the transporter's services — while becoming more and more enslaved as competition for those services is increased. From year to year, the nation is congratulated upon the increased demand for ships; yet each successive year witnesses a growing tendency towards the enslavement of the men by whom the ships are managed. Here, however, as everywhere, folly and injustice tend to produce their own reward — the character of American ships and seamen tending steadily to decline, as the desire for ships leads to exaggeration of the tax of transportation imposed upon the farmer. The larger that tax, the greater must be the power of those who live by profits, and the more perfect the slavery of those who need to sell their labor.*

* "It is to the interest of masters and owners, and even of the mates, to oblige a crew to desert on reaching the other side; and to this end they make the ship too hot to hold them. Good sailors, who ship for the round voyage, and mean to do their duty well and thoroughly, are driven ashore penniless, to shift for themselves, as soon as the ship is made fast to the wharf. This is done in a variety of ways; but most frequently by the savage treatment of the men while at sea. And why is it the interest of masters, mates, and owners, to make their crews desert on the other side? Because they would have to pay and feed their crew while in port, the same as at sea; and further, because plenty of sailors can always be procured in Liverpool, at £2 10*s.* a month. Thus, it will be seen, the owners save about fifty per cent. every voyage, on the wages of their crew; and the captain, being himself an owner, is of course interested in the saving, to the extent of his ownership The mate is interested in it, because, by collusion with the 'American Shipping Agents,' he receives five to ten shillings sterling for every man that he can succeed in driving out of the ship, on condition that he will employ the briber to ship the new crew, when they

Man becomes more free, as the prices of rude products and finished commodities approximate — each step in that direction being accompanied by diminished competition for the services of the middleman, whether acting in the capacity of soldier or sailor, slave-driver or trader, admiral, general, or minister of state. The policy of Great Britain and the United States, being based on the idea of increasing the demand for ships and sailors, soldiers and traders, tends, and necessarily, towards the enslavement of man, in full accordance with the teachings of the Ricardo-Malthusian school.

§ 14. "Competition," says Mr. Mill, "has only become in any considerable degree the governing principle of contracts, at a comparatively modern period. The farther we look back into history, the more we see all transactions and engagements under the influence of fixed customs. The reason is evident. Custom is the most powerful protector of the weak against the strong: their sole protector, where there are no laws or government adequate to the purpose. Custom is a barrier which, even in the most oppressed condition of mankind, tyranny is forced in some degree to respect. To the industrious population, in a turbulent military community, freedom of competition is a vain phrase: they are never in a condition to make terms for themselves by it: there is always a master who throws his sword into

are required. Nor are these the only parties interested in inciting desertion. Our consuls receive a fee of one dollar for every new man shipped on an American vessel at their port; and it is not improbable, that these fees may sometimes have caused consuls to lend a deaf ear to the tales of outrage and oppression of the humble sailor against his officers. * * * Not only in the way we have mentioned, but also by purchasing inferior food, do shipmasters contrive to turn a dishonest penny. It is well known that many shipmasters buy beef and pork for their crews which is scarcely better than carrion. Where men are on a long voyage, say to San Francisco, China, London, and New York, and when they have a good round sum due them for wages, captains of New York clippers have been known to so maltreat their crews, before reaching London, that the men were forced to desert, and thus lose their wages. * * * The captains who return to New York with the same crew they took out with them, are so few, as to be looked upon as exceptions to the rule."—*New York Tribune.*

The effect of this is seen in the fact, that the charge for insurance on American ships is steadily advancing — being now, on an average, at least a third greater than it was twenty years since. Look to what quarter we may, security is gradually diminishing, while the cost at which it is obtained, is steadily increasing. That is the road towards slavery and barbarism.

the scale, and the terms are such as he imposes. But though the law of the strongest decides, it is not the interest, nor in general the practice, of the strongest to strain that law to the utmost, and every relaxation of it has a tendency to become a custom, and every custom to become a right. Rights thus originating, and not competition in any shape, determine, in a rude state of society, the share of the produce enjoyed by those who produce it. The relations, more especially, between the land-owner and the cultivator, and the payments made by the latter to the former, are, in all states of society but the most modern, determined by the usage of the country. Never, until late times, have the conditions of the occupancy of land been (as a general rule) an affair of competition. The occupier for the time has very commonly been considered to have a right to retain his holding, while he fulfils the customary requirements; and has thus become, in a certain sense, a co-proprietor of the soil. Even where the holder has not acquired this fixity of tenure, the terms of occupation have often been fixed and invariable."*

Custom *is* "a powerful protector;" and whether men shall advance towards freedom, or decline towards slavery, is wholly dependent upon the decision of the question, whether custom shall be strengthened into law, or shall pass away — leaving the weak wholly at the mercy of the strong. In the early days of Attica—those of growing commerce—custom gradually strengthened, until, at length, under the institutions of Solon, it became *the law*, that thousands of people who had heretofore been deprived of the benefits of competition for the purchase of their labor, should, for the future, be entitled to dispose of it, as freely as did those who had been their masters. War and trade, however, becoming, at a later period, the established policy of Athens, competition for the purchase of labor gradually died away, until, at length, it became the established rule, that the man who labored should be limited to a single purchaser — the latter, too, being authorised to determine for himself the mode of distribution.

In France, the laborer retained his customary rights, and gradually acquired more, until, at length, the land became

* J. S. Mill: *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 285, § 2.

divided among a mass of free proprietors — holding their little properties free from all claims, but those of the persons who direct the State. In Germany, Denmark, and Northern Europe generally, such has been, everywhere, the tendency — custom having become law, and the little and prosperous proprietor having taken the place of the wretched serf. In all those countries, the circulation of society becomes more rapid from year to year, with constant increase in the competition for the purchase of labor, and in the proportion of the product going to the laborer. In all of them, the policy pursued is based upon the idea of approximating the prices of raw materials and finished commodities; and thus, as far as possible, lessening the trader's power.

Turning thence, towards the countries which follow in the train of England, we find, in Scotland, a total abolition of customary rights — hundreds of thousands of people, whose title to the land has been equal with that of their lords, having been expelled from their little holdings, with a savage cruelty nowhere else exceeded.*

Passing into Ireland, we find custom gradually giving way, until the whole people become enslaved by a middleman class — living by the plunder of the men who own the land, and the wretched people by whom it is occupied.

* The terrible clearance of the county of Sutherland, is too well known to require to be here repeated. That the same system has been since continued, is shown in the following statement of facts, given in a Canadian journal:—

"A Colonel Gordon, the owner of estates in South Uist and Barra, in the Highlands of Scotland, has sent off over 1100 destitute tenants and cotters, under the most cruel and delusive temptations; assuring them that they would be taken care of immediately on their arrival at Quebec, by the emigrant agent — receiving a free passage to Upper Canada, where they would be provided with work by the government agents, and receive grants of land on certain imaginary conditions. Seventy-one of the last cargo of four hundred and fifty, have signed a statement that some of them fled to the mountains, when an attempt was made to force them to emigrate. 'Whereupon,' they add, 'Mr. Fleming gave orders to a policeman, who was accompanied by the ground-officer of the estate in Barra, and some constables, to pursue the people who had run away among the mountains, which they did, and succeeded in capturing about twenty from the mountains, and from other islands in the neighborhood; but only came with the officers on an attempt being made to handcuff them, and that some who ran away were not brought back: in consequence of which four families, at least, have been divided — some having come in the ships to Quebec, while other members of the same families are left in the Highlands.'"

Looking next to India, once the home of tens of thousands of peaceful and prosperous communities, we see that customary rights have disappeared, and with them millions of small proprietors.*

Turning, now, to the centre of all this system, and tracing the history of the poorer classes, we find a custom of providing for the poor widow and her fatherless children — for the lame and the blind — for the diseased of body and of mind. With the growth of commerce, custom passes gradually into a law — the statute of Elizabeth establishing the right of such persons to claim support from those around them, and honest poverty being held to be a misfortune, and not a crime. Modern science having proved that matter tends to take its highest form — that of man — more rapidly than the lower ones of cabbages and potatoes, poverty has become a crime, to be visited by the severest punishment — it being, as we are told, "an indubitable truth, that if," by any exercise of Christian charity, "we stand between the error" which leads to over-population, "and its consequences," which are poverty, wretchedness, and death, we become participators in the crime.†

In all these latter countries, trade increases in power from day

* See *ante*, chap. xiii.

† See *ante*, vol. i. p. 417.

Irish competition for the purchase of Irish labor having disappeared, the result was speedily found in the production of a largely augmented competition for the sale of English labor. What has been the effect, is thus shown by one of England's most distinguished writers:—

"Every one who will take the statistical spectacles off his nose, and look, may discern, in town and country, that the condition of the lower multitude of English laborers approximates more and more to that of the Irish competing with them in all markets; that whatsoever labor, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done, not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price; at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to a scarcity of third-rate potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior—yet falling, with the arrival of every new steamboat, nearly to an equality with that."—CARLYLE: *Chartism.*

What is to be the ultimate result of this, is thus shown by a distinguished Scotchman:—

"It is not an imaginary, *nor perhaps a very distant evil*, that our middle classes, with their small capitals, may sink into nothing — may become tradesmen or small dealers, supplying a few great manufacturing classes with the articles of their household consumption, and rearing supernumerary candidates for unnecessary public functions, civil, military, or clerical; and that trade in land, *a noblesse of capitalists*, and *a population of serfs* working for them, may come to be *the two main constituent parts of our social structure.*" —LAING: *Notes of a Traveller*, p. 154.

to day, and from year to year. In all of them, consequently, there is a growing competition for the sale of labor.

Coming now to the United States, we find, during the half century that followed the peace of 1783, a slow, but certain, tendency towards the establishment of commerce. During all that period, consequently, the custom of freedom was gradually ripening into law — the right of the laborer, black or white, to seek competition for the purchase of his services, having been, in that period, fully established in all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line. South of it, too, the tendency was always in the same direction — the Virginia Convention of 1832 having fully entertained the question of the right of man to sell his services in open market.

Two years later, however, trade was adopted by the generally dominant party, as being the road to high prosperity; and, since that time, with the exception of the period from 1843 to 1847, the whole energies of the country have been turned in that direction. The result is seen, in the gradual disappearance of the custom of freedom — each successive year producing local laws, in virtue of which, both slave and master are deprived of the exercise of customary rights — the one being prohibited from receiving either freedom or instruction, and the other, from granting either.*

Five-and-twenty years since, freedom was regarded as the

* The change of opinion here described, is, perhaps, the most remarkable one that history is required to record, to have occurred in so brief a period. Thirty years since, there were few who doubted the accuracy of the men of the Revolution, in saying to the world: "We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now, the highest judicial authority of the Union decides, that—

"It is difficult at this day to realise the state of public opinion respecting that unfortunate class, with the civilised and enlightened portion of the world, at the time of the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution; but history shows they have, for more than a century, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and unfit associates for the white race, either socially or politically, and had no rights which white men were bound to respect; and the black man might be reduced to slavery, bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise. This opinion, at that time, was fixed and universal with the civilised portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals, which no one thought of disputing, and every one habitually acted upon it, without doubting for a moment the correctness of the opinion."

custom of the country — slavery existing only as a consequence of local laws. Now, the courts decide, that slavery is the custom — freedom holding its existence under local laws.

Five-and-twenty years since, it was the custom to regard the persons employed in the transaction of the public business, as having a claim to continuance in office, so long as they performed its duties with advantage to the public — leaving to them the free exercise of their private judgment in regard to their political predilections, and as to the choice of their subordinates. Till then, the tendency had been towards the establishment of manufactures, and the consequent competition of private and public demand for mental service. Almost simultaneously, however, with the adoption of the free-trade policy, the custom of freedom among the public servants passed away — the term of office being fixed by law, with a view to carry into effect the doctrine, that "to the victor belong the spoils."

Competition by individuals, for the purchase of labor, tends, therefore, to decline. Competition for its sale, to the public, tends to increase — the results being seen in the creation of a band of office-seekers, more importunate, and office-holders, more entirely subservient, than can be found in any other civilised country of the world. What the Prætorian bands were to the Roman empire, the office-holders are rapidly becoming, in the United States.

Look where we may, competition for the *sale* of labor increases in the countries following in the lead of England, and adopting the policy inculcated by her economists. Competition for its *purchase* increases in those which follow in the lead of France — adopting the policy initiated by Colbert. In the latter, the soil becomes improved — the prices of raw materials and those of finished commodities are steadily approximating — agriculture becomes more and more a science — production increases — circulation becomes more rapid — and matter tends more and more to take upon itself the form of man; and the more rapid the growth of population, the more abundant becomes the supply of food and clothing. In the former, those prices become more widely separated — agriculture passes away — production diminishes — and the disease of over-population becomes more confirmed.

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF POPULATION.

§ 1. "BE fruitful and multiply," said the Lord, "and replenish the earth, and subdue it." That it may be subdued, men must multiply and increase — it being only by means of association and combination with his fellow-men, that man acquires power for guiding and directing the forces of nature to his service. In obedience to the divine command it is, then, that matter tends to take upon itself, more and more, the human form — passing from the simple forms of clay and sand, through those more complex, exhibited in vegetable and animal life, and ending in the highly complex ones of the bones, muscles, and brains of men.

The tendency to assume the various forms of life, is greatest at the lowest point of organization — the progeny of microscopic beings counting, at the close of a single week, by millions, even when not by billions, whereas, the period of gestation in the whale and the elephant, is long, while the product rarely exceeds a single individual. Such are the extremes, but the rule holds good at every stage of progress, from the coral insect to the ant, and from the ant to the elephant — thus furnishing the law, that fecundity and development are in the inverse ratio of each other. In virtue of that fixed and certain law, man, "the crown and roof of all things," should increase less rapidly than any other animal whatsoever, and — carrying out the same idea — the fecundity of the human race itself should diminish, as the peculiarly human faculties are more and more stimulated into action, and as the MAN becomes more and more developed.*

The periods within which the existing population of the prin-

* "The plant and the animal are not required to become a different thing from what they already are at the moment of their birth. Their *idea*, as the philosophers would say, is realized in its fulness by the fact alone of their material appearance, and of their physical organization. The end of their existence is attained, for they are only of a physical nature. But with man it is quite otherwise. Man, created in the image of God, is of a free and

cipal nations duplicates itself, varies greatly — France requiring more than a century, and Great Britain more than half a century, while the duplication of American numbers is accomplished in little more than thirty years.*

So far as regards the ultimate destiny of the human race, it is, however, of small importance whether, in obedience to fixed and immutable laws, the duplication has been arranged to take effect in 30, 50, or 100 years — the only difference being, that under the first, there must be, some 700 years hence, a million of persons on the earth for each one that now exists, whereas, in

moral nature. The physical man, however admirable may be his organization, is not the true man; he is not an aim, but a means; he is not an end, like the animal, but a beginning. There is another, new-born, but destined to grow up in him, and to unfold the moral and religious nature, until he attain the perfect stature of his master and pattern, who is Christ. It is the intellectual and the moral man, the spiritual man."—GUYOT: *Earth and Man.*

* In 1820, the white population was 8,107,000
By 1850, it had become 20,169,000

Increase 12,062,000

In the same period, however, the immigration had been large—the number arriving being as follows:—

From 1820 to 1830 203,979
" 1830 to 1840 762,369
" 1840 to 1850 1,521,850

Total 2,488,198

Of these, the number was small, that had not passed the period of infancy, while more than two-thirds of the whole were between the ages of 15 and 40, the period at which the animal forces are at the highest. Admitting that each pair imported had produced but a single child, in excess of the loss by death, we should obtain, as the addition resulting from immigration, no less than 3,732,297. Adding to this the Spanish population of Texas, California, and New Mexico, we have a total of probably 3,900,000. Deducting that quantity from the total increase, we obtain an almost exact duplication in thirty years.

That this estimate of the effects of immigration is certainly below the truth, will be seen by the following facts, for which we are indebted to the admirable vital statistics collected and published by the Government of Massachusetts.

The total population of that State, in 1855, was 1,122,463 — 886,571 being native born, and 235,892 foreigners, a large proportion of whom were Irish. The marriages in that year were 12,329. In 954 of them, one of the parties were foreign, while in 4269, both were so — the proportion of purely native being but as 4 to 3, whereas, their proportion of the population is as nearly 4 to 1. The births were 32,845 — the parentage having been ascertained in relation to 31,273. Of these, 1617 were the product of mixed couples, and 13,708 of foreign ones — making a total of 15,325, or nearly half of the entire number.

the other, rather more than 2000 years would be required for producing the same result.

What, now, would be the effect of such increase? Obviously, so to crowd the earth, as eventually to leave but standing room for the population. With the near approach of such a state of things, food must have been becoming more scarce — enabling the owner of land, to dictate to the laborer on what terms he might cultivate the land — the one becoming more completely master, and the other more entirely enslaved.

Having once admitted that the procreative tendency is a positive quantity, always ready to be excited into activity, and existing to such extent as to insure a duplication in any certain period, it cannot afterwards be denied, that slavery is to be the ultimate condition of the great mass of the race; nor, that the tendency in that direction is greater now than at any former period — the history of the world presenting no instance of increase as great as that exhibited in England, Ireland, and America, in the last hundred years. Neither can it, in that case, be denied, that man is ultimately to be subdued by the earth — his liability thereto being in the direct ratio of his obedience to the divine command with which this chapter was commenced.

Can such things be? Can it be, that the Creator has been thus inconsistent with himself? Can it be, that after having instituted, throughout the material world, a system, the harmony of whose parts is so absolutely perfect, He has, of design, subjected man, the master and director of all, to laws whose effects can be no other than that of producing universal discord? Can it be, that while furnishing every where else, evidence of the union in Himself of the qualities of universal knowledge, perfect justice, and exhaustless mercy, He has here — in reference to his last and greatest work — assumed a character so entirely the reverse? Even in man, true greatness is always consistent — always in harmony with itself. Can it be, then, that after having given to man all the faculties required for assuming the mastery of nature, it has been a part of His design, to subject him to absolute and irreversible laws, in virtue of which he must inevitably become nature's slave? Let us inquire.

§ 2. Physical science, in all of those departments of knowledge

in which it has been enabled to furnish demonstration of the truth of its discoveries, testifies that order, harmony, and reciprocal adjustment, reign throughout the elements, and in all the movements it has as yet explored. In all the realms of natural history thus far successfully cultivated, fitness of conditions, coherence of parts, and unity of design, afford logical evidence that the universe is one in system, one in action, and one in aim. Arriving, however, at the natural history of Man, we find theorists violating the analogies of reason, and imagining discords in the very place where, of all others, the harmonies of creation should meet together; and where, if anywhere, the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator should vindicate themselves by an exhibition of the highest perfection of orderly adjustment.

The gross error that here so obviously exists, is traceable to the one common source of false philosophy in all its shapes and forms —the mistaking of facts, and their apparent dependencies, for the *laws* which govern them. The dispersion of ancient populations, and their frequent invasions of the lands of other tribes or nations —the constant flow of emigrants from olden countries in modern times—and the death of half of the inhabitants of densely peopled regions before their arrival at even half the allotted period of human life—are the phenomena chiefly relied upon, by those who seek to demonstrate the existence of an original discord between the law of human fertility, and the earth's capacity for the accommodation of the human race.

That the people of the early communities above referred to, suffered for want of food, is a well established fact. That the laboring population of many communities of modern times are in a situation nearly similar, cannot be doubted. These facts observed, they have been made the subject of a scientific formula, which may thus be stated: Man tends to increase in number, in a geometrical ratio, whereas, food cannot, under the most favorable circumstances, be made to increase in a ratio greater than the arithmetical one. Population, therefore, increases 128 times, while food can be increased but 8 times—poverty and wretchedness being the necessary results.

These results being clear as figures can make them, the waste of life recorded by history has been inevitable—the earth being wholly incapable of affording food, or even standing room, for

the myriads of its noblest offspring, were they permitted to attain a maturity that is even reasonable. A catastrophe is, therefore, always imminent — the exposure of the Creator's blunder being prevented only by the "positive checks" of war, famine, and pestilence, by means of which, the mischief is providentially distributed, in accommodating instalments of ruin, throughout the ill-devised and ill-conducted process!

Facts, figures, and philosophy, so frightful as these, should not be permitted to pass unchallenged. Are they true? Can they, by any possibility, be true? *Is* the fertility of the species, thus observed at its highest rate, the *law* of the subject?

A law, for the purpose of our argument, is sufficiently well defined as being a rule, permanent, uniform, and universal, in its action — enabling us, in all cases, to reason from effects to causes, or from causes to effects; and the theory above referred to, must have this force and effect, in the doctrine we are now examining, or it can have none. Has it such universality? For an answer to this question, the reader need only to look around the world — finding in some portions of it a slow rate of increase, and in others, a rapid one, while in a third and important class, population slowly, but steadily, declines. For a further answer, let him turn to the statement given by Mr. Malthus himself, in reference to the absence of fertility among the aborigines of the American continent, and its abundance among those of the Pacific islands. Look where he may, he will find no evidence of the general existence of any such fertility as has been assumed by the advocates of the over-population theory. It would, indeed, be contrary to the very nature of things, that any should exist — the reproductive function having been, in common with every portion of the human organization, placed under the law of circumstances and related conditions. Climate, health, education, occupation, and habits of life, affect it as much as they affect any other organic function. It can be pushed to excess, or it may be reduced to deficiency — being affected by all the causes which act upon body, mind, or morals, and this for the plain and simple reason, that it is a vital function, dependent upon the organism of which it is a part.

Procreation must not, in contradistinction to every other animal function, be assumed to be a fixed, invariable action, ruled, as inorganic matter is, with mechanical rigor, entirely indepen-

dent of the various influences by which it is liable to be so greatly modified. Nutrition of the body is not commensurate with the quantity of food consumed — being greatly modified by the power of digestion, the vigor of the general health, and the general demand upon the system, resulting from the various degrees of exercise. The fluids elaborated by the secreting organs — as, for instance, saliva and milk — are familiarly known to be liable to the greatest changes; being increased or diminished in quantity, in proportion to the greater or less excitement of the glands which yield them.* In like manner, every several office and action of the living body, is materially modified by the equal, or unequal, distribution of the total vital force, among the multitude of organisms composing the immensely complicated system of the human frame.

There is a law of human life, which provides for the continuance of the race, but the ratio of reproduction is not so fixed and limited, that figures can express it; or, that the facts of any special condition of its subjects can indicate what it shall certainly be, in other and different circumstances. *A priori*, its operation must be assumed to be in exact harmony with the creative design, and in equally happy adaptation to the exigencies and accidents to which the race is providentially exposed, throughout the whole process of fulfilling that design. That this flexibility has been provided, and provided, too, under a self-adjusting law, as an

* "A very remarkable fact relative to the oxen of South America is recorded by M. Roulin; and is particularly adverted to by M. Geoffrey St. Hilaire, in the report made by him on M. Roulin's Memoir, before the Royal Academy of Sciences. In Europe, the milking of cows is continued through the whole period, from the time when they begin to bear calves till they cease to breed. This secretion of milk has become a constant function in the animal economy of the tribe: it has been rendered such by the practice, continued through a long series of generations, of continuing to draw milk long after the period when it would be wanted by the calf. The teats of the cow are larger than in proportion; and the secretion is perpetual. In Columbia, the practice of milking cows was laid aside; owing to the great extent of farms, and other circumstances. 'In a few generations,' says M. Roulin, 'the natural structure of parts, and withal the natural state of the function, have been restored. The secretion of milk in the cows of this country is only an occasional phenomenon, and contemporary with the actual presence of the calf. If the calf dies, the milk ceases to flow; and it is only by keeping it with its dam by day, that an opportunity of obtaining milk from cows by night can be found.' This testimony is important, on account of the proof it affords, that the permanent production of milk, in the European breeds of cows, is a modified function of the animal economy, produced by an artificial habit, continued through several generations."—SMITH AND TRALL: *Fruits and Farinacea*, p. 309.

accommodation of this function to the necessities of the race, and in harmony with the surroundings which attend its history, from the beginning until the final consummation of the divine purpose, would seem to be proved by the capability of variation established by physiological principles, as well as by all the facts observed.

That the earthly fortunes of the human race must have been in the contemplation of the Creator — that the changes of condition to which it should be subjected, in its passage from a state of isolation and barbarism to one of combination and civilization. must have been legislated for — that the laws fitting it to these changes must have been wrought into its constitution — are suppositions whose truth must be admitted; unless we are prepared to hold that human nature is an exception, and the sole exception too, to the order and harmony everywhere else existing, throughout the universe. Can it then be presumed — is it possible to presume — that the working of the vital mechanism requires to be protected against its own inherent mischief, by a corrective waste of its proper products? Is it not, on the contrary, far more probable, that the high rate of human fertility, occasionally observed, is the one which necessarily attends that stage of society in which security is so far increased, as to free its members from any efforts at self-protection, and yet to make small demands upon any of their faculties, but those required for the performance of the rude labors of the field? Let us, for instance, take the case of England. Tolerably peopled in the days of Cæsar, the population, at the close of the 14th century, was but about 2,400,000; and yet, a single family, growing at the rate adopted by the Malthusian school as being the law of growth, could, in that time, have risen to thousands of millions. Three centuries later, the number was 5,134,000 — having little more than doubled, in all that time. Sixty years later, (1760,) it was but 6,500,000 — the increase having been less than 30 per cent.; and yet, at the close of another period of little more extent, (1830,) we find the number to have fully doubled. During all this period, then, the procreative power was, obviously, a very variable quantity — its amount being wholly dependent upon the changes of condition in habits, manners, and morals, above referred to. It may be said, however, that the great differences here observed, found their cause in the increased duration of life,

resulting from improvement in the quantity and quality of food, clothing, and lodging — the number of children begotten having been the same, and the exercise of the procreative power a constant quantity.* Admitting this to be so, we are brought to the remarkable conclusion, that increase in the duration of life, resulting from increased command of the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of life, leads, and that inevitably, to the establishment of pauperism and slavery as the normal condition of the great masses of the human race. Such are the inconsistencies of theorists, who fail to find in the law regulating the growth of population, the same adaptation to circumstances that is so clearly seen to exist in every other portion of the material world!

At times, after periods of war or pestilence, human fertility is much increased, and the question at once arises, as to which is the cause, and which the effect. Is war required to correct an error of the Creator, or has the Creator himself supplied the corrective required for removing the effects of human error? Does natural health require the establishment of an ulcer, by the drainage of which plethora is to be relieved? or, is the large supply of fluids escaping from an extensive suppurating surface, provided for the purpose of meeting an accidental drainage? Here is a question, the answer to which may be found in the following brief narrative of a case in surgical practice, now before us. A man in full health, exposed to severe cold, had had his limbs frozen—extensive and long-continued ulceration, attended by copious discharges, being its results. Amputation proving necessary, the surgical wound heals rapidly—the emaciated patient speedily not only recovering his flesh, but suffering from obesity, and at length

* The changes that have taken place in the duration of life, in the last three centuries, have thus been estimated: —

"In the latter part of the sixteenth century, one-half of all who were born died under five years of age — the average longevity of the whole population being but eighteen years. In the seventeenth century, one-half died under twelve years; but in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century, one-half of the population lived over twenty-seven years. In the latter forty years, one-half exceeded thirty-two years of age. At the beginning of the present century, one-half exceeded forty years; and from 1838 to 1845, one-half exceeded forty-three. The average longevity at these successive periods has been increased from eighteen years in the sixteenth century up to 43.7 by the last reports.

"This increase in the duration of life has been caused by improved medical science, improvements in the construction of houses, drainage of streets, and superior clothing."

dying from internal engorgement resulting from excessive nutrition, or plethora. Such being the facts, little professional knowledge would seem to be required for deciding, that this excesssive supply of fluid had been produced during the continuance of the disease, with a view to meet the accidental waste—the fatal issue being wholly due to the injudicious suddenness with which its flow had been arrested. Nothing, certainly, in the previous bodily condition of the subject of this accident, warrants the conclusion, that the freezing and ulceration were necessary, as either "positive or preventive checks" to an excessive energy of secretion. The human frame, threatened with exhaustion by an accidental waste of its vital fluids, can, in self-defence, double, treble, or quadruple its productive power, in whatsoever direction; but, is this rate of vital activity, in one direction, the *law* of the structure, demanding the correction and restraint of disease?*

Vegetable life exhibits similar phenomena — affording, by analogy, similar inferences, available for our argument. A sugar

* A bone being broken, or a wound inflicted, nature at once departs from her accustomed course, with a view to repair the injury. That such is also the case in reference to the phenomena of reproduction, is clearly shown in the changes in the proportions of the sexes at birth, that are observed. The wars of Louis XIV. and XV. caused a great deficiency in the supply of men, as compared with women; and yet, at the opening of the revolution, the proportions had been restored. The wars of the revolution and the empire caused such a waste of men, that in the year IX. the excess of females was 725,225. Later, that excess increased; and so recently as 1820, the deficiency of males amounted to 868,325. Gradually, however, it declined, the following figures exhibiting the differences found in several successive periods: —

1835	619,508	1845	316,332
1840	420,921	1850	193,252

GUILLARD: *Statistique Humaine*, chap. vii.

In the decennial period terminating in 1840, the male births of Philadelphia exceeded the females, by an average of 6.29 per cent. Nevertheless, the year 1833 gave an excess of females — that excess being found in the months corresponding with the conceptions that had taken place during the prevalence of cholera in 1832. The diminution of male conceptions in that period was not less than 17 per cent. Similar phenomena, precisely, were observed in Paris—the excess of male births in 1832 being in its usual proportion, whereas, in the month of 1833 corresponding with December, 1832, when the cholera had become most fatal, there was an excess of females. That these differences were certainly due to the prevalence of that disease, is proved by the facts, that in those portions of the city exempt from it, there was a universally large excess of males, while in those most subject to it, there was an actual excess of females. — EMERSON: *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, July, 1848.

tree, in full vigor, tapped for the first time, will yield but half a pound of sugar in the season. Let it, however, be tapped for several successive seasons, and it will yield three pounds — the health of the tree being thereby in no manner affected. Here, the supply first given is but one-sixth of what is afterwards produced, to be spared from the service of its own particular life. Need the question be asked, as to whether the tree, full as it had been of health and vigor, required the drainage to relieve the plethora, or whether the drainage induced a surplus flow of sap, for the purpose of supplying the accidental waste? Applying this case to the question of population, it might, with great propriety, be asked — Has the drainage of population from Ireland produced a tendency of vital force in the direction of procreation; or has the drainage been required for the correction of excess in the procreative tendency?

The difference between vegetable and animal modes of vitality, whatever it be, does not affect the bearing of these instances upon the proposition under consideration — life, of every kind and degree, requiring similar provisions of constitutional law. In all cases, organic capabilities must be accommodated to the conditions by which the being is likely to be affected — failure in this being followed by failure in the scheme of creation, and disappointment of its purposes.

It has been intended here to show, first, that none of the functions of the human body has any such fixed and determined rule of action, as would permit of its being made the basis of arithmetical formulæ, as has been done by Mr. Malthus and his successors; next, that they all vary, under varying conditions, through the whole scale, from deficiency up to excess; third, that they vary in their form, under self-adjusting laws, in obedience to the final cause of the being's existence; and lastly, that there is no instance, throughout the whole of nature's realm, in which the known laws of the subject thwart their own objects, or break the harmony of the general scheme of creation.

In answer, it may be said, that the germs of life perish in a thousand seeds, for one that finds root, and survives in successive generations. The reply, however, is a plain and simple one — they being the proper food of beasts, birds, and men, to that end, and that alone, appointed. Having performed that work, their

office is fulfilled, without jar, or break, in the general order. Beasts, birds, and fishes, prey upon each other — man, in turn, subsisting upon them all. Here, again, we find no inconsistency, no violation of the order of creation so plainly indicated — these inferior animals being plainly destined to violent death, and thus most mercifully relieved from the incapacities attendant upon great advance in age. Being well provided with those instincts which are called into action by the necessity for providing for their young, the continuance of the races is thus secured. Having no filial affection, impelling them to provide material aid and comforts for the aged, they have no hospitality, no family economy, no capabilities for either social service, or such further self-development as would make life, prolonged beyond a vigorous maturity, either a necessity, or a blessing, to them. Consequent upon this it is, that we find nothing in their constitution which either predicts, or pledges, a life prolonged beyond an average maturity.

Of all earthly creatures, below the rank of man, it may be safely said, that their sufficiency for his use is the fulfilment of their destiny. His existence, however, has no such reference to a higher class of beings here, as to warrant the idea, that his life may be crippled, abridged, or otherwise disappointed, without involving a violation of the harmony of things, and a disturbance of the order, plainly indicated in the constitution of the system at the head of which he has been placed. It is not the divine order, but man's disorder, that limits his earthly life so far within the period, beyond which he ceases to be useful to his fellows, or to find enjoyment for himself.

§ 3. In the inorganic world, all the compounds are constants — the composition of clay, coal, and granite, being the same now that it was a thousand years since, and certain to be the same a thousand years hence. In the organic world, we find a susceptibility of change, the fruits and flowers developed by cultivation being greatly superior to those existing in their original state — the dog and the horse exhibiting themselves, at times, as capable of receiving instruction fitted to enable them almost to take their places by the side of the reasoning man. Look where we may, however, we meet with evidence of the one great law,

that the power of progress is in the direct ratio of the dissimilarity of the parts, and consequent perfection of organization.

Coming now to man, we find the highest physical organization, combined with a power for intellectual development, that places him far above all other creatures; and here it is, that we find no constants — all the parts and portions of the MAN, as distinguished from the animal, being in a perpetual course of change — the power of association growing in one country, and declining in another — individuality becoming more and more developed in one portion of society, and less so in others — the feeling of responsibility augmenting in one man, while decaying in those around him — one set of men becoming more provident from year to year, while another becomes more reckless — one nation manifesting the existence of a power for rapid progress in the direction of increasing civilization, when, close at hand may be found others whose progress is equally rapid in the direction of total barbarism. In the first of these, freedom increases from day to day, with constant increase of the feeling of hope in all the men of whom the community is composed. In the last, freedom gradually declines, and slavery takes its place — their members becoming more despairing from year to year. In the one, hope in the future prompts to the feeling of self-respect — that, in time, producing foresight. In the other, recklessness exhibits itself as the offspring of despair.

The qualities of the man thus indicated are very various, but are yet in close relation — each and every of them in the ascending scale, tending to promote the advance of every other; that, too, as certainly as does decline in any one tend to cause diminution in every other. The more perfect the power of association, the greater becomes the development of individuality, — that, in turn, by increasing the number of differences in society, greatly increasing the power of association and combination. The greater the development of the individual faculties, the more perfect is the physical and mental power of the individual man, and the more absolute is his responsibility to himself, to his family, to his fellow-men, and to his Creator for all his actions.* Responsibility, in its

* That responsibility exists in the ratio of the development of the various faculties, is proved by the fact that the law does not hold the monomaniac responsible for his actions.

turn, produces a habit of reflection, leading to economy of his powers and facilitating the accumulation of machinery, by means of which he obtains power to guide and direct the forces of nature to his service — thus accumulating wealth, by aid of which he draws larger supplies of food from the same surface, and is thereby enabled more perfectly to combine his efforts with those of his neighbor man, and more and more to develop his own individuality, and that of those with whom he thus associates. The power of progress is, as we have already seen, in the ratio of these conditions.

The savage is nature's slave, driven by want to the commission of acts that, abstractly considered, are highly criminal. To what extent, however, is he so, disposed, as he probably would be, to be humane and honest, if he could be so, and still preserve his life. The civilized man, nature's master, feels that his responsibility grows with the growth of power — demanding careful study of every act. The one wanders on extensive surfaces, seeking almost in vain a supply of food. Little prompted to sexual intercourse, he holds in small esteem the mother of his child, nor does he care for the child itself. Elsewhere, as in the Pacific islands, with food abounding, that intercourse furnishes the chief enjoyment of life — infanticide becoming universal, and relieving the parent from all responsibility for his offspring. Akin to the first of these, we find the Spartan institutions — Lycurgus having deemed it necessary to stimulate the sexual appetite, while seeking to relieve the parent from all responsibility for his children.

With the growth of numbers and of wealth, men are enabled to combine together, and the more perfect the power of association the greater becomes the development of individuality — the greater is the tendency towards the creation of local centres — towards decline in the value of the products of the earth — towards increase in their utility — towards the division of land — and towards the development of the real MAN — the being to whom was given power to direct the forces of nature, as preparation for the work of governing his passions and himself.

Man becomes a responsible being — a real MAN, as land becomes divided, and he becomes more free — losing that responsibility, as land becomes consolidated, and he becomes enslaved. In the one case, society tends, gradually, to take the natural form

heretofore described — its motion becoming more rapid and regular — commerce steadily increasing — agriculture becoming more and more a science — the necessity for the trader's services steadily diminishing—rude products and finished commodities steadily approximating in their prices — each and every one of these phenomena furnishing proof conclusive of advance in civilization. In the other, society gradually loses its true proportions — its motion becoming more fitful and irregular — commerce declining and trade acquiring power — agriculture becoming less and less a science — raw materials and finished products becoming more widely separated — each and all of these phenomena presenting evidence of declining civilization.

In the one, men and women become more thoughtful and reflective — the matrimonial tie being sought for chiefly because of the desire for enjoying the comforts of home and family. In the other, both become more reckless — sexual intercourse being sought as a means of the indulgence of passion, and as being, indeed, almost the only mode of gratification in which the poor may legally indulge.

§ 4. "The division of land," says one of the most observant and philosophical of recent British travellers, after a careful examination of the principal nations of Europe, "carries within itself a check upon over-population, and the consequent deterioration of the social condition, which is totally wanting in the other social system. In even the most useful and necessary arts and manufactures, the demand for laborers is not a seen, known, steady, and appreciable demand; but it is so in husbandry under this social construction. The labor to be done, the subsistence that labor will produce out of his portion of land, are seen and known elements in a man's calculation upon his means of subsistence. Can his square of land, or can it not, subsist a family? Can he marry, or not? are questions which every man can answer without delay, doubt, or speculation. It is the depending on chance, where judgment has nothing clearly set before it, that causes reckless, improvident marriages in the lower, as in the higher classes, and produces among us the evils of over-population — chance necessarily entering into every man's calculations, when certainty is removed altogether; as it is, where certain sub-

sistence is, by our distribution of property, the lot of but a small portion, instead of about two-thirds of the people."*

On another occasion, writing in Switzerland, he says, "Our parish is divided into three communes or administrations. In that in which I am lodged, Veytaux, there is not a single pauper, although there is an accumulated poor fund, and the village thinks itself sufficiently important to have its post-office, its fire-engine, its watchman; and it has a landward population around. The reason is obvious without having recourse to any occult moral restraint, or any tradition of the evils of over-population from the fate of the ancient Helvetians, as Sir Francis absurdly supposes possible, whose emigration from over-population Julius Cæsar repressed with the sword. The parish is one of the best cultivated and most productive vineyards in Europe; and is divided in very small portions among a great body of small proprietors. What is too high up the hill for vines, is in orchard, hay, and pasture land. There is no manufacture, and no chance work going on in the parish. These small proprietors, with their sons and daughters, work on their own land, know exactly what it produces, what it costs them to live, and whether the land can support two families or not. Their standard of living is high, as they are proprietors. They are well lodged, their houses well furnished, and they live well, although they are working men. I lived with one of them two summers successively. This class of the inhabitants would no more think of marrying, without means to live in a decent way, than any gentleman's sons or daughters in England; and indeed less, because there is no variety of means of living, as in England. It must be altogether out of the land. The class below them again, the mere laborers, or village tradesmen, are under a similar economical restraint, which it is an abuse of words and principles to call moral restraint." * * * "Their standard of living, also, is necessarily raised by living and working all day along with a higher class. They are clad as well, females and males, as the peasant proprietors. The costume of the canton is used by all. This very parish might be cited as an instance of the restraining powers of property, and of the habits, tastes, and standard of living, which attend a wide diffusion of property among a people, on their own over-multipli-

* Laing: *Notes of a Traveller*, London, 1854, p. 33.

cation. It is a proof that a division of property by a law of succession different in principle from the feudal, is the true check upon over-population." *

Again; he tells his readers, that France, in "supporting one-third more inhabitants from nearly the same extent of arable land, than before the revolution, proves that this population must be much more laborious, and give more care and incessant work to their land. It is needless to add that idleness is a great originator of population, and is altogether propagational — and hard or incessant occupation of body and mind, a most powerful physical check upon it, and is altogether anti-propagational.

"The most profound observation ever made in the science of political economy is that of Solomon — 'The destruction of the poor is their poverty.' It is their poverty that causes their over-multiplication, and their over-multiplication their poverty. Cure their poverty, give them property, inoculate the whole mass of society with the tastes, habits, and feelings of prudence, which attend the possession of property, by abolishing the laws of succession which tend to concentrate all property in one upper class, and over-multiplication is cured. It is evidently curing itself rapidly in France, without the unnatural and immoral restraints recommended by political economists to be taught as injunctions of religion and morality by their clergy, or to be enforced as law by the local authorities." †

"In France," as he continues, "property is widely diffused, population is increasing, yet the number of births is decreasing. Of those born many more live to be added to the population, although the actual births are in proportion almost one-third fewer in numbers, than in countries in which property is not diffused as in France. Can there be a more satisfactory proof of the right working of the great social experiment now in progress in France? The number of children reared in proportion to those born is the surest test of the well-being and good condition with respect to food, lodging, and domestic habits of those who rear them — of the people." ‡

Look at it, however, where we may, France is a country of contrasts, and hence it is, that many of the phenomena there observed, appear so difficult of explanation. Division of the

* *Notes of a Traveller*, pp. 158, 159. † Ibid, pp. 165, 166. ‡ Ibid, p. 167.

land tends to make of each and every man a self-governing and responsible being — political centralization, meanwhile, tending towards making him a mere instrument in the hands of those who guide the ship of state. Taxation, in its pecuniary form, is terrific in amount, but to this is added, compulsary military service, for a long period of years, and at wages that are almost nominal. Centralization causes enormous expenditures in and around Paris —the government hesitating at nothing calculated to increase the attraction of the capital, however much it may tend to diminish the attractions of the provinces. The effect of this is seen in a constantly growing disproportion between the city and country population — lessening the power of association throughout the rural districts. As a natural consequence of this, there is much suffering when by reason of disease, failure of the crops, political or commercial revolutions, the demand for labor, or the supply of food, is much diminished. The law of the composition of forces requires careful study at the hands of all who would become proficients in social science — there being no machine whatsoever, that is subject to the action of so many and so various forces, as the societary one. Modern political economy, on the contrary, teaches, that all the evils of society are the result of one great force constantly impelling man in a wrong direction — increasing the number of mouths, as the machine by help of which, alone, they can be fed, diminishes in its powers.

The reader has already had before him evidence of the extraordinary extent to which the land of Denmark has undergone division, and the results obtained — the condition of the people of that country furnishing "living evidence of the falsity of the theory, that population increases more rapidly than subsistence, when the land of the country is held by small working proprietors." *

In Germany, land is constantly changing hands, people of all classes finding themselves enabled to realize the first and greatest wish of their lives, in becoming landed proprietors. Everywhere throughout the country, there is, therefore, exhibited "a consciousness that they have their fate in their own hands; that their station in life depends upon their own exertions; that they can rise in the world, if they will only be patient and laborious

* See chap. xxii. sec. 2, *ante.*

enough; that they can gain an independent position by industry and economy; that they are not cut off by an insurmountable barrier from the next step in the social scale; that it is possible to purchase a house and farm of their own; and that the more industrious and prudent they are, the better will be the position of their families" — this consciousness giving "the laborers of those countries, where the land is not tied up in the hands of a few, an elasticity of feeling, a hopefulness, an energy, a pleasure in economy and labor, a distaste for expenditure upon gross sensual enjoyments, — which would only diminish the gradually increasing store, — and an independence of character, which the dependent and helpless laborers of the other country [England] can never experience. In short, the life of a peasant in those countries where the land is not kept from subdividing by the laws is one of the highest moral education. His unfettered position stimulates him to better his condition, to economize, to be industrious, to husband his powers, to acquire moral habits, to use foresight, to gain knowledge about agriculture, and to give his children a good education, so that they may improve the patrimony and social position he will bequeath to them." *

Hope is the mother of industry, — industry, in turn, begetting self-respect, and temperance and moderation in all the acts of life. "In the German and Swiss towns," says Mr. Kay, "there are no places to be compared to those sources of the demoralization of our town poor — the gin-palaces." † Temperance is general — its existence being ascribed by this most intelligent traveller, "to the civilizing effects of their education," and to the "careful habits which the possibility to purchase land, and the longing to purchase it, nourish in their minds." ‡

In all those countries, the power of association is steadily growing, as a consequence of that development of individuality, which results from diversification of the demand for human faculties. In all, society is gradually taking a more natural form — agriculture is becoming a science — and the prices of rude products and finished commodities, are steadily approximating to each other. In all, life tends to become more prolonged, as man becomes

* Kay: *Social Condition and Education of the People of England and of Europe*, vol. i. p. 200.

† Ibid. p. 247.

‡ Ibid. p. 261.

more free.* In all, increase in the feeling of responsibility is being manifested by extension of the provisions for the education of children — for the higher instruction required by those who are more advanced in life — and for the gradual development of the various individualities of all the members of the community. In all, the policy for which France and Europe were indebted to Colbert, has been preserved — that policy which looks to the condensation of food and wool into cloth, in accordance with the ideas of Adam Smith. In all, consequently, commerce steadily grows, with constant tendency towards the emancipation of the land and its owner from the exhausting tax of transportation.

§ 5. Turning now to Turkey, Portugal, and Jamaica — countries in which the tax of transportation is an increasing one, and in which the power of association has almost passed away — we find the population gradually but steadily diminishing — land becoming more and more consolidated — and man, as a necessary consequence, declining in his power, and becoming less fitted for occupying the responsible places intended for the being to whom was given the power to direct the natural forces to his service. Looking next to India, we find a community in which local centres once abounded — the feeling of responsibility then manifesting itself in a universal care for so instructing the children of the country, as to qualify them for worthily performing their duties to themselves, and to all around them.† Those centres having

* Of all the problems in social science, there is none in which more numerous allowances are required for the action of disturbing causes, than in that which looks to the determination of the actual chances of life. In the following figures, derived from the *Statistique Humaine* of Mons. Guillard, Paris, 1855, an effort has been made to correct the errors of official statements, but to what extent that has been accomplished, it would be difficult to say. In some cases, as the reader will observe, the duration of life, in recent years, appears smaller than in earlier ones — a state of things that may, perhaps, be attributed to the political disturbances of the time:

France	1831–35	33·18	Bavaria	1831–35	28·35
	1846–50	36·20		1846–50	28·70
Denmark	1835–44	31·65	Prussia	1831–35	26·80
	1845–49	31·21		1846–50	25·75
Sweden	1816–25	29·	Saxony	1836–40	25·10
	1826–35	30·40		1846–50	24·25
Belgium	1831–35	30·70	Wurtemburg	1832–37	22·65
	1846–53	33·60		1846–50	25·75

† "Education has always, from the earliest period of their history, been an object of public care and of public interest to the Hindoo governments,

now disappeared, the land becomes exhausted; famines and pestilences are numerous and severe; schools are few and poor; the population becomes more and more divided into the very rich and the miserably poor; society tends hourly towards dissolution; and the power of self-preservation declines from day to day.*

The countries above referred to, have been permanently sub-

in the peninsula of India. Every well-regulated village under those governments had a public school and a public schoolmaster. The system of instruction in them was that which, in consequence of its efficiency, simplicity, and cheapness, was, a few years ago, introduced from Madras into England, and from England into the rest of Europe. Every Hindoo parent looked upon the education of his child as a solemn duty, which he owed to God and his country, and placed him under the schoolmaster of his village as soon as he had obtained his fifth year. The ceremony of introducing him for the first time to the schoolmaster and his scholars was publicly recorded, and was attended with all the solemnity of a religious observance; a prayer being publicly offered up on the occasion, to the figure of Ganesa, the Hindoo God of wisdom, which was at the head of every Hindoo school, imploring him to aid the scholar in his endeavors to learn and become wise."—Sir Alexander Johnston: *Letter to the President of the Board of Control.*

In striking contrast with this, was even the recent state of things—Madras, with a population of 13,000,000, having 355,000 male, and 8000 female scholars, and Bengal, with 6,500,000, having less than 40,000 children in all her schools. What can have become of even these few schools and scholars in the last two years? What can be their present condition?

* "The day following, I gathered equally unmistakable proof of the misery prevailing amongst the ryots—of wretchedness and poverty, which is a bar to any attempt at improvement amongst them, and blights every bud of hope for the future. We had halted in a cool and shady dell, near which stood a small mud hut, such as one meets by scores through the cultivated districts of Bengal. I wanted a draught of water, and, preferring to take it from a rippling stream close by, left my palanquin, as did my companion. When nearer the little cabin, we perceived the owner seated by the door, staring vacantly upon the wide green fields before him. He was clad as miserably as ryots usually are; if, indeed, a narrow slip of dirty cotton rag wound round their loins, can be called clothing. He was emaciated in the extreme, and his grim gaunt visage was rendered even more ghastly by a profusion of thickly-matted beard and hair. A few sickly, rickety-looking children were amusing themselves under the shade of some trees near the patch of rice. To our inquiry as to why he was not at work at that hour of the day, he replied that it was useless for him to work; the more he toiled the poorer he became. How so? we asked. He looked around, as if fearful of being overheard, and then said in a low voice—'Mahajun takes all.' We inquired why that was allowed; to which he answered, 'He is rich; I am poor; what can I do?'

"Whilst the bulk of the Indian population remain thus degraded and helpless, it is worse than idle to expect them to undertake new agricultural projects. Why should those poor wretches grow cotton for our factories? What would they gain? It is a mockery to talk of giving them railroads to Bombay and Calcutta, when they have no footpath to common justice. What is steam to them, who dare not eat the very food they grow, lest the great zemindar should find one grain the less within his ample store? What need have they of cotton cloths from Manchester, or wares from Birmingham?"—Household Words: Article, *Peasants of British India.*

jected to the system which looked to the separation of the consumer from the producer, and the resolution of the whole population into needy cultivators on the one hand, and grasping middlemen on the other. With Ireland, the case has been somewhat different — the closing portion of the last century having been spent under a regime analogous to that which now exists throughout central and northern Europe. Commerce then grew steadily — the demand for labor increasing — land and man acquiring value, and finished commodities losing it — and the community at large advancing with a rapidity not then excelled in any portion of continental Europe.*

By the act of Union, all was changed — manufactures being, in virtue of its provisions, banished from the land — and the demand for human powers being limited to that for the mere brute force required for the lowest order of the labors of the field. Land at any rent, on one hand, or starvation on the other, being the only choice that was left to them, need we wonder that hope fled, or that education, books, libraries, and all the appliances of intellectual development disappeared — leaving in their place the recklessness and improvidence that since have led to so great an increase of population? Famine succeeded famine, pestilence succeeded pestilence, and still the numbers grew — the reason for all this being found in the one great fact, that the real MAN was gradually disappearing, and the merely animal man as steadily coming to occupy his place.†

"The Irish cotter-tenant," — the wretched starver on potatoes and water — to quote again from the distinguished British traveller, to whom we have before referred — "has no property to begin with, in the land or in anything else. He is, and his whole

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 323, for the extraordinary demand for books that existed throughout Ireland, prior to the passage of the act of Union.

† Seeking to prove the wonderful strength of the procreative tendency always existing in Ireland, advocates of the Malthusian theory furnish the world with tables exhibiting an increase of more than 40 per cent. in the three years, from 1785 to 1788 — the 2,845,932 of the first being represented by 4,640,000 in the last. The last may present some approach to accuracy, and if it be admitted, the subsequent duplication requires about half a century. It is only, however, within the present century that we have any accounts that are at all reliable — the first census having been made in 1813, giving nearly 6,000,000 as the total population. Twenty-eight years later, in 1841, it was 8,175,794 — having increased in that period about 35 per cent. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 331.

class, in consequence of the working of the law of primogeniture in society, pauper *ab initio;* and all that is spared by his inferior condition, in respect of the comforts and necessaries of life, goes into his landlord's pocket, in the shape of rent, not into his own as the savings of his own prudence and frugality. He is also placed in a false position by the landholders of Ireland, even as compared to the cotter-tenantry which existed formerly, all over Scotland, and still continue in the northern counties. The latter were generally charged a rent in kind, that is, in a proportion of the crops produced, or with a reference to the average crops of the land. The peasant could understand the simple data before him, knew at once whether the land could produce enough to feed his family and leave a surplus such as was demanded for rent, and, if not, he sought a living in some other employment. His standard of living was not deteriorated by his rent in kind, because he had a clearly seen surplus of the best as well as of the worst of the products of his farm for family consumption, after paying the portion of these products that were his rent. The Irish small tenantry, on the contrary, have to pay for their land in money. It would be just as reasonable to make them pay for their land in French wines for the squire, or Parisian dresses for the lady. Their land produces neither gold, nor silver, nor Irish bank-notes. It is not reasonable to make the peasant, the ignorant man, pay in those commodities — they are but commodities like wines and silks — and to make men simple, inexperienced in trade, and a prey to market-jobbers, to run the double mercantile risk of selling their own commodities, and buying those in which their landlords choose to be paid their rents." *

How the system of cotter-tenantry and money-rent tends to the production of recklessness and improvidence, is well exhibited in the following passage: —

"Money-rent deteriorates the condition of a small tenant in two ways. The more honestly he is inclined, the more poorly and meanly he must live. He must sell all his best produce, his grain, his butter, his flax, his pig, and subsist upon the meanest of food, his worst potatoes and water, to make sure of money for his rent. It thus deteriorates his standard of living. He is also tempted by money-rent out of the path of certainty into that of

* *Notes and Recollections*, p. 30.

chance. It thus deteriorates his moral condition. Ask him six barrels of oats, or barley, or six stones of butter, or flax, for a piece of land which never produced four, and his common-sense and experience guides him. He sees and comprehends the simple data before him, knows from his experience that such a crop cannot be raised, such a rent cannot be afforded, and he is off to England or America to seek a living. But ask him six guineas per acre for a piece of land, proportionably as much over-rented as the other, and he trusts to chance, to accident, to high market prices, to odd jobs of work turning up, to summer or harvest labor out of the country — in short, he does not know to what; for he is placed in a false position, made to depend upon chance of markets, and on mercantile success and profits, as much as upon industry and skill in working his little farm." *

Look where we may, in the documents that at various times have been published in regard to the condition of this country, in which a whole population has so long been "starving by millions," we meet with evidence of the fact, that those who have a property, to the extent even of 10 pounds, exercise a prudent foresight in reference to the contraction of matrimony, whereas, those who have nothing, marry without hesitation. Nevertheless, look almost where we may, among the books of modern economists, we meet the assertion, that "the low and degraded condition into which the people of Ireland are now sunk, is the condition to which every people must be reduced whose numbers, for any considerable period, increase faster than the means of providing for their comfortable and decent subsistence." †

The proposition might, however, be differently stated — attributing the condition of the people to the fact, that they had been *prevented* from combining with each other for the purpose of making their labor productive, and thus augmenting the supply of those commodities and things required for giving them a "comfortable and decent subsistence." Across the Channel, Mr. McCulloch had in full view a country — that of Belgium — in which a much more crowded population was advancing rapidly in production, and in civilization, although the soil they occupied had been, originally, one of the poorest of all Europe; whereas, that of Ireland had been remarkable for its fertility. Without

* *Notes and Recollections*, p. 31. † McCulloch's *Principles*, p. 383.

leaving England, however, he could have found a population of nearly equal density, for which he, himself, is disposed to claim precedence in both arts and arms. Why this difference? Why should the people of Ireland now perish, while those of Belgium prosper? Because, those in the direction of the first, have sought to destroy the power of association, while those who have directed the last, have sought to promote the development of that power. Because, the system of the one has looked to the reduction of a whole people to the condition of mere beasts of burden, while that of the other has tended to their elevation to the condition of the true MAN — the being of power.

In this case, as in almost every other, modern political economy substitutes effect for cause — such being the natural result of the working out of a theory from which we learn, that men commence the work of cultivation upon the rich soils of the valleys, leaving the poorer lands of the hills for their successors. The process is an inverted one; and hence it is, that it has given birth to the ideas, that trade and transportation are more profitable than production — that the share of the landlord tends to increase, as the productiveness of labor decreases — and that the tenant is bound, therefore, ultimately to become the slave of him who owns the machine to which, alone, he can look for supplies of food. When men most resemble animals, they look most to the sexual intercourse as affording the only means of enjoyment within their reach, and will have most children — provided the women, though poor, continue chaste. The chastity of Irish women is proverbial, and it is to this cause, combined with the reduction of the population to a condition so nearly akin to that of animals, we must attribute much of the rapidity of Irish increase — those very qualities which, under a sound system, would produce the greatest amount of good, here producing an injurious effect.

In the several other countries above referred to, the effect of stoppage of the societary circulation exhibits itself in diminution of the population, whereas, in Ireland, the reverse effect is seen to have been produced — furnishing evidence of the *adaptability* of the human animal to the circumstances under which he holds his brief existence. Unlike the people of those communities, the Irishman was placed between two other, and rapidly advancing

populations — reading the same books, and speaking the same language with himself, and having institutions corresponding in a great degree with those of his native land. Among them, there was found an outlet for surplus population, and the more that such was proven to be the case, the more entire became the recklessness of both the sexes in contracting the marriage tie — all feeling of duty to themselves and to their children, disappearing in the same gulf in which had already disappeared their hopes for either the present or the future.*

Centralization, and especially trading centralization, tends to the production of inequality of condition, and hence it is, that the annihilation of Irish and Indian manufactures has contributed so largely to produce the consolidation of British land.

§ 6. Coming now to the home of the over-population theory, we find in England, a country from which, as the reader has already seen, the small proprietors have almost disappeared — the 200,000 land-owners of eighty years since, being now represented by less than 35,000. At that date, the population was 7,500,000 — having increased but 10 per cent. in the long period of 75 years. Now, it is estimated, for 1855, at 18,786,914 — having increased 150 per cent. in a period but very little longer. Growth of numbers has, therefore, kept pace with a consolidation of the land, that places one class above, and another below, the reach of hope—a state of things tending, more than any other, to reduce the human animal to the condition of a mere instrument to be used by trade.

Consolidation driving the laborers from cultivation of the soil, while improved machinery was expelling them from the factory, the poor were thus made poorer and weaker, as the rich grew

* How this has operated upon the condition of the people of Great Britain, is thus exhibited by the London *Times:*

"For a whole generation, *man has been a drug* in this country, and *population a nuisance.* It has scarcely entered into the heads of economists, that they would ever have to deal with a deficiency of labor. The inexhaustible Irish supply has kept down the price of English labor, whether in the field, the railway, the factory, the army, or the navy; whether at the sickle, the spade, the hod, or the desk. We believe that, for fifty years at least, *labor, taking its quality into account, has been cheaper in this country than in any part of Europe;* and that this cheapness of labor has contributed vastly to the improvement and power of the country, to the success of all mercantile pursuits, and to *the enjoyment of those who have money to spend.*"

richer and stronger. Ireland, too, contributed largely to the same result. As the Act of Union gradually closed her factories, and forced her people to cultivation as the sole means of supporting life, they found themselves, like the Italians of olden time, forced to emigrate to the place where taxes were distributed, in the hope of obtaining wages—their competition, of course, throwing the English laborer still more upon the "tender mercies" of the capitalist. From year to year, the small proprietor was seen to pass into the condition of a day-laborer, and the small employing mechanic or tradesman to pass into a receiver of wages—the whole people, thus, tending towards becoming divided into two great classes, separated from each other by an impassable gulf, the very rich and the very poor, the master and the slave.*

As England became more flooded with the wretched people of the sister island, driven from home in search of employment, the wealthy found it more easy to accomplish "the great works" for which the country has been indebted to the "cheap labor of Ireland," and the greater the influx of such labor, the more rapid was the decline in the power of both Ireland and Britain to furnish a market for the products of the manufacturing labor of England. Hence arose, of course, a necessity for looking abroad for new markets to take the place of those before obtained at home, and thus cheap labor, a *consequence* of the system, became, in its turn, a *cause* of new efforts at dispensing with and further cheapening labor. As the Irishman could no longer buy, it became necessary to expel the Hindoo from his own market. As the Highlander was expelled, it became more important to underwork the spinners and weavers of China. As the Bengalese are impoverished, there arises a necessity for filling the Punjab and Affghanistan, Burmah and Borneo, with British goods. Pauperism and recklessness lie necessarily at the root of such a system, based, as it is, upon the idea of a perpetual antagonism of interests.† The result is seen in the

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 239.

† "Since the same cause, the difficulty of production, raises the exchangable value of raw produce, and raises also the proportion of the landlord for rent, it is obvious, that *the landlord is doubly benefited by difficulty of production.* First, he obtains a greater share, and secondly, the commodity in which he is paid, is of higher value."—RICARDO: Chapter on *Rent.*

facts, that the condition of the agricultural population is steadily deteriorating * — that, in despair of any improvement of their condition, they marry early in life, and under circumstances that are totally destructive of morality † — that infanticide prevails to a frightful extent ‡ — and, that demoralization is progressing with a rapidity scarcely elsewhere to be exceeded. §

That man becomes more free, and more responsible, as the prices of raw materials and finished commodities approximate to each other — the former rising and the latter falling — is a great principle, whose truth is proved by the experience of all the nations of the world, past and present. Directly the reverse of this, however, is the doctrine lying at the foundation of British policy — cheap labor and cheap raw materials being there treated

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 441; vol. ii., p. 94.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 492. "The accounts we receive from all parts of the country, show that these miserable cottages are crowded to an extreme, and that the crowding is progressively increasing. People of both sexes, and of all ages, both married and unmarried—parents, brothers, sisters, and strangers—sleep in the same rooms, and often in the same beds. One gentleman tells us of six people of different sexes and ages, two of whom were man and wife, sleeping in the same bed, three with their heads at the top, and three with their heads at the foot of the bed. . . . Nor are these solitary instances, but similar reports are given by gentlemen visiting in ALL parts of the country."—KAY: *Social Condition of England*, &c., vol. i., p. 472.

‡ "It was declared by the coroner of Leeds, and assented to as probable by the surgeon, that there were, as near as could be calculated, about three hundred children put to death yearly in Leeds alone, that were not registered by the law. In other words, three hundred infants were murdered to avoid the consequences of their living, and these murders, as the coroner said, are never detected."—*Leader*.

"It has been clearly ascertained, that it is a common practice among the more degraded classes of poor in many of our towns, to enter their infants in these [burial] clubs, and then to cause their death, either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! What more horrible symptom of moral degradation can be conceived? One's mind revolts against it, and would fain reject it as a monstrous fiction. But, alas! it seems to be but too true."—KAY: vol. i., p. 433.

Commenting on these and numerous other facts of similar kind, Mr. Kay says:—

"These accounts are really almost too horrible to be believed at all; and were they not given us on the authority of such great experience and benevolence, we should totally discredit them.

"But, alas! they are only too true. There can be no doubt, that a great part of the poorer classes of this country are sunk into such a frightful depth of hopelessness, misery, and utter moral degradation, that even mothers forget their affection for their helpless little offspring, and kill them as a butcher does his lambs, in order to make money by their murder, and therewith to lessen their pauperism and misery."—*Ibid*, p. 446.

§ See *ante*, vol. i., p. 425.

as the great objects of desire. In that direction lie slavery and irresponsibility, whether to God or man. To the cry of "cheap food," nevertheless, it was due, that the corn laws were repealed, and yet slight examination would have been required for obtaining evidence of the fact, that the quantity of labor required for producing food in Ireland and England was really less than that required for its mere transportation from the heart of Russia or America.* The effect of the repeal was precisely such as might have been anticipated — that of almost annihilating the demand for labor in Ireland, and forcing hundreds of thousands of Irishmen to seek in England and elsewhere a market for their commodity. Increased competition for its sale in England produced, of course, a flood of emigration towards distant lands — agricultural laborers being among the first to move. For a short period, the price of food fell, to rise, however, again, and to remain at a higher point than had been known for many years — the result being shown in the following figures representing the proportion born by deaths to population in the first five years of the last and present decades: —

1841	1 to 46	1851	1 to 45
1842	1 to 46	1852	1 to 45
1843	1 to 47	1853	1 to 44
1844	1 to 46	1854	1 to 43
1845	1 to 48	1855	1 to 44

This is an extraordinary change, but what renders it far more so, is that the period from 1841 to 1845 embraces years of distress more remarkable, perhaps, than any recorded in British history — years that paved the way for the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 — the mass of destitution having almost exceeded belief.†

* Of the price that is paid, in England, for a bushel of corn that is raised in Iowa, four-fifths are, in ordinary seasons, absorbed by the persons through whose hands it passes on its road from the producer to the consumer. With the people of the heart of Russia it must be worse, even, than this.

† We could easily fill our pages with narratives of suffering which would move the hardest heart to tears; we might tell how skilled workmen, capable now of earning at the regular rate of wages paid in their trade, from 18*s.* to 25*s.* a week, and withal sober, honest, and religious, were driven to subsist on mere vegetable refuse; how many a family, reduced and broken-hearted, sunk in misery from which they could not flee, wasted away to the grave, leaving one, perhaps beloved, the helpless spectator of all their sufferings, who had often bitterly cursed the hour that awoke within his bosom the fond emotions of a parent, and had found in madness a sad asylum for all his woes." DUNCKLEY: *Charter of the Nations.* This work is the Prize Essay on the advantages of the Free Trade in Corn, established by the passage of Sir Robert Peel's law in 1846. See also, *ante*, vol. i. p. 388.

The proportion borne to population by marriages and births in the two periods above referred to has been as follows: —

Marriages.	Births.	Marriages.	Births.
1841 ... 1 in 130	1 to 31	1851 ... 1 in 117	1 to 29
1842 ... 1 in 136	1 to 31	1852 ... 1 in 115	1 to 29
1843 ... 1 in 132	1 to 31	1853 ... 1 in 112	1 to 30
1844 ... 1 in 125	1 to 31	1854 ... 1 in 117	1 to 29
1845 ... 1 in 116	1 to 31	1855 ... 1 in 123	1 to 30
Average, 1 in 127·80	1 in 31	1 in 116·80	1 in 29·40

The phenomena presented for consideration by Ireland are being thus reproduced in England — extensive emigration being accompanied by reckless marriages, great increase of births, and corresponding increase of mortality — thus furnishing further evidence of the *adaptability* of the procreative tendencies to the particular circumstances in which a community is placed.

That the general tendency is towards a diminution of the duration of life, is shown by the following table representing the proportion of deaths to 10,000 persons living: —

	1813 to 1830.	1838 to 1842.	1855.
Under 5 years	3,451	3,967	3,894
5 to 10	424	505	419
10 to 15	265	268	234
15 to 20	343	347	668
20 to 30	781	772	660
30 to 40	672	660	653
40 to 50	660	611	643
50 to 60	700	619	780
60 to 70	917	802	958
70 to 80	1,049	855	835
80 to 90	642	511	240
90 and upwards	96	83	16
	10,000	10,000	10,000 *
Under 20	4,483	5,087	5,215

Steadiness and regularity are as much to be desired in the societary movement, as in that of a steam engine, or a watch. These obtained, there is a constant tendency toward acceleration of the circulation, with corresponding increase in the growth of

* That the growing mortality is due, in part at least, to increased intemperance, would seem to be proved by the fact, that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, in their last report, have called attention to the large increase in the consumption of spirits, the duties on which, in 1857–8, were no less than £9,230,963 = $44,308,000; or about $1.50 per head, of the total population.

wealth, in the proportion of the laborer, in the development of individuality, in the power of association and combination, and in that feeling of responsibility by which man is distinguished from all the other animals that walk the face of earth. That they may be obtained, it is indispensable that employments become diversified — society then gradually assuming its natural form, and agriculture becoming more a science, with constant increase in the productiveness of the labor given to developing the powers of the earth. For almost a century past, all the efforts of the British people have been given to an effort at preventing the diversification of employments in other communities — the result being seen in the exhaustion of Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, India, Jamaica, and all other countries that have not protected themselves against a "warfare" carried on for the purpose of "stifling in the cradle" the infant manufactures of the world; and in the production, in Britain herself, of a state of things corresponding precisely with that foretold by Adam Smith, as certain to result from the maintenance of a system denounced by him, as "a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."*

In studying the facts presented for consideration by various nations, it is indispensable that allowance be made for the conditions in which they have been placed. Greece having, for centuries, been the prey of Venetians and Turks — Italy having been the theatre of war for Austria, France, and Spain — both should present for examination phenomena totally different from those of Britain. Belgium, ravaged as it has been by contending armies, has had a life that has been widely different from that of England — the one having been made a constant scene of war, while the other has enjoyed the profoundest internal peace. Nowhere has man enjoyed the opportunity that has been afforded in this latter, for fitting himself to become nature's master. Nowhere has so great a mastery been obtained, and if it has failed to bring with it increased production—great power of accumulation—equitable distribution—and growing tendency towards harmony in the relations of man with nature, and of man with his fellow-man — the cause of this must be found in human error, and not in Providential blunders. Those who seek it in the former will be sure to

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 415.

find it — taking for their guide, in their inquiries, the author of the *Wealth of Nations.*

7. Pioneer life, where property and person are reasonably secure, is, as has been shown, favorable to increase of numbers — isolated men having little occasion for the exercise of any faculties but those by which the physical powers are stimulated, leaving the mental ones in a great degree undeveloped. Reasoning *à priori*, therefore, it is to the former provinces, and present States, of North America, we should look for the most rapid growth of numbers, and there it is we find it. In the natural course of affairs, however, this should change — the real MAN becoming more stimulated into action — foresight taking the place of recklessness — care, economy, thoughtfulness, and a desire for the higher enjoyments of life, becoming the characteristics of the people. Such, too, *would be* the change observed under a system which tended towards facilitating the growth of the power of combination, and consequent development of the intellectual man; one that looked to the creation of a scientific agriculture. Unhappily, however, that which has been pursued is the reverse of this — it being only a continuation of that colonial one, under which the soil was being then exhausted, and men were driven towards the wilderness to seek new lands, and thus perpetuate the pioneer life, as the condition of American existence.*

Examine it where we may, the system is one of contrasts — local action being the theory on which it stands, and centralization being the practice. The one would tend to the production of steadiness in the societary movement — development of individuality in the people — increase of that feeling of responsibility which leads to temperance and moderation in all the pursuits of life — and to harmony among both individuals and States. The other looks in

* Kalm, the Swedish traveller, writing in 1749, says of the people of the then provinces: "They make scarce any manure for their corn-fields; but when one piece of ground has been exhausted by constant cropping, they clear and cultivate another piece of fresh land; and, when that is exhausted, proceed to a third. Their cattle are allowed to wander through the woods and other uncultivated grounds, where they are half-starved — having long ago extirpated almost all the annual grasses by cropping them too early in the spring, before they had time to form their flowers, or to shed their seeds."—Quoted by SMITH: *Wealth of Nations*, Part 1. chap. xi. The picture here presented of the 2,000,000 of people then existing, is almost equally accurate when applied to the 30,000,000 of 1858.

a direction entirely the reverse of this — the societary action becoming more unstable from year to year—individuality diminishing as human pursuits become more limited to those of trade and cultivation — and the feeling of responsibility steadily declining; with correspondent growth of intemperance in the indulgence of the passions—whether those leading to increase of numbers, or to the destruction of adult life.*

Of vital statistics for the Union at large, there are none — there being no general provision for the record of the movement of population. The census returns show that the proportion of persons living to an advanced age is great, but beyond that we have little that is of general application.† Of the States, Massachusetts is the only one that has presented us with statistics that are entirely reliable — the example she has set, contrasting favorably with the neglect that prevails elsewhere. From them, we now learn how excessive is the proportion borne by foreign marriages, births, and deaths, to the total number.‡ Of 2536 men who were married in the city of Boston, in 1856, no less than 1503 were foreigners — more than half of the women being also foreign. Here, accordingly, we find an extraordinary destruction of infant life — the phenomena of Ireland being reproduced on the western coast of the Atlantic. Of all the deaths in the State, more than a fifth occur in the first year of life — those occurring in the first five years being more than 40 per cent. of the whole.§ In Boston, the chance of death, in the first five years, is greater than in all the rest of life. How far the facts here observed, can be applied to the Union at large, there are no means of knowing, but when we look to New York city we find that, whereas, in 1817, the deaths under 5, were but a third of the whole, their proportion had grown, in 1857, to *seven-tenths!* In the last ten years, those of adults

* An estimate, founded on the Reports of the mercantile agencies of New York, gives one store and store-keeper for every 123 persons, of all ages, in the Union. This would give one family to be supported by every 24 — leaving wholly out of view the mass of small traders, transporters, and other middlemen. It may be doubted if, in any other country, this class presents such large proportions.

† In 1850, there were 2,555 persons over 100 years of age; in France, there were only 102, though the population was nearly 36,000,000.

‡ See *ante*, p. 264.

§ Of 100 children born in Massachusetts, more than 13½ died in the first year. In London and Paris, more than 16.

have been but 82,117, against 138,158 of children.* Of the colored population of that city, the deaths are to the births as 7 to 3, or more than 2 to 1.†

In no country of the world do we meet such remarkable contrasts — great length of life, under certain conditions, here presenting itself side by side with an infant mortality scarcely exceeded in the world. In the eight years ending with 1855, the average age, at death, of males of all professions, in Massachusetts, who had survived 20 years, was nearly 63½ years.‡ On the other hand, we have the facts, that whereas, in the city of Baltimore, from 1831 to 1840, the deaths were 1 in 43, they are now 1 in 40 — that in New York, in 1810, there died 1 in 46, against 1 in 41 in 1815, 1 in 37 in 1820, 1 in 34 in 1825, and 1 in 28½ in 1855.§

For the new States, we have no statistics, but the general fact presents itself, that the people who are driven, by an adverse policy, prematurely to commence the work of settlement, are constantly endeavoring to cultivate the richer soils, in advance of the conditions required for the preservation of health and life. Of this, disease and death are necessary consequences — the system

* The total deaths in England, in 1855, were 216,587
Of these, there were under 5 years 89,527
(being about 44 per cent. of the whole.)
The total deaths in London were 31,354
Of these, under 5 years 13,200
And from 5 to 65 13,714

The chance of life in London is, therefore, fully equal to that of Boston, and greatly superior to that of New York.

† The still-born children of New York, in 1855, were 1659 in number. Their ratio to the total deaths was 1 in 13.70.

‡ Shattuck: *Memorials of the Shattuck Family*, p. 44. This work, probably the most remarkable contribution to vital statistics that has yet been made, is the production of a gentleman to whom we are largely indebted for the admirable character of the Massachusetts Reports. In it are given accounts of 1037 descendants from a couple who married in 1642. Of these, only 13·40 per cent died under 20. Of 898 who attained that age, 91·84 per cent. married — the proportion borne by the married to the whole number being 79·27. Of 377 marriages in the first six generations, 53 of which were second, and 6 third marriages, the average product was 6¼ children. The average age of marriage was, of males, from 24 to 25 years; females, 20 to 22. Of 522 whose age at death has been correctly ascertained, 14·37 per cent. died before 15—the average of all being 53½ years. Of those who passed 20, the average was 63¼. The total number of descendants, *bearing the family name*, of this single couple, is estimated at 5297.

§ Much of the extraordinary increase here observed, is due to immigration — the yearly average of foreign deaths being 30 per cent., and rising, on some occasions, to 35 per cent. of the whole. In the ten years ending in 1856, the deaths of immigrants numbered 64,494.

which crowds the cities at the cost of life, producing the same effects throughout the West.

As men are enabled to come together and combine their efforts, life is prolonged, and all become more free. As they are forced to separate, life is shortened, and the laborer becomes less free. That the American tendency is in this latter direction, and that it has become more decided in the period that has elapsed since the free trade and dispersive policy was adopted by the generally dominant party of the Union, are facts that cannot now be questioned. Hence it is, that, with each succeeding year, growing pauperism, intemperance, and immorality, furnish new and stronger evidence to be adduced in support of the doctrine of over-population.*

§ 8. Enforced celibacy is very frequently, as we are assured, a cause of ill health. That it is, however, which is so freely recommended, under the name of "moral restraint," by teachers who hold that the Creator has so mischievously constructed the laws to which he has subjected man, as to require that his creatures shall task their faculties to the utmost, in the effort to make them work aright. Widely different is such restraint upon the reproduction of the species, from that other one which is found in man's development — in his growing self-respect — in his augmented feeling of responsibility to his family, to his fellow-men, and to the Giver of all good, for the use to which he applies the powers with which he has been invested. That, however, being but the moral side of the question, it is needed that we now look to the physical one, with a view to ascertain how far the two are in harmony with each other.

Having shown, sufficiently for our purpose, how far the moral elements of the individual MAN — fitted, as he is, to become the master of nature — are such as qualify him for meeting and mastering the accidents to which he is necessarily exposed, we have next to look to the agencies and laws developed in his organism, and provided for the purpose of adjusting the reproductive function to the ever-varying condition and requirements of the race —

* The number of paupers relieved in the State of New York, in 1857, was nearly 180,000, of whom 81,000 were foreigners, 2320 lunatics, 531 idiots, and 55 deaf mutes.

at times increasing fertility, so as to repair the wastes of war and pestilence, and at others, restraining it within the limits required for the happier times of peace.

The belief in the existence of such laws, arising fairly out of the philosophy of the general providence every where else in nature so clearly manifest, it is neither unsafe nor illogical to rest, upon this ground alone, our faith in the existence of a law governing the movement of population, in perfect harmony with those changes in the societary conditions to which it is related — the system of existence being pledged to a persistent and orderly endeavor for the fulfilment of all the ends logically expectant in every department of the universe.

The assurance of faith, however—in this, as in all other departments of natural knowledge — finding its best support in the philosophy of facts, we turn to the economy of the human constitution, to see what science has discovered in the domain of physiology, tending to confirm us in the belief to which we are so naturally led.

The human body consists of a multitude of parts, with an equal variety of offices and endowments — the heart, arteries, and veins, being the organs of circulation — the muscles, those of motion — and the glands, of secretion. The abdominal viscera are concerned with digestion, and the thoracic, with respiration — the sexual organs having charge of reproduction. To the brain and nerves are committed sensation, perception, volition, intellection, and emotion, and, especially, the supreme function of co-ordinating the actions of all the other organs of the complex structure — thus providing for, and securing, that concert and unity of service of all the parts, manifold as are their combinations, that are needed for perfect organization.

To the aggregate of all these various organisms, there must be a limit of vital force — some certain point, or quantity, at which it reaches its ultimatum. It is, therefore, a consequence of such limitation, that upon an equal, or unequal, distribution of this determinate amount of vital power among the several organisms, will depend the respective efficiencies of each and all. The total vital force is capable of, and liable to, great inequality of distribution, not only in those diversions of energy from one set of organs, for concentration upon another, that we see to occur

on every change of occupation, but steadily and habitually, throughout the whole period of individual life. In some persons, the muscular system is far more occupied than is the mental. In others, the nutritive organs absorb much of that general vigor, which it had been their destination to support. In a smaller number, the intellectual and moral powers are exerted to the injury of the nutritive and muscular systems; while in women, the reproductive system, in some one or other form, from puberty to old age, trenches largely upon the intellectual faculties.

All of these irregularities are found within the limits of what is called health — though frequently occurring in such extremes, as to place them beyond the meaning of that term, in its fullest sense. In disease, the predominance resulting from disturbance of the balance of the various functions, becomes much more marked — exhibiting in greater force the diminution of power in one set of organs, resulting from excess of activity in others. A strong man, struck down with fever, has his nervous sensibility excited, and his circulation exaggerated — the secreting and muscular systems being simultaneously rendered nearly powerless. With every nerve tingling with excitement; with the brain in a state of delirium, and the blood-vessels in a state of rude commotion; the patient is prostrate with muscular debility — the action of the skin and viscera being nearly suspended, even where not wholly so.

Thus, both in health and in disease, the various offices of the living body may, and habitually do, undergo great modifications of their respective activities. It may be said, generally, that the vital force cannot be habitually concentrated upon any one part of the structure, except at the expense of the other portions. It is, however, almost universally true, that those functions which minister to the animal life, and those which serve for the continuance of the race, prompted, as they are, by instinctive forces, absorb the largest share of the system's strength, to the detriment of those other and higher faculties, which require education and discipline for their development in full and energetic proportion. In other words, the nutritive and sexual functions, as a rule, have, over the moral and intellectual ones, all the advantages resulting from the impulsiveness of propensities, as against the aspirations

of the rarer and nobler faculties, which depend upon culture for their strength.

While such antagonism of the various functions of the body is thus a general and natural result of the vital organization, it is curious to observe that a specially eminent relation of this kind obtains between the nervous and reproductive powers. Mere muscular drudgery does not appear to be, in any manner, unfavorable to fecundity—the slaves of our Southern plantations, and the ignorant peasantry of Ireland, being among the most prolific classes of the race. The absence of mental activity would seem, in both these cases, to afford the explanation. So, too, is it, with the robust pioneers of new countries—men, whose avocations involve a certain amount of labor of the brain, but not to such extent as to place the latter in balance with their physical functions. Being, indeed, chiefly employed in the service of these latter, it is, both in quality and amount, perfectly compatible with the lower offices of the body.

The well known chastity and infertility of the hunter tribes, instead of being exceptional, or inconsistent with the views above propounded, is, in point of fact, a striking evidence of their general truth. The adjustment which it affirms is clearly shown, whether the agencies at work to effect it are as clearly explicable or not. These men, like the beasts of prey, require a hundredfold larger territory for their support than is required by men and animals of pacific habits — the self-adjusting laws therein closely conforming to the requirements of the case. Their life is one of excessive toil, intermitted only in periods of exhausted energy or depressing want. Such social intercourse as their civil polity allows them, tends rather to repress than to cultivate the affections — the tone of the governing sentiments being unfriendly to the sexual impulse, while the vigilance and alertness of mind required in the difficulties and hazards of the customary chase, as well as of the frequent conflicts with their neighbor savages, give, and that, too, necessarily, great additional force to those other causes which antagonise the function of reproduction.

The drudges of our imperfect civilization, on the contrary, employ their muscular strength under very little nervous excitement — the action of their mental powers being at the lowest rate that is possible to rational creatures. The hunter, as we see, requires

agility, cunning, vigilance, fortitude, and moral resolution — qualities whose exertion makes heavy drafts upon the cerebral apparatus. Moreover, the savage man, as represented in the North American Indian, is strikingly distinguished from the slave, or peasant, by an active imagination, a free fancy, sublime sentiments, and a high style of eloquence — indicating an active and vigorously worked brain. Further, even his agility is a modification of muscular action, requiring combination and co-ordination so rapid and precise, as to demand that the nervous system be called into the tensest action, when he would effect them. Duly estimating all this constant strain upon the sensitive, mental, and co-ordinating nervous system, we have the deficiency of sexual feeling well accounted for, and quite in harmony with the general ideas above propounded. So, again, in the Greek mythology, Diana, goddess of chastity, being significantly represented as patroness of the chase. Turning thence to the public games of Greece, we find the sexual intercourse regarded as being quite as unfavorable to severe exercise as the latter could be to it, and therefore prohibited to the athlete while in course of training. The attraction and counter-attraction, or antagonism, of the nervous and sexual functions, is thus verified by the precise phenomena which might, at first, appear to constitute exceptions to the law.

Another fact in the natural history of our subject affords additional confirmation of the views that have been thus suggested. In the order of nature, puberty, or the capacity of reproduction, appears in the individual about the time that the intellectual and moral powers attain a force sufficient to control the instincts — the brain thereafter losing none of its balancing power, but rather gaining upon the propensities as men advance in age. This correspondence of development and continence marks a closely fitting relation of combination between them — the efficiency of the constitutional disposition of the respective forces being thus accommodated by help of an auxiliary moral force. Only in man is the sexual impulse equally active, equally responsive to restraint, at all times, and at every season. Unlike the lower animals, he has no annual season of love, irrepressible and irresistible. The propensity beginning with the beginning vigor of his intellect, is thus placed under the control of reason and sentiment, functions of the

cerebral system, whose efficiency is in the direct proportion of the healthy development of the system, of which they are a part.

It is not, however, by *moral* resistance and prudential restraints, alone, that the admirable ends of providential order are to be secured — *the law being woven into the very texture of the organs concerned in the process of reproduction.* A *physical* law here adjusts the balances, maintains the harmonies, and achieves the beneficent results desired.

Some evidence, needing to be cautiously weighed, yet too important to be entirely thrown aside, is found in the varied brains of the several families of mankind. Dr. Morton, who collected together the greatest number and variety of human crania to be found in the world, and whose competency and care in making their measurements, as well as his inferences therefrom, were such as were well calculated to secure for his report thereon the fullest confidence, published a catalogue of 623 skulls — representing all the known human families, both ancient and modern, and giving of each so many specimens as to afford a tolerably fair average of their respective capacities. Eighteen German, five English, and seven Anglo-American skulls, ranging from 114 cubic inches down to 82, gave the mean size of the brain at 92 inches. Fifty-five ancient Egyptian skulls, ranging from 96 to 68, gave a mean of 80 inches. One hundred and sixty-one skulls of barbarous American Indians — the largest reaching 104 inches, and being second in rank in the whole catalogue — gave an average of 84. Eighty-five negro heads — the largest 99, and the smallest 63 — gave an average of 78. In this collection the largest German brain measured 10 inches more than the largest Iroquois, and 15 more than the largest negro.*

Some confirmation is certainly afforded by these measurements, to the theory which antagonizes the brain and the sexual system in their functions — it being unquestionable that the size of an organ bears a direct relation to its vital force, and that its volume is increased by exercise. All other things being equal, size affords reliable evidence of power. The argument, however, does not depend upon the facts of craniology — the fact we really need being that of the greatly superior *activity* of the highly developed man, when compared with the unthinking and uncultivated

* Morton: *Catalogue of Skulls*, Philadelphia, 1849.

drudges of civilization. To those capable of ordinary observation and reflection, this needs no scientific proof, and if mental and physical culture be really the condition indicated by physiology, as the corrective of relatively excessive procreation, the law upon which we rely may be regarded as established.

The law of balance between the nervous and sexual functions is strongly corroborated by the facts of comparative physiology, some of which have been before referred to. The queen ant of the African termites lays 80,000 eggs, and the hair-worm as many as 8,000,000, in a single day. Carpenter says, "that above 1,000,000 eggs are produced at once by a single codfish, whereas, in the strong and sagacious shark, but few are found." The higher ranks of reptiles are still less fertile; and among the mammalia, those which quickly reach maturity produce large and numerous litters — those, on the contrary, which are longer in attaining the reproductive age, and are better provided with brain, producing annually but a single litter. Higher in rank are those producing singly — the series terminating with the elephant, who, in virtue of his nobler nervous system, and its accompanying reasoning powers, presents himself as least prolific of them all.

The general law of life, throughout all the classes, orders, genera, species, and individuals, may thus be stated:

The nervous system varies directly as the power to maintain life:

The degree of fertility varies inversely as the development of the nervous system — animals with larger brains being always the least, and those with smaller ones, the most prolific:

The power to maintain life, and that of procreation, antagonize each other — that antagonism tending perpetually towards the establishment of an equilibrium.

Chemical analysis, though less accurately and conclusively ascertained than might be wished, presents itself in aid of the views thus suggested — exhibiting to us the fact, that the sperm cells of the fecundating fluid, and the neurine, or essential portion of the cerebral substance, possess in common one element—unoxydized phosphorus—by which they are specially characterized and distinguished. Of this peculiar substance, no less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. enters into the solid contents of the brain of adults. In advanced age, it falls to $3\frac{3}{4}$; and in idiots, it is less than 3.

Here, however, as in the argument drawn from the relative size of the brain of the various races of the species, the evidence afforded by experience, and by physiological laws, is more conclusive than that obtained by examination of the structure. Nothing connected with this question is better known — nothing more fully recognised — than the general antagonism of the nervous and generative systems. Intense mental application, involving great waste of the nervous tissue, and corresponding consumption of the nervous element for its repair, is accompanied by a proportionately diminished production of sperm-cells — the excessive production of these latter being, in like manner, followed by defective cerebral energy. In the degree usually regarded as disease, the process is marked first by headache, followed by stupidity, leading to imbecility, and terminating in insanity.

How this antagonism of action affects the female system, is less clearly open to scientific examination, although it appears highly probable, that the provision of nervous matter, as well as of nutriment, to the embryo, limits the supply of nervous matter to the maternal system. So far as mere substance is concerned, this must have some force, wheresoever and whensoever it applies. It is, however, more probable, that the uterine function, beginning with puberty, and continuing until the commencement of old age, is the more efficient counteractive of cerebral force in the sex — the state of health, and eminently that of disease, furnishing strong evidence to this effect.

Further, there is abundant reason for believing, that certain kinds of nervous action are more efficient than others, in counteracting the activity and force of the instincts, and the functions which they serve, although the physiology of the brain is not, as yet, sufficiently advanced to render us adequate service here — neither its anatomy, nor its chemistry, yet answering to all the questions which social science puts to them. It being, however, satisfactorily established, that the various parts of the cerebral mass have different offices assigned to them, it is probable, even on this ground, that they have varied relations, both of assistance and of counter-balance, to the action of the viscera. The employment of the mind in passional, imaginative, scientific, moral, or devotional applications, has effects upon the propensities, that, as we know, are widely different. Some of them, cer-

tainly, minister to their growth, while others as decidedly counteract it. Experience here affords valuable instruction, not only for the conduct of life, but as furnishing important data for inquiry — all its teachings having an obvious bearing upon the question now before us.

The application of the several points that, as we think, have been secured, would seem to be as follows:

The human race being in a state of transition, we have all the reasons thus far offered, for believing that the existing ratio between its ability to multiply, and its power to maintain life, is not a constant quantity — the causal law being one, but its effects being modified by almost incessant changes in the conditions upon which it operates. In certain states of society, we find reproduction going ahead of the supply of food — admitting that we take, for the terms of the problem, the apparent for the true law, in accordance with the views of Mr. Malthus. In other conditions of society, as in the case of the North American Indians, no such disproportion existed, previously to the European immigration. Only in certain states of society, claiming to be held as civilized, does history give any color to the assumption opposed to our theory of balance and harmony — the preponderance of population in a country like Ireland being, however, well accounted for, as the necessary provision of a relatively redundant life, to meet the waste occasioned by societary and individual disorder. This, however, is not the normal condition of human existence — not the orderly result of the supreme law which rules in the constitution of things. It is the casual conformity of constitutional forces to accidental exigencies.

Looking, now, to the constant advancement, and ultimate perfection, of civilization, what is it we may expect from the operation of the self-adjusting law, whose existence we thus have sought to establish? All the facts of the past tend to prove, that mere muscular labor, unenlightened toil, accompanied by a general feeling of security, and unattended, therefore, by those cares which stimulate to action the nervous system of the savage, favors fertility, or permits it in the highest degree known to experience — that fertility being attended by great mortality. Civilization tending, however, towards the substitution of the natural forces for human labor, the life of the masses will not, in the future, be sub-

jected to the lowest forms of drudgery — the necessary result of this being, either that physical vigor will decline, and thus reduce fertility, or, that the diversion of energy from the muscular to the nervous system, will serve to diminish the ratio of procreation. Such result must be obtained, let the change of conditions be in whichsoever it may happen, of these directions. It is, however, to the latter of these changes, that we tend — amelioration in our societary condition being the consequence of those improvements which tend to enlarge the sphere of intellectual activity, and stimulate the nervous system. The more society tends to take its natural form, the more does mind mingle with muscle in the labor of producing and converting the commodities required for man's support—all these minglings tending, in happy proportion, towards diminution of fertility, and towards increase in the power for the maintenance of human life. Such being the case, we have here a self-acting law that, while explaining the past, foreshadows the future — enabling us to see it, in the distance, working its way steadily and progressively, towards the accomplishment of ends whose beneficence is in perfect harmony with our ideas of the supreme wisdom, justice, and mercy, of the great Being by whom the laws were made.

Will the assumed progress be in intelligence generally — in all the forms of mental acquirement which most decidedly direct the vital energy from the generative to the nervous structure? The general advancement of mind — the multiplication of the means of culture — the improvement of educational agencies, which levels instruction towards both the mental and pecuniary abilities of the masses — the great enlargement of intellectual commerce resulting from a growing diversity as the demand for human services — the increased facility of intercourse with distant men, whether in person or by correspondence — and thousands of other changes that could be named, point, all, in this direction.

Will it be in individual morals and social justice? Real enlightenment, resulting from the causes above described — from the development of a scientific agriculture, and consequent increase of power to command the service of the earth and all its parts — from the growing power of association and combination — must, of its own proper force, increase its growth in this direction. The more that growth, the greater must be the tendency towards that

prudential self-government, and towards that physical change in the appetencies and powers of the system, required for the establishment of a perfect harmony between the growth of human life and that of the raw materials of food and clothing needed for its maintenance. Factitious civilization, attended by consolidation of the land — decline of agriculture — diminution of the power to command the services of the great natural forces, and growing power in the soldier and the trader to control the societary movement — must as certainly promote a growth in the reverse direction. The more that growth, the greater must be the tendency towards a reckless disregard of the duties and responsibilities of life — the greater must be the development of the mere sensual powers at the expense of the intellectual — the greater must be the discord between the increase of human life and that of the materials required for life's support — and the stronger must become the belief in the doctrine of over-population. Seeking for proof of this last, we need but look to all the countries that follow Britain in the effort to substitute trade for commerce — the highest evidence being found in Britain herself. Looking for proof of the former, we shall find it in every country that adopts the ideas of Colbert — preferring the establishment of commerce to augmentation of the power of trade.

That men of great mental activity are generally unprolific, has frequently been remarked, and there will not, probably, be a single reader of this volume who cannot find around him evidence of the truth of the proposition. Occasionally, it becomes possible to trace the movements, in this respect, of large bodies of men, and whenever it is so, we meet with facts tending to the establishment of the idea that extinction of families follows closely upon high development of the mental faculties.

Twenty years since, the number of British peers was 394, of whom no less than 272 were the result of creations subsequent to 1760. From 1611 to 1819, no less than 753 baronetcies had become extinct; and yet, the total number created had been less than 1400. Facts precisely similar to these are found on looking to the noble families of Europe generally — "Amelot," as we are told by Addison, "having reckoned that in his time 2500 nobles who had voices in the council," whereas, there were not, at the time he wrote, more than 1500, "notwithstanding the admission

of many new families since that time. It is very strange," as he continues, "that with this advantage, they are not able to keep up their number, considering that the nobility spread through all the brothers, and that so very few are destroyed in the wars of the republic."

So, too, is it, when we turn to ancient Rome — Tacitus telling us, that "about the same time Claudius enrolled in the Patrician order, such of the ancient senators as stood recommended by their illustrious birth, and the merits of their ancestors. The line of these families, which were styled by Romulus, 'the first class of nobility,' was almost extinct. Even those of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæsar, by the Cassian law, and under Augustus, by the Sænian, were well nigh exhausted."

Coming to more recent times, we find that of the 15 occupants of the Presidential chair in this country, seven have been entirely childless, while the total number of their children has been but little more than 20. Looking abroad, the same great fact meets us almost everywhere — Napoleon, Wellington, the Foxes, Pitts, and other distinguished men, not having, as a rule, left behind them the children required to fill the void created by their decease. How it has been with Chaptal, Fourcroy, Berzelius, Berthollet, Davy, and the thousand other distinguished names, scientific, literary, and military, that have flashed before the public eye since the days of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, we have no means of knowing with any certainty; but the little that we have learned in regard to them, has led to the conclusion that, could the whole be ascertained, it would be found that the existing representatives of such men do not number more than half as many as they did themselves.

That mental activity, of whatsoever kind, is unfavorable to reproduction, will be found equally true, whether we examine the records of political, military, or trading life. In proof of this, we may take the following facts cited by Mr. Malthus, in regard to the city of Berne: —

"In the town of Berne, from the year 1583 to 1654, the sovereign council had admitted into the Bourgeoisie 487 families, of which 379 became extinct in the space of two centuries, and in 1783 only 108 of them remained. During the hundred years from 1684 to 1784, 207 Bernoise families became extinct. From 1624

to 1712, the Bourgeoisie was given to 80 families. In 1623, the sovereign council united the members of 112 different families, of which 58 only remain." *

Many other facts similar to these, in relation to the freemen of various towns and cities of England, are given in a recent work on population † — the whole tending to prove that the excitement of trade is as unfavorable to procreation as is that of science, or of politics.

Look where we may, we shall find evidence that the reproductive power in man, is no more a constant quantity than is any other of his powers. It may be stimulated into excessive activity by such a course of action as tends to reduce him to the condition of a mere animal — annihilating the feeling of pride in himself, and of responsibility for his actions to his fellow-men, or to his Creator. It diminishes as his various faculties are more and more stimulated into action — as employments become diversified — as the societary action becomes more rapid — as land becomes divided — and as he himself becomes more free. Such, we believe, is the self-adjusting law of population.

§ 9. Is it possible, it may be asked, that changes in the moral and physical man, like those to which we have referred, can have effects so great? Can it be, that the question whether population shall grow with the rapidity exhibited in Ireland, or decline as we see it do among those whose pursuits make large demands upon

* MALTHUS: *Principle of Population*, vol. ii. ch. 5.

† DOUBLEDAY: *The True Law of Population*, London, 1846. The idea of Mr. Doubleday is, that it is in plethora, resulting from large consumption of animal food, we are to find the true corrective of man's natural tendency towards excessive procreation. In proof of this, the case of Russia is adduced — "butcher's meat" being there, as we are told, "a drug," "vegetable food a luxury," and population limited. Admitting such to be the law, American population should increase but very slowly — there being no civilized country in which animal food bears so large a proportion to the whole consumption. Further, we are told of the decay of English numbers, in the 15th and 16th centuries, as a consequence of the excessive abundance of rich and nourishing food at the laborer's command. How far this view is in accordance with the facts, may be seen by reference to page 34 of the present volume. Were such really the law, man's case would be utterly hopeless — increase in the number of men being followed, necessarily, by diminution in the quantity of the lower animals, and by increase in the necessity for depending upon vegetable food — that food whose use tends most, as we here are told, towards stimulation of sexual intercourse, and the production, throughout the world, of the state of things which now exists in Ireland.

their intellectual powers, can be so largely dependent for its solution upon the proportion of vital force expended by the brain on one side, and the genital organs on the other? In answer, it may be said, that when nature works most effectually, she works most quietly — the amount of power momently exhibited in pumping up the waters of the ocean, being greater than would be needed for the production of a series of the severest thunder-storms. It is, too, when she works most slowly, that she works most beneficially, as when she sends the morning dew, or the refreshing summer shower. When she would inflict punishment upon man, she works with great rapidity — sending the hail-storm, or the volcano. Desiring to create an island, eventually to become, perhaps, the nucleus of a continent, she employs an insect invisible to the naked eye; but when she seeks merely to batter city walls, she sends an earthquake.

So, however, is it everywhere, in the social as well as the physical world — improvemnt in the condition of the human race having resulted from the labors of the millions of little men who have toiled in the fields or factories — men whose labors have been so quiet as almost to have escaped the notice of historians, who gladly chronicle the movements of invading armies, and exhaust their stores of language in the expression of admiration for an Alexander, a Cæsar, or a Napoleon. The coral insect and the earth-worm aid in making changes that are permanent. The elephant leaves behind him no record of his existence. The trader slowly and quietly abstracts the cement that holds the social edifice together — the mass then falling to ruin, as we see to have been the case in Ireland and India. The soldier comes with drums and trumpets — wasting and destroying the land, as has been so often done in Belgium, and in Germany. Scarcely has he disappeared, however, before the human ants are again at work, restoring the houses and the lands, and effacing every evidence that the latter had been pressed by an invading foot. The magnitude and permanence of the work performed, being everywhere else in the inverse ratio of the apparent efficacy of the machinery that is used; and the beneficence of the Deity being always greatest when the directing hand is most unseen, we may rest assured that such must certainly be the case in reference to that great question, upon

whose solution depends the future poverty and slavery, or wealth and freedom, of the human race.

Of all this, however, the uninstructed man sees nothing. To him, as has been already said, the occasional water-spout furnishes evidence of nature's power, far more conclusive than that which presents itself in the form of the daily dew deposit. So has it been, and so is it even yet, with the teachers of the Ricardo-Malthusian school — wars, famines, plagues, and pestilences, being by them regarded as necessary to maintain the social order, and correct the one great error of the great Creator — the great Architect having, however, already made provision against the occurrence of any error, by the simple process of establishing in the human system a phosphoric bank, and dividing between the brain and the sexual organs the power to make their drafts upon it.*

Security against the disease of over-population is to be found in the development of the real MAN, as distinguished from the human animal treated of in Ricardo-Malthusian books — a being that eats, drinks, and procreates, and has but the form of man.† How is that development to be accomplished? By facilitating the gratification of man's natural desire for association and combination. That there may be combination, there must be differences. These differences come with diversity in the demand for human powers — one man being best fitted to become a farmer, another a carpenter, a third an engineer, a fourth a mathematician, a fifth a trader, and a sixth a statesman. The more their various faculties are developed, the greater will be their power of combination, the stronger will be the feeling of responsibility, and the greater the power of further progress. For proof of this,

* "When the encephalon [contents of the cranium] is fresh, it has a faint spermatic, and somewhat tenacious, smell. This, according to M. Chaussier, has persisted for years, in brains that have been dried."—DUNGLISON: *Human Physiology*, vol. i., p. 101.

† In its natural state, a rose has but five petals. Cultivating the plant carefully, it becomes far more vigorous and beautiful — the stamens, which are the organs of reproduction, then becoming converted into petals. Transferring to a niggardly soil a seed from this same plant, we obtain a feeble, sickly flower, but the stamens are now restored, and in their highest perfection. So is it, throughout the vegetable world — high development and the power of reproduction being in the inverse ratio of each other. So, too, is it in animal life — racing mares being frequently prepared for conception by diminishing the supply of food, and sometimes, even, by exposing them to injurious treatment.

we need only look to France of the present as compared with France of the past, and to all the countries of central and northern Europe, now following in her lead—pursuing the course advocated by Colbert, as a means of obtaining exemption from that oppressive tax of transportation, whose ruinous effects were so well exhibited by Adam Smith. In all of them, the power of combination is growing; the real man is becoming more fully developed; and the dread of over-population is passing away, as the ratio borne by food to population steadily increases, and as life becomes more and more prolonged.

Turning now to those countries which follow in the lead of England, Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, Jamaica, India, and others, we find the reverse of this — the power of combination steadily declining — the real MAN gradually disappearing — and the difficulty of obtaining supplies of food increasing from year to year. Looking next to England herself, the centre of the system, we find a daily growth of the class of middlemen, attended by gradual disappearance of the agricultural population; and a growing necessity for emigration, accompanied by decline in morals, in the duration of life, and in the power to command sufficient supplies of food and clothing.

Coming, lastly, to the United States, we learn the facts, that their several free trade periods have resulted in large increase of pauperism, and other evidences of over-population—these phenomena having invariably disappeared almost from the moment that protection had been re-established.*

"Instinct," as we are told, "proves a safe guide to mankind, long before the acquired power of science steps in to counteract its convictions"— and that such is the case is certainly true. In common with the lower animals, men have instincts, which have led them, in the past, to desire that increase in the power of association which results from increase of numbers, and diversification in their pursuits. Modern political economy, however, teaches the reverse of this — the school which gave us the doctrine of over-population, being the same with that which now teaches the advantage to be derived from limiting all the nations of the world, outside of Britain, to the cultivation of the soil!

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 438

§ 10. All the phenomena exhibited throughout the world, may be cited in proof of the following propositions:

That in the social, as in the physical world, harmony is maintained by means of an equal balance of the centripetal and centrifugal forces—local centres of attraction counteracting the great central power:

That the nearer the consumer to the producer, and the greater the attraction of local centres, the greater must be the intensity of both these forces; the more rapid must be the societary circulation; the greater must be the development of the real MAN; the greater the power applied to developing the vast treasures of the earth; the larger the quantity of food and other raw materials obtainable in return to any given quantity of labor; and the greater the tendency towards perfect harmony in the demands upon the earth for food, and in the power of the earth to meet the drafts that are made upon her.*

* For much valuable information in reference to the power of reproduction, see an article, entitled "A Theory of Population," in the *Westminster Review*, for April, 1852. Believing in the existence of a self-adjusting law, regulating the demand for, and the supply of, food, the author of this paper finds it in "a constant pressure of population upon the means of subsistence"— the exertion thereby induced, being, as he thinks, "the proximate cause of progress." To that, as he assures his readers, we owe all the improvement that has been made, and will owe all that shall be made, until "after having caused, as it ultimately must, the due peopling of the globe, and the bringing of all its habitable parts into a state of culture — after having brought all processes for the satisfaction of human wants to the greatest perfection — after having, at the same time, developed the intellect into complete competency for its work, and the feelings into complete fitness for social life — after having done all this, we see that the pressure of population, as it gradually finishes its work, must gradually bring itself to an end." On the contrary, poverty and want having been the inseparable companions of progress, and having furnished the motive power, the closing scenes of the journey should, as it appears to us, exhibit them as more abounding than at any previous period.

Looking around us, we see that poverty and want are everywhere depressing, not stimulating. Have they ever been otherwise? The pages of history furnish assurance that they have not.—Whence, then, has come the stimulus? *From growing wealth and power — manifesting themselves in higher wages, and increased development of the human faculties.* Examine history, or study the present movement, where we may, we find that, as man becomes more master of nature, and master of himself, the tendency towards improvement becomes more and more accelerated. Were the causes of such improvement to be found in deficiency of food, it would be to Ireland and India we should look for it, and not to Britain, Central Europe, or these United States. The Malthusian theory being that of growing slavery and discord, all attempts at making it harmonize with the ideas of progress must result in failure.

CHAPTER XLVII.

OF FOOD AND POPULATION.

§ 1. THAT man may increase, there must be increase in the supply of food. That the latter may increase, mankind must grow in numbers — it being only by means of the growing power of association and combination, that man is enabled to control and direct the earth's forces, and to pass from the condition of nature's slave, to that of nature's master. Population makes the food come from the richer soils, with constant increase in the return to labor; whereas, depopulation drives men back to the poorer ones, with constant decline in the ability to obtain the necessary supplies of food and clothing.

Crusoe, at first dependent entirely on his powers of appropriation, could obtain no food but that which nature was content to offer. In time, however, acquiring a slight degree of power, he was enabled to compel her to labor for him — the supply of food then becoming much more regular — he himself becoming more independent of changes of the weather — and the demand upon his powers being much diminished. The wild man of the prairies, on the contrary, finds the supply of buffaloes and prairie dogs decline from year to year, with constant increase in the necessity for exertion, and as constant diminution in the supplies of food. The trapper needs no less than eight pounds of meat per day, yet the poor savage often finds, at the close of days expended in the chase, that he has scarcely obtained as much as he would desire for even a single one. Even when successful, he finds a growing difficulty of transportation — the distance between his lodge and the place at which he finds his food, tending steadily to increase. Gorging himself for the moment, he leaves for the crows and wolves, the larger portion of the product of his labors. Gluttony and starvation go, thus, hand in hand together, throughout that portion of societary history, in which man is found existing

as the slave of nature. Famines and pestilences, too, alternate with one another—the result being found in the fact, that numbers increase but slowly, even where population does not tend entirely to disappear, as is the case throughout the territories of the West.*

In the shepherd state, supplies become more regular — the evidence of growing human power then exhibiting itself in a diminution in the supply of food required for meeting the daily waste, and in the growing reproductive force of the animals that man has tamed — the power of procreation being here, as every where, a very variable quantity. "Creatures which, being wild, generate seldom, being tame," says Lord Bacon, "generate often"—proof of this being furnished by the hog, the duck, and other domesticated animals.† Milk, butter, and meat, are now regularly supplied by animals that are as regularly tended—the utility of matter gradually increasing — the value of food declining — and man becoming more happy and more free.

In time, however, machinery is obtained, by means of which the earth is compelled to give forth those products which can be used for human food, without being first converted into meat — the rude agriculture of early days then making its appearance among the poorer soils of the hills, and oats, rye, or even wheat, being cultivated. The instruments, however, being very poor,‡ the yield, under the most favorable circumstances, is very small, while liable to great reduction from changes of the weather, against which the wretched cultivator is too poor to protect himself. Irregularity of supply is, therefore, the charac-

* How slowly, under even the most favorable circumstances, the American aborigines tended to increase, is shown in the fact, that at the date of the first visit of Europeans to the country of the Five Nations which constituted the *League of the Iroquois*, they numbered but 25,000 persons. Nevertheless, there was no portion of the country now included in the United States, more capable of being rendered available to human purposes than was that which was open to their use.

† "In domesticated animals we find the effect of their fecundity to be, that we can always command numbers: we can always have as many of any particular species as we please, or as we can support."—PALEY: *Natural Theology*.

‡ In Italy, even yet, a man may be seen breaking up his land by the help of a pair of cows, attached to the root of a tree, which is made to serve for a plough — he himself being dressed in a skin, from which the hair has not been taken. In some parts of our slave States, the machinery of cultivation is little better.

teristic of the period — grain being greatly in excess of the demand at one time, or in one place, and famine decimating the population at others.* Progress, nevertheless, has been made — a pound of flour, made from either rye or wheat, furnishing a larger amount of nutritive matter than is contained in thrice as many pounds of beef or pork, even when free from bone. Wretched as is the agriculture, and trivial as is the yield, a single acre appropriated to the production of food that can be applied *directly* to man's support, furnishes more nutriment than had been obtained from half a dozen, appropriated to the production of commodities whose conversion into food for man, had required the previous services of the *middleman* ox.

More power is now obtained — each and every step of man's progress being but the preparation for a new and greater one. Richer soils being cultivated, the return to labor steadily increases —the six bushels to the acre, of the earlier period, being replaced by the thirty bushels of the later one. Improved machinery of conversion, too, economizes various portions of the product, that had at first been wasted. Cultivation becoming more and more productive, the pea, the bean, the cabbage, the turnip, and the potato, of which the earth yields by tons — all of which, too, may be applied directly to man's support — take the place of wheat, of which the yield is counted by bushels, and of grass that must be changed in form to fit it for human food; every step in that direction being attended by an increase in the number of persons who can draw support from any given surface, and by growth in the power of combination for obtaining the means of further progress.† Each half acre thus cultivated yields more food

* The price of corn in England, in 1499, was 4*s.* a quarter. In 1521, it was 20*s.* In 1557, it rose as high as 53*s.* 4*d.* — then falling, in 1558, to 8*s.* In 1562, it was 8*s.*, and in 1574, 56*s.* In 1597, it was £5, and in 1601, 34*s.* 10*d.* Very similar to these are the changes even now observed in Russia, America, and other countries that are still dependent upon foreign markets. In Spain, prices vary to the extent of 150 per cent., at a distance of only 300 miles.—See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 122.

† "If we admit — what there seems little reason for doubting — that an average of six pounds of animal food a day would be necessary for each individual, on an *exclusively flesh-diet*, then, since an acre of land employed in feeding cattle only produces eight or ten ounces of flesh per day, it would require ten or twelve acres to support each person for a year; whereas, one acre of wheat would supply three persons, and (according to Curwen) one acre of potatoes would serve at least nine persons with sufficient food for the

than can be obtained from a thousand acres, when roamed over by the poor and wretched savage of the prairies of the west.

Gradual improvement in the machinery instituted by the Creator for proportioning the supply of food to the demand of a constantly-growing population, here exhibits itself in the facts:—

That the waste of human powers in the search for food, and the quantity of food required to supply that waste, are constantly decreasing quantities; that man is gradually substituting vegetable for animal food; that the quantity of food produced increases in the direct ratio of that substitution; that the various utilities of the things produced become more and more developed; that human effort is daily more economized; and that with every stage of progress, there is an increase of power for directing and controlling the forces of nature — manifesting itself in the clearing, drainage, and cultivation of soils, whose very wealth had rendered them inaccessible to the early cultivator.

§ 2. What, however, is the effect of this substitution of vegetable for animal food? The answer to this question is found in the fact, that rapacious animals — the shark and the lion, the tiger and the bear — increase but slowly, even when at all; whereas, American Pampas afford conclusive proof of the rapidity with which the ox and the horse, consumers of vegetable food, may be increased. So, too, is it with man — the rapacious savage, a prey to hunger on one day, and a glutton on the next, being little capable of reproduction, when compared with the civilized man, whose dependence on the vegetable kingdom is large, even where not exclusive.*

same space of time; so that a diet of potatoes and fruit would support one hundred times the number of inhabitants that could be maintained on an *exclusively flesh-diet*. 'At London prices,' says Dr. Lyon Playfair, 'a man can lay a pound of flesh on his body with milk at three shillings and ninepence; with potatoes, carrots, and butcher's meat, free from bone and fat, at two shillings; with oatmeal, at one shilling and tenpence; with bread, flour, and barley-meal, at one shilling and twopence; and with beans and peas, at less than sixpence.'"—*Fruits and Farinacea*, pp. 288, 289.

* "Fruits, roots, and the succulent parts of vegetables, appear to be the natural food of man: his hands afford him a facility in gathering them; and his short and comparatively weak jaws, his short canine teeth not passing beyond the common line of the others, and his tuberculous teeth, not permitting him either to feed on herbage or devour flesh, unless those aliments be previously prepared by the culinary processes." — CUVIER.

"It may indeed be doubted whether butcher's meat is anywhere a necessary of life. Grain, and other vegetables, with the help of milk, cheese, and

The more direct the action of man upon nature, the less is the necessity for animal food, and the less is the friction, but the greater is his power to please his appetite. The more he is enabled to subdue the richer soils to cultivation, the greater is the tendency towards placing sheep upon the poorer lands, and thus insuring a full supply of mutton. The larger the yield of turnips and potatoes, the greater is his ability to obtain efficient machinery for taking the cod, the shad, and the herring. The more perfect the power of association, the more is he enabled to cultivate the oyster, and to people the ponds and rivers with fish — each and every stage of progress in that direction giving increase of regularity in the supply of food, while tending to develop the various individualities of the man who is thus engaged in placing himself in the position of master of nature, master of his passions, and master of himself.

§ 3. Is it, however, in relation to food alone, that we observe this tendency to the substitution of the vegetable for the animal world? It is not—the same tendency being everywhere observable, and constituting one of the strongest evidences of advancing civilization. Wool is superseded by the cotton plant, of which a single acre furnishes a greater number of pounds than could be obtained from a hundred employed in raising sheep. Flax and cotton tend to supersede the silk-worm, as furnisher of clothing, while vegetable oils gradually diminish the necessity for those obtained in return to labor employed in the pursuit of the whale, or in the cultivation of the hog. Gutta percha and bookbinders' muslin take the place of leather. Caoutchouc tends to lessen the demand for both hides and wool — paper, meanwhile, furnishing a cheap substitute for parchment.

So, too, is it with the mineral kingdom — the steel pen superseding the goose's quill — mineral manures superseding animal excrement — and the horse of iron rapidly taking the place of the one composed of muscle, bone, and sinew. Each and every increase of power for developing the mineral treasures of the earth tends, in turn, towards increase in the number of local centres of

butter, or oil (where butter is not to be had), it is known from experience can, without any butcher's meat, afford the most plentiful, the most wholesome, the most nourishing, and the most invigorating diet. — SMITH: *Wealth of Nations.*

action — towards the growth of commerce — towards decline in the tax of trade and transportation — towards increase in the facility of obtaining improved machinery — and towards increased rapidity in the societary circulation; with constant increase in the proportion of the powers of the society, that may be given to augmentation in the supplies of the raw materials of clothing and of food.*

This, however, is not all. The better his clothing, the less is the waste of his body, and the less his need for food.† The more perfect the machinery of transportation, the less is his need for clothing — travelling in the railroad car involving less expenditure of animal heat than that performed on the horse's back. The nearer the place of consumption to that of production, the less is the demand for soldiers, sailors, and wagoners, always large consumers of stimulating food. The more perfect the power of association, the less is the necessity for going from home, and the less is the need for either food or clothing — the attractive

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 22.

† "To economize the wasteful consumption of fuel in locomotive engines, which would occur from the rapid diminution of excitation if exposed naked to the cold blasts of wintry weather, the bodies of the boilers are carefully covered with non-conducting casings of wood. In like manner to economize the wasteful consumption of food in animals, which would occur from the rapid diminution of excitation if left exposed naked in the polar regions, they are naturally covered with the most perfect non-conducting coats of fur and down. And still further to economize the combustion of the limited provision of carbon and hydrogen treasured up in their bodies in the form of fat, to be burnt as fuel in their lungs, they are so constituted as to pass the long cold winters in a motionless torpid state, thus manifestly avoiding all waste of fuel necessary to sustain motion, for the purpose of reserving the whole effective power of it for sustaining the electro-dynamic excitation necessary to prevent the freezing of their bodies.

"And, finally, as if to carry out to perfection the practical application of electro-dynamic science, the dark colors of the external coverings of animal bodies in the polar regions become changed to a *white color*, which, it is well known, diminishes the radiation of heat.

"Motives of self-interest, as well as of humanity, thus dictate to farmers and others, who have charge of brute animals, designed either for labor or for the shambles, to provide for them comfortable shelters from inclement wintry storms, in order to save the unavailable waste of the portion of their food, which otherwise becomes necessarily burnt in their lungs to sustain the due temperature of their bodies. By careful attention to this subject, it is practicable to reorganize into the useful formations of fat and muscles of animals designed for the shambles, or availably to employ as a source of motive power, the greater part of the quickening harvests of vegetable organic formations of food, which are annually produced by the excitation of the sun on each acre of land." — ALLEN: *Philosophy of the Mechanics of Nature*, p. 742.

and counter-attractive forces thus exhibiting themselves, here as everywhere, constantly increasing in their intensity, as the societary circulation becomes more rapid.* Look, therefore, where we may, we find, throughout nature, a constant tendency towards the perfect adaptation of the earth to the wants of a growing population — each and every increase in the power of association and combination being accompanied by *diminution in the quantity of raw material required* for the maintenance of human life, and *increase in that which may be obtained* in return to any given amount of labor. Man grows in value with every stage of progress in this direction, and with each, the value of commodities as regularly declines. With each there is increase of competition for the purchase of the laborer's services—labor then acquiring power over capital, and man himself becoming more happy and more free.

§ 4. With increase in the numbers of mankind, the lower animals tend to diminish in their numbers, and gradually to disappear — vegetable products tending, as steadily, to increase in quantity. Were it otherwise, the earth would become less and less fitted for man's residence — carbonic acid being more and more produced, and the air declining in its powers for the maintenance of human life. Increase of vegetable life tends, on the contrary, to promote the decomposition of that acid — thereby increasing the supply of the oxygen required for maintenance of animal life, while diminution in the consumption of animal food is attended by decrease in the quantity of oxygen required for human purposes.†

To the equal balance of opposing forces is due, throughout nature, the maintenance of the perfect harmony that is every where else observed, and such is here the case. The extension of cultivation is indispensable to increase in the supply of food. That extension involves, of course, a gradual extirpation of animal races that now consume so largely of the products of the earth, and were they not to be replaced by men, the production of carbonic acid would speedily diminish, with corresponding diminution in the reproductive powers of the vegetable world. The more numerous the men and women, the greater is the store

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 269. † See *ante*, vol. i., p. 78.

of force required for the production of vegetable matter, the more rapid is the circulation, the greater is the production of carbonic acid, and the greater the power for vegetable reproduction. The more complete the power of association, the more perfect becomes the cultivation — the greater is the development of the powers of the land — and the more admirably does the beauty of all natural arrangements exhibit itself, in the perfect adjustment of all the parts and portions of the wonderful system of which we are a part.

Nevertheless, although the annual product of a single acre of land, employed in raising wheat, is capable of sustaining "animal warmth, and animal motive-power, in a vigorous man, during a period of more than two and a half years,"* and although such a man is capable of cultivating many acres, we can look in no direction without seeing that men are suffering for want of food. So, too, it is with regard to the supply of fuel, and of the materials of clothing, as well as houses, and all other of the commodities required for the maintenance of human health and life. The questions, therefore, naturally arise — Why is not more food produced? Why is the supply of cotton and wool so small? Why is not more clothing made? Why is not more coal mined? Why are not more houses built? — The reply to these questions may now be given.

§ 5. The nearer the place of production to that of consumption, and the closer the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products, the smaller will be the proportion of time and mind required for the labors of trade and transportation; the larger will be that which may be given to developing the powers of the earth; the greater will be the ability to maintain the powers of the land; the larger will be the return to labor; the greater *must be* the tendency towards increase in the power to obtain sufficient supplies of food, clothing, and fuel; and the greater the power to command the use of houses, mills, farms, and machinery of every description, the use of which may be desired.

For proof that such are the facts, we need but look to the Moorish Empire in Spain; to the Netherlands of the days of the

* ALLEN: *Philosophy of the Mechanics of Nature*, p. 736.

Burgundian princes, and thence to the present time; to France of the present, and to all the countries now following in her lead, in maintaining the policy initiated by Colbert. In all of these, agriculture tends to become more a science, with constant increase in the yield of the land — in the development of human powers—in the rapidity of circulation—in the power to maintain commerce at home and abroad — in the creation of local centres of action — and in the freedom and power of man. For further proof, we need but look to Ireland, India, Jamaica, Turkey, and Portugal — countries that follow in the lead of England — all of them pursuing a policy that widens the distance between the consumer and the producer, and all finding its effects in the decay of agriculture — in the exhaustion of the soil — in the decline of human intellect—in the sluggishness of the societary movement—in the centralization of power — and in the growing subjection of those who labor to produce, to the direction of those who perform the works of trade and transportation.—In the first of these, the over-population theory finds less and less support with each succeeding day. In the last, we find "population always pressing upon subsistence," and requiring the aid of famine and pestilence for maintenance of the equilibrium—the doctrines of Mr. Malthus being merely *descriptive* of the state of things that has arisen in every country of the world that has been subjected to that British policy, so warmly denounced by Adam Smith, which has for its object the centralization, on a single spot of earth, of all the machinery of conversion for the world.

§ 6. Turning now to the United States, we find a country whose general policy — being that which is taught in the schools of England—looks to dispersion of the population, to the annihilation of the power of combination, to the exhaustion of the soil, and to increased subjection of the farmer to the risks attendant upon cultivation — the consequences being seen in the facts, that agriculture becomes less and less a science; that the yield of the land decreases; that the wheat culture is gradually receding towards the West; and that the power to maintain commerce with the world steadily declines. Comparing now the periods of protection, brief as they have been, with the longer free trade ones, we obtain new evidence of the great facts, that agriculture always

follows manufactures, and that the country which seeks to increase the supply of raw materials, *must* look to increase of the machinery of conversion for the power so to do. At no time has the supply of food been more complete, than in the closing years of the protective period which terminated in 1834. Nevertheless, under the free trade system, food became, a few years later, so very scarce, as to require its importation from foreign countries. Under the tariff of 1842, the increase became so great, that the supplies of 1847 exceeded, by more than 40 per cent., those of 1840, as here is shown.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Buckwheat.	Indian Corn.	Totals.
1840 ...	84,823,000	4,161,000	123,071,000	18,645,000	7,291,000	377,531,000	615,522,000
1847 ...	114,245,000	5,649,000	167,867,000	29,222,000	11,073,000	539,350,000	867,826,000
Inc.,...	29,422,000	1,488,000	44,796,000	10,577,000	4,382,000	161,819,000	252,304,000

Nevertheless, the product of iron had increased, in that brief period, no less than 600,000 tons, and the consumption of cotton had fully doubled. Since then, the contrary course has been produced — its effects now exhibiting themselves in the facts, that the production of iron is smaller than it was ten years since — that the domestic consumption of cotton has diminished — and that there is little surplus of food with which to purchase abroad either cloth or iron. All the phenomena of American history tend to prove, that the more the people are limited to the labors of the field, the less food they have to spare, and the lower are the prices; whereas, the more they are permitted to diversify their employments, the larger is the return to the work of cultivation, and the greater is the tendency towards a rise of prices. In the one case, we see them gradually, but certainly, receding towards the position occupied by England a century since, and in the other, as regularly advancing towards that now occupied by Germany and France.*

* "You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture — and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun. Your inattention to your only source of wealth has seared the bosom of mother earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have had to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a single beefsteak. The present condition of things has existed too long in Virginia. The landlord has skinned the tenant, and the tenant has skinned the land, until all have grown poor together!"—Gov. Wise: *Address to the People of Virginia.*

§ 7. Coming now to England, we find a country whose people are becoming, with each succeeding year, more dependent upon distant lands for supplies of rude products of the earth — while gradually exhausting each and all of those from which supplies have thus far been derived. Ireland can now do little more than feed herself. Portugal and Turkey are almost blotted from the list of nations. India produces less and less with each succeeding year. Jamaica and Demarara have wholly lost the importance they once possessed.* The work of destruction is proceeding rapidly in Brazil.† Virginia and Carolina decline from year to year. Wheat and tobacco, as objects of cultivation, are steadily passing westward, and leaving the older Atlantic States. The cotton-growing region of America, of half a century since, is now exhausted, while that of a later period is rapidly following in its train, and furnishing proof that the close of the present century must witness the near exhaustion of the American field of cotton cultivation.‡ Look at it where we may, "thorns and thistles, ill-favored and poisonous plants," mark the track of the British trader throughout the earth — such being the necessary result of a system which looks to giving to trade the mastery over commerce, and thus augmenting the exhausting tax of transportation. "Before him lay original nature in her wild and sublime beauty," but "behind him he leaves the desert, a ruined and deformed land"—"childish desire of destruction, and a thoughtless squandering of vegetable treasures," having "destroyed the character of nature." "The emigrant," says a distinguished German, "rolls with fearful rapidity from East to West through America, and

The labor of the United States now being wasted for want of that power of combination which results from diversification in the modes of employment, would be cheaply paid for at $10,000,000 a day, or $3,000,000,000 a year. The destructive effects of the dispersive system now in progress, upon the agricultural interest, now (1858,) exhibits itself in the general destruction of crops — oats, corn, wheat, and hay, having failed throughout a large portion of the Union. When men come near together, they become masters of nature; when they separate, they become again her slaves — *scientific agriculture always following in the wake of manufactures, and never preceding them.*

* Thirty years since, Demarara exported annually more than 8,000,000 pounds of cotton, but it has ceased to be cultivated, and the best cotton land may now be purchased at fifty cents an acre. The plant is there a tree — requiring very little labor after it has once been grown. Kept well trimmed, it will continue bearing for half a century.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 229. ‡ See *ante*, vol. ii., pp. 198, 242.

the planter now leaves the already exhausted land," seeking "to produce a similar revolution in the West." *

The policy being thus exhaustive, its effects upon the people to whom the world is debtor for it, exhibit themselves in a perpetual effort fraudulently to increase the apparent quantities, even at the cost of health and life — almost everything that is eaten being more or less adulterated. Vinegar is water, made pungent with sulphuric acid. Tea is mixed with gypsum and the poisonous Prussian blue. Coffee is made of chicory—the chicory itself being charred with ground bullock's liver. Pepper is debased with linseed cakes. Sausages are made of meat that is diseased, while red lead forms the chief ingredient of curry powder — the miller and the baker, meanwhile, adulterating the bread. Verdigris poisons the pickles and preserves. Vermillion — itself adulterated with red lead — colors the cheese. Little, therefore, as the laborer is enabled to purchase of these commodities, that little is rendered less, and often destructive, by the intermixture of substances incapable of affording nourishment — great as is their power for producing disease, to be followed by death.

Turning from food to clothing, we meet, in all directions, frauds of the same description — the poor laborer finding his shirts to be largely composed of starch, while shoddy and cotton waste furnish the constituents of his woollen coat. So, too, is it with iron —the refuse of past ages being now used for furnishing the various nations of the world with material for steam-boilers, and railroad bars, of a character so inferior as to be largely destructive of life, and wholly destructive of the hopes of those who have found themselves compelled to use such iron. †

Why, now, is it that such things are needed? Why is it, that with a world as yet almost unoccupied, men should suffer, even

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 84.

† "At some of these works to which we have had our attention drawn, we regret to find that boiler-plates are being turned out in rather large quantities. We tremble at the consequences that may ensue when these plates are submitted to the work to which many boilers, both in our own country and in America, are now not unfrequently subjected.

"Boiler-makers ought to be aware that it is impossible to get a good plate at the prices at which some are being now supplied to them. The rage for low-priced iron occasions the gravest apprehensions in our minds, and we would desire to raise a loud note of warning against it. The safety or peril of hundreds of lives often depends upon the excellency or inferiority of a foot of iron."—*Engineer*, London, July, 1858.

where they do not perish for want of food, clothing, and fuel? Why are not more houses built? Why is not more fuel mined? Why is not more food produced? The answer to these questions is found in the simple propositions—that production increases with the approximation of the prices of rude products and finished commodities, which always follows the near approach of the consumer to the producer; that it diminishes with their recession from each other; and that the latter is the tendency in all the countries which follow in the lead of England — embracing, as they do, nearly all the world, except the few in northern and central Europe to which we have referred. In all these latter, the supply of food goes in advance of the demands of a growing population. In the others, we find the phenomena required for maintaining the Malthusian doctrine of over-population — the tendency in all of them being in the direction of centralization, slavery, and death.

§ 8. The simple and beautiful laws by the action of which the supply of food and other raw materials is adjusted to meet the wants, and gratify the tastes, of an increasing population, would seem, now, to be contained in the following propositions: —

That in the infancy of society, men — being few in number, poor and weak — are little capable of making demands upon nature, who, therefore, gives them small and uncertain supplies of food:

That as numbers grow, they are enabled to combine together— thus obtaining a large increase of force:

That the more perfect the facility of association, the greater is their power to make demands upon nature's treasury; the greater is the certainty that their drafts will be paid; and the greater the quantity of food and other raw materials obtained in return to any given quantity of labor:

That the larger the supplies yielded by the earth, the greater becomes the ability to utilize the various portions of the commodities obtained — the power of accumulation thus increasing with constantly accelerating force, and facilitating the construction of new and improved machinery, by aid of which further to increase the command over nature's services:

That the more perfect the machinery, the less is the need for the exertion of muscular force, the smaller is the waste of human

power, and the less the quantity of food required to replace the materials wasted:

That the less the quantity needed, the greater is the tendency towards substitution of the products of the vegetable and mineral kingdom for those of the animal one — the power to obtain supplies thus growing as the need declines:

That the greater the tendency towards such substitution, the greater is that which leads to creation of local centres, and the larger is the proportion of the force obtained, that may be given to further development of the latent treasures of the earth; the more rapid is the increase in the power of combination; the more perfect is the development of the various faculties of man; and the greater is the tendency towards the production of the real MAN — capable of becoming absolute master over nature, and over himself:

That the greater the tendency towards the development of the earth's latent powers, the greater is the competition for the purchase of labor — the greater is the value of man — the more equitable the distribution of the laborer's products — and the greater the tendency towards general development of the feeling of hope in the future, and responsibility for the exercise of the power obtained by means of action in the past:

That the higher the feeling of hope, the greater is the tendency towards seeking matrimony as affording the means of indulging the kindly feelings towards wife and children, and the love of home; and the less the tendency towards seeking it, as affording the means of mere animal indulgence:

That nature here co-operates with man — vital force tending more and more in the direction of further strengthening the reasoning powers, and less in the direction of procreation:

That, consequently, every stage of progress towards real civilization, is attended with increase in the power to demand supplies of food — while diminishing the proportion borne by the demand for food to the mouths that are to be fed, and slowly, but certainly, diminishing the tendency towards increase in the number of mouths themselves — the ultimate effect exhibiting itself in large increase in the proportion borne by food to population.

Such are the various forces to whose combined operation we are required to look for the proper adjustment of the supply of food,

and other raw materials, to the demand for them — those forces operating within and without the human system, and tending always to establish among its several functions an orderly balance, while displaying their power in bringing up subsistence to a level with a demand, that is itself constantly diminishing in the ratio borne by it to the numbers requiring to be supplied. The sciences and the arts subservient to the production of raw materials, must grow with even pace, as the morality and intelligence of the race become more and more developed. The forces which war upon human life, and those to which that life must look for maintenance, tend towards an equal balance, and the preponderance of the one or the other must rest with man himself — the overruling law of the process tending towards an exact equilibrium. In him, and him alone, the exercise of the procreative power was placed under the guidance of intellect — that intellect having been given to him, that he might be enabled to place himself in the control and direction of all the wonderful forces of nature, his own included.

Even in the discord of accidental disproportion, the harmony of means adapted to the production of desired ends may everywhere be seen, and when this providential order shall finally be obtained, by full development of the various powers of the earth, all apparent disproportion must disappear — the law then standing vindicated against all attempts at misconstruction. Error and abuse diminishing in their proportion, the harmony and beauty of eternal truth must become more clearly visible, and the ways of Providence be justified to man.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF COLONIZATION.

§ 1. Look to the great Asiatic plateau from what quarter we may, we see vast bodies of men passing from it, north, south, east, and west, towards the lower and richer lands of the world — the soils first occupied having been those possessed in the least degree of the food-producing properties. From that point it is, that the European races have passed, to occupy the lands created for their use.* At each and every stage of progress, we see them stopping in their course, and giving themselves to the cultivation of the higher and poorer soils — the dry Arcadia and the rocky Attica — the Etrurian and Samnite hills — the Alpine slopes — the sterile Brittany — the Scottish highlands — the Scandinavian mountain-sides — or the rock-bound Cornwall. With the growth of wealth and population, however, we find them, every where, spreading themselves over the lower slopes, and finally descending into the valleys — the facilities for association and combination increasing with every year; the latent powers of the earth becoming more and more developed; commodities steadily declining, and man as steadily rising, in value; with corresponding development of the various individualities of the persons of whom the society is composed.

The society-forming process is, therefore, almost precisely the same with that we meet when studying the movements of the vegetable world — the tendency to increase being always

* "Sacred history and Hindoo tradition point to the same region as the cradle of mankind. They are confirmed by the reflection, that it must have been the first to emerge from the primal waste of waters; and the belief, that here it is that wheat and barley are of indigenous growth, and that the animals run wild who have been tamed by man, and have followed him in his migrations through every clime — the horse, the ass, the goat, the sheep, the hog, the cat, that clings to his hearth-stone, and the dog, whose fidelity to his person seems like the emanation from a higher nature."— Smith: *Manual of Political Economy*, p. 11.

accompanied with a tendency to spread. In the infancy of the stately tree, its roots are short, and just beneath the surface, but as it grows, they shoot in all directions — the tap-root, meanwhile, penetrating the lower soils, and all uniting to give stability to the mass of trunk and foliage. Next, lateral roots send up suckers, which, like the parent in its youth, derive their earliest nourishment from the superficial soil — with age, however, repeating the operation first exhibited, and thus establishing local centres of attraction for the various elements provided for the maintenance of vegetable life. The parent tree still goes on — rising in height as the tap-root sinks, and stability increasing with every stage of progress. Surrounded by its descendants of various ages, diminishing in height, and their roots in depth, as they recede from the great centre, it presents to view a perfect double pyramid.*

Precisely such is the course of man. Stopping in his career, to labor, his wealth begins to grow. Clearing lands, and building houses, wealth and numbers steadily increase. Sending forth the little shoots, the settlement extends in size, while the few and scattered houses, at the centre, become a town. Wealth and population further growing, he digs the coal, mines the ore, and makes the iron — sinking deeper, at each and every step, the foundations on which to build the social edifice. In time, the town becomes a city — exerting a strong attractive force, liable, however, to counteraction from similar, though weaker, forces, elsewhere acting. Upon the young and enterprising, these latter exercise great power — drawing them from the richer soils of the centre, to poorer ones, that are more remote. At a later period, new towns arise — new roads are made — giving value to other lands, and thus again counteracting the attraction of the central city; the younger and poorer members of the society, finding in these cheaper lands, or in these smaller towns, the employment for their little means, that, in the great city, or on the richer soils, cannot so readily be obtained. Further additions being made to both wealth and population, the great city again increases — that increase, however, being again counterbalanced by attractions incident to the opening of mines, the building of mills, and the creation of towns, in other portions of the State. Man, thus, is ever in subjection to the same great

* See diagrams, *ante*, vol. i., pp. 21, 224.

forces which maintain the order of the solar system — his progress towards civilization, being always in the ratio of the intensity of the attractive and counter-attractive forces to which he is thus subjected.* The greater that intensity, the more rapid is the societary circulation — the greater the competition for the purchase of labor and labor's products—and the greater the tendency towards development of the human faculties, and towards the production of the real MAN, as distinguished from the merely animal man which constitutes the subject treated of in Ricardo-Malthusian books.

The erection of a little log cabin, in the wilderness, furnishes strong inducement to the next succeeding settler, to place himself in its immediate neighborhood. Adding to the cabin, the possession of a plough and a horse, the attraction is much increased. The two settlers being now associated, others are attracted in that direction — the attractive force increasing geometrically, as the men, the ploughs, and the horses, increase arithmetically. Population and wealth further advancing, the store appears — the nucleus of the little village. The church and the school-house being added, the effect is widely felt — their influence, however, diminishing with distance, until it disappears before the counter-attractions of another settlement. Such is now the course of things in all the newly-settled countries of America, and such must it have been in all the older ones of Europe.

§ 2. "Nature," as we are told, and as we have reason to know, "goes on, adding perfection to perfection, from the poles to the tropics, except in man."† So, however, does she, as she passes downwards, from the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, to the richer soils by which they are surrounded, whether her route be towards Siberian plains, or Gangetic valleys — towards Chinese swamps, or Ægean shores — the world at large being little more than a repetition, on a grander scale, of what is seen in each and every of its divisions, great and small.

The whole was given for man's use — to be by him subdued; and yet, how small is the portion he has, as yet, subjected to his use! Look almost where we may, the richer soils remain unoc-

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 268.

† GUYOT: *Earth and Man*, p. 253.

cupied — Switzerland abounding in population, while the rich lands of the lower Danube are lying waste — men gathering together on the slopes of the Andes, while the rich soils of the Orinoco and the Amazon remain in a state of nature — France and Germany, Italy and Ireland, presenting, on a smaller scale, a state of things precisely similar. Seeing these facts, we are led, and that too necessarily, to the belief, that man has made but little progress in the execution of the divine command; and yet, turn in what direction we may, we are met by the assertion that all the poverty and wretchedness of mankind is due to the one great error in the divine laws, in virtue of which, population tends to increase more rapidly than the food and other raw materials required for the satisfaction of his wants, and the maintenance of his powers.*

"America," says a distinguished writer of our day, "lies glutted with its vegetable wealth, unworked, solitary. Its immense forests, its savannas, every year cover its soil with their remains, which, accumulated during the long ages of the world, form that deep bed of vegetable mould, that precious soil, awaiting only the hand of man to work out all the wealth of its inexhaustible fertility."† Looking to the tropics, every where, we see so rank a luxuriance of growth, that the works of man are scarcely abandoned before they commence to disappear under trees and foliage.‡ A space of 100 square metres, containing 100 banana plants, gives, according to Humboldt, more than 2000 kilogrammes of nourishing substance — the quantity of nutritive matter obtained being as 133 to 1, when compared with land employed in raising wheat, and as 44 to 1, when compared with potatoes. In Ecuador, this wonderful vegetation never ceases — both the plough and the sickle being required at every season of the year. So is it in Venezuela, and in the Peruvian valleys — barley, rice, and sugar, growing in the highest perfection, and the climate permitting both planting and reaping throughout the year. The valley of the Orinoco, alone, has been stated to be capable of furnishing subsistence for the whole human race. Of bread-fruit trees, but three

* The accounts of recent travellers unite in showing, that, even in China, large quantities of highly fertile land remain uncultivated.

† Guyot: *Earth and Man*, p. 231. ‡ See *ante*, vol. i., p. 120.

are required for furnishing abundant food for a full-grown man.* Rice yields an hundred fold, and maize no less than three hundred fold.

Nevertheless, these rich lands, being almost entirely unoccupied, are scarcely at all available for human purposes. Why? Because nature is there all-powerful — it being there we find the greatest amount of heat, motion, and force. Are they for ever to remain so useless? In answer, it may be said, that the obstacles to their occupation are little greater than, but two centuries since, stood in the way of the reclamation of the now rich meadows of Lancashire; † or those which, even now, are presented to the Western emigrant, when seeking to reduce to cultivation the richest prairie lands.‡ In all these cases, the early man is weak for attack — nature being strong for resistance. From year to year, he becomes more fitted for combination with his neighbor man, with constant growth in his powers, and constant decline in her's — each and every step in his progress, from the day on which he subjugates the horse, to that on which he tames the electric force, enabling him more thoroughly *to turn against nature, such of her own great powers as he has qualified himself to master.* He is constantly battering at her gates, and overthrowing her walls — she, on her part, finding them crumbling to atoms about her ears, and with a rapidity that increases with each successive hour.

With every step in this direction, there is a diminution in the quantity of muscular force required for the labors of the field — the mind gradually superseding the unassisted arm that had been, at first, employed. With each, there is an increase of power to cultivate the richer soils, whether of the tropical or the temperate regions of the earth. Where is this to stop? Will it stop? Can it be, that the richest portion of the earth is to remain for ever in its present condition of utter uselessness? That it can be so, may well be doubted by those who believe that nothing has been made in vain; and who find in the constantly-increasing utilization of the materials of which the earth is composed, and of the

* "If an inhabitant of the South Sea has planted ten bread-fruit trees during his life, he has fulfilled his duty towards his family, as completely as a farmer among us, who has every year ploughed and sown, reaped and threshed; nay, he has not only provided bread for his lifetime, but left his children a capital in trees."—Cook: *Voyages.*

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 123.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 114.

various products of the earth, evidence that such is certainly the case.*

It is not, however, to the richer soils alone, we are to look for extension of the field of human operations — all experience proving the existence of a tendency towards the gradual equalization of the various soils of which the earth has been composed. In France, as has been shown, it exhibits itself in a most striking manner; and France is but the world at large, in miniature.† The railroad, by facilitating access to them, has already brought into activity large bodies of land that had before remained unused; and it is destined, ultimately, to do for whole provinces, states, kingdoms, and the world at large, what it has already done for portions of the soils of England, France, and the United States. Looking at all these facts, it is safe to say, that the power of the earth to afford subsistence to man is practically unlimited.

§ 3. How are all these lands to be ultimately rendered available for human purposes? The answer to this question is found in the fact, that *manufactures always precede, and never follow, the creation of a real agriculture.* In the absence of the former, all attempts at cultivation are limited to the work of tearing out and exporting the soil in the form of rude products — the country that pursues this policy, *always ending in the exportation or annihi-*

* "Tropical nature cannot be conquered and subdued, save by civilized men, armed with all the might of discipline, intelligence, and of skilful industry. It is, then, from the northern continents that those of the south await their deliverance: it is by the help of the civilized men of the temperate continents, that it shall be vouchsafed to the man of the tropical lands to enter into the movement of universal progress and improvement, wherein mankind should share."—GUYOT: *Earth and Man*, p. 330.

"I have seen as hard work, real bone and muscle work, done by citizens of the United Kingdom in the East, as was ever achieved in the cold West, and all upon rice and curry — not curry and rice — in which the rice has formed the real meal, and the curry has merely helped to give it a relish, as a sort of substantial Kitchener's zest, or Harvey's sauce. I have seen, likewise, Moormen, Malabars, and others of the Indian laboring-classes, perform a day's work that would terrify a London porter, or coal-whipper, or a country navvy, or ploughman; and under the direct rays of a sun, that has made a wooden platform too hot to stand on, in thin shoes, without literally dancing with pain, as I have done many a day, within six degrees of the line."—*Household Words.*

This passage is copied from the *Seaboard Slave States*, of Mr. Olmsted, who furnishes various facts, of his own knowledge, in proof of the efficiency of free white labor, in the States of the extreme South.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 64. Of the soil of France, one-sixth, or about 24,000,000 acres, is, as yet, totally unoccupied.

lation of men. Give to Turkey the power to develop her vast natural resources — enable her to make her own cloth — and a real agriculture will then arise, that will render the plains of Thrace and Macedonia once more productive. Place in Brazil the machinery required for utilizing her various ores — for making her own iron — and for converting her raw materials into clothing — and she, too, will soon exhibit to the world a state of things widely different from that which now exists.* Let Carolina have the means of converting her cotton into cloth, and her millions of acres of rich meadow lands will soon be made productive. Enable Illinois to mine her coal, her lead, and her iron ore, and her people will cease to see the product of the soil diminishing from year to year, as now it does. Local centres of attraction being thus created in all those countries, each will then become a competitor with France and England, Belgium and Germany, for the *purchase* of labor, skill, and talent of all descriptions; and the greater that competition, the greater will be the tendency towards absorbing the laborers of all these countries — the centrifugal and centripetal forces then tending daily towards a more perfect balance, with growing power, on the part of all, to make their own election whether to go abroad or remain at home. Whatever tends to *invite* immigration, is a measure that looks towards freedom. Whatever it may be that tends to *compel* emigration, its tendency is towards slavery.

Early Grecian colonization, as the reader has already seen, was a result of counter attraction, and therefore altogether voluntary.† Later, when trade and war had become the sole occupations of the people, and when poverty and wretchedness were gradually extending themselves throughout the various classes of the state, colonization wholly lost its voluntary character — the form it then assumed being that of expeditions fitted out at the public cost, for supplying the places, and taking possession of the lands, of earlier colonists, who were now in course of being ruined by means of measures adopted for the maintenance of the ever-grasping central power.‡

Under the first of these, local centres, teeming with activity and life, were everywhere created. Directly the reverse of this

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 229. † See *ante*, vol. i. p. 285.
‡ See Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, chap. xviii.

has been, and is, the tendency of that modern colonization which is based upon the idea of cheapening labor, land, and raw materials of every kind — thus extending slavery throughout the earth. Under it, all local centres tend to disappear; the land declines in its power; production diminishes; the landholder acquires power; competition for the *purchase* of labor diminishes, while competition for its *sale* increases from year to year; and man becomes less free — with constantly-growing necessity for fleeing to other lands, if he would not perish of famine at home. Under it, Irishmen have been forced to fly their country — seeking in England and America the food and clothing that could no longer be obtained in their native land.* Under it the world has witnessed the annihilation of the local centres of India, attended with an amount of ruin to which there can be found "no parallel in the annals of commerce." † Under it, Asiatic industry, "from Smyrna to Canton, from Madras to Samarcand," has received, as we are told by Mr. McCulloch, a shock from which it is unlikely ever to recover — the result being seen in the large export of Hindoo laborers to the Mauritius, and Chinese coolies to Cuba and Demarara. Under it, little short of two millions of blacks were carried to the British West Indies, two-thirds of whom had disappeared before the passage of the act of Emancipation — leaving behind them no descendants.‡ Under it, the people of Turkey and Portugal gradually decline in numbers — local centres disappearing — land declining in value — and the power of production diminishing from year to year.§ Under it, Canada has been deprived of all power to diversify her industry, and now presents to view vast bodies of people who are wholly unable to sell their labor — her power of attraction, as a cor-

* "Prosperity and happiness may some day reign over that beautiful island. Its fertile soil, its rivers and lakes, its water-power, its minerals, and other materials for the wants and luxuries of man, may one day be developed; but all appearances are against the belief that this will ever happen in the days of the Celt. That tribe will soon fulfil the great law of Providence which seems to enjoin and reward the union of races. It will mix with the Anglo-American, and be known no more as a jealous and separate people. Its present place will be occupied by the more mixed, more docile, and more serviceable race, which has long borne the yoke of sturdy industry in this island, which can submit to a master and obey the law. This is no longer a dream, for it is a fact now in progress, and every day more apparent." — *London Times.*

† See *ante*, vol. i. p. 349.

‡ See *ante*, vol. i. p. 297.

§ See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 308, 311.

rector of the evils attendant upon transatlantic centralization, having, therefore, wholly ceased. Under it, China has been inundated with opium to such an extent as to have paved the way for a repetition, in that country, of the exhaustive process that has been pursued in India.* Under it, the people of the United States have already exhausted many of the older States, and are now repeating the operation throughout the valley of the Mississippi. Look where we may, among the countries subjected to the British system, we find the results the same — the necessity for colonization growing steadily, with constant decline in the productiveness of the soil, and in the value of land and man.

* The destruction of life in China from this extension of the market for the produce of India is stated at no less than 400,000 per annum. How this trade is regarded in India itself, by Christian men, may be seen from the following extract from a review, recently published in the Bombay *Telegraph*, of papers in regard to it published in Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, in which the review is now republished: —

"That a professedly Christian government should, by its sole authority and on its sole responsibility, produce a drug which is not only contraband, but essentially detrimental to the best interests of humanity; that it should annually receive into its treasury crores of rupees, which, if they cannot, save by a too licentious figure, be termed 'the price of blood,' yet are demonstrably the price of the physical waste, the social wretchedness, and moral destruction of the Chinese; and yet that no sustained remonstrances from the press, secular or spiritual, nor from society, should issue forth against the unrighteous system, is surely an astonishing fact in the history of our Christian ethics.

"*An American, accustomed to receive from us impassioned arguments against his own nation on account of slavery, might well be pardoned were he to say to us, with somewhat of intemperate feeling, 'Physician, heal thyself,'* and to expose with bitterness the awful inconsistency of Britain's vehement denunciation of American slavery, while, by most deadly measures, furthering Chinese demoralization."

The review, in referring to the waste of human life, closes as follows: —

"What unparalleled destruction! The immolations of an Indian Juggernauth dwindle into insignificance before it! We again repeat, nothing but slavery is worthy to be compared for its horrors with this monstrous system of iniquity. As we write, we are amazed at the enormity of its unprincipledness, and the large extent of its destructiveness. Its very enormity seems in some measure to protect it. Were it a minor evil, it seems as though one might grapple with it. As it is, it is beyond the compass of our grasp. No words are adequate to expose its evil, no fires of indignant feeling are fierce enough to blast it.

"The enormous wealth it brings into our coffers is its only justification, the cheers of vice-enslaved wretches its only welcome; the curses of all that is moral and virtuous in an empire of three hundred and sixty millions attend its introduction; the prayers of enlightened Christians deprecate its course; the indignation of all righteous minds is its only 'God-speed.'

"It takes with it fire and sword, slaughter and death; it leaves behind it bankrupt fortunes, idiotized minds, broken hearts, and ruined souls. Foe to all the interests of humanity, hostile to the scanty virtues of earth, and warring against the overflowing benevolence of heaven, may we soon have to rejoice over its abolition!"

Against this system, all the more advancing countries of the world have protected themselves — seeking, by means of protection, to establish that counter-attraction without which there can be no harmony in either the physical or social world. In all of these, it is increasing the competition for the purchase of labor, and thus offering a bounty on the *import* of all those kinds of human faculty in which they are yet deficient. In all, it is facilitating the *export* of that peculiar description of faculty that is now in excess — and thus promoting the establishment of the perfect balance of attractions required for the maintenance of harmony in the social movement. In proof of this we have the facts, that while Australia is filled with people who have been transported at the public cost; and while the great mass of those arriving in America from Ireland have been enabled to leave their homes only by aid of remittances from their friends abroad; those coming from the continent not only pay their own passages, but bring with them, also, considerable capital, by aid of which to become proprietors of land.*

§ 4. Turning now to the United States, we find a perpetually-varying system — the general tendency, however, being towards that policy which looks to exhaustion of the land of the older States, and expulsion of the laborers towards the West. At times, as in the period from 1825 to 1835 — in that from 1843 to 1847 — and in the first few years of the California gold excitement — there has been a tendency towards the creation of local centres of attraction, attended by growing competition for the *purchase* of the laborer's services, and consequent large increase of immigration. Under the free trade system, competition for the *sale* of labor has always grown, and immigration has died away — the foreign laborer losing the power to determine for himself whether he shall remain at home or go abroad.† Under the one, the attractive power of the land has increased — enabling the American to stay at home, and inducing the foreigner to come

* The amount remitted from America to Ireland in the seven years, 1848–1854, for aiding emigration, is stated at £8,393,000, or about $40,000,000.

The "cash means" in the hands of immigrants (so far as ascertained) arriving in the port of New York, in 1856, was $9,642,104. The real amount was supposed to be much in excess of this.

† See *ante*, p. 247.

from abroad to co-operate with him in his labors. Under the other, the expulsive power has grown rapidly — *compelling* the American to leave his home and fly to the West; while equally *compelling* the foreigner to remain at home, even when unable to obtain the food and clothing required for satisfaction of his wants.

As a rule, American policy has tended in the direction of the British system — the departures therefrom, in the last forty years, having been but two in number, and for periods that have been very brief.* In all cases in which that has been the direction of the movement, competition for the purchase of labor has diminished, and immigration has gradually died away. In all such cases, the abandonment of the older States has rapidly increased, and with what effects may now be shown.

Looking first to New England, we witness an emigration of the most remarkable kind— each and every stage thereof being accompanied by consolidation of the land, diminution of cultivation, and decline of power to maintain schools, churches, roads, and government. From one quarter, we hear that it has become "evident that the number of families in quite a number of our agricultural towns is growing less. The old homesteads," as we are further told, "become the property of the adjacent husbandman, or go to ruin under the proprietorship of some far-off owner." From another, we learn, that "many of the churches are reduced to the last extremity," and that, "but for the missionary society, by which not a few of them are supplied, they would yield at once to utter discouragement." Such being the general tendency throughout New England, the "wonder is not," as we are told, "that so many Eastern churches are drooping, but that they have so long borne up against the constant and copious depletion of their vigor and their piety."

Turning now to New York, we find the average yield of wheat to have fallen to little more than a dozen bushels — the diminution of the rural population, and the consolidation of the land, becoming, consequently, more rapid with each successive year. Taking next, the western portion of the State, one of the finest wheat-growing countries of the world, so recently a wilderness, we find its farmers already engaged in discussing the neces-

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 226.

sity for abandoning the wheat culture, as the only means of freeing themselves from the ravages of insects, provided by the Creator for the removal of diseased and decaying vegetable matter. Compelled to the exhaustion of their soil, and unable to vary their cultivation, their plants become weaker from year to year, and more and more fitted to become the prey of the fly, and other enemies. As a consequence of this it is, that emigration steadily increases, and that the power to maintain the local institutions as steadily declines.

Ohio and Indiana are rapidly following in the same direction, and yet the occupation of the latter dates back less than forty years. Looking now further, we see in Virginia, a land capable of feeding and clothing the whole people of Britain, yet declining steadily in wealth and power. Carolina and Georgia have almost ceased to grow in numbers; while Alabama, a State that, but forty years ago, was still in possession of Creeks and Cherokees, is following rapidly in the train of both — the yield of her soil decreasing — land becoming consolidated — and the power of extending, or even maintaining, churches and schools, declining from year to year.*

By all the advocates of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine, the past prosperity of the American people has been uniformly attributed to the abundance of fertile soils at their command. They have been supposed to be receiving wages for their services, *plus* the amount that elsewhere would be absorbed as rent. It being, however, the poorer soils that are always first appropriated, and the richer ones remaining unproductive until wealth and population have greatly grown, it is obvious that they have been wasting upon the former a vast amount of labor — while subjecting themselves to a tax of transportation greater than would have been required for the support of armies ten times greater than those of assembled Europe. Rich meadow lands in the Atlantic States have remained in a state of nature, while millions of people have sought the West, there to obtain from an acre of land some 30 or 40 bushels of corn, three-fourths of which have been absorbed on their route to the distant markets. Acres of turnips or potatoes yield 12 or 14 tons, whereas the average yield of all the wheat

* See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 242.

land of the young State of Ohio, is not as many bushels. The refuse of an acre of the one would fertilize the poorer acres round it; whereas, the refuse of the other, sent to the distant market, finds its place on the soil of England. Bring the consumer to the side of the producer, and the latter may then raise those commodities of which the earth yields by tons. Separate the two, and the farmer will find himself limited to the cultivation of those commodities of which the quantity is counted by bushels, even when not by pounds.

Look where we may, we see that where local centres are created — mines are being opened — furnaces are being built — water-powers are improved, or mills established — land acquires value. Why it does so is, that where the consumer and the producer are brought together, it becomes freed from the exhausting tax of transportation, and its owner is enabled to devote his time, his mind, and all the capital that he now, for the first time, is enabled to accumulate, towards compelling the rich soils to give forth the vast supplies of food of which they are capable — paying them back the refuse, and thus maintaining his credit with the great bank upon which his drafts have become so large. To render rich meadow land worth the cost of clearing, the farmer *must* have a market in his neighborhood for his milk and cream, his veal and beef. To enable him to vary his culture, and thus improve his land, he *must* have facilities for the sale of potatoes and cabbages, as well as for that of rye and wheat. In the absence of that power — his rich lands not being worth the cost of clearing — he flies to the West, there to appropriate more land, to be in its turn exhausted. As a consequence of this it is, that thirty millions of people are now scattered over millions of square miles, and are forced to devote so large a portion of their time and mind to the effort to obtain roads, by aid of which they may economize a portion of the tax of transportion, by the payment of which they are now impoverished.

The tendency of the American system is, as a rule, towards abstracting from nature's great bank all that it can be made to pay, and to give it nothing in return — that tendency being a direct consequence of its failure to protect the people against a system which has for its object the cheapening of land, labor,

and the rude products of the earth.* Such prosperity as has been attained by the people of the United States has *not* been due to the abundance of the land over which they have been dispersed. In all other countries, men have been most poor, when land was most abundant, and when the inhabitants had, apparently, most the choice between the poorer and the richer soils. Fertile land, uncultivated, abounded in the days of the Edwards, yet food was then obtained with far more difficulty than now. It is more abundant, by far, in Mexico than in the United States, yet inferior food is there obtained at the cost of far more labor—the whole agricultural product of that country, with a population of eight millions, being less than that of a single American State. It is more abundant in Russia, Ceylon, Buenos Ayres, and Brazil, and yet they make but little progress. It was more abundant in France, in the days of Louis XV., than it now is, and yet, men perished then "like flies in the autumn;" whereas, they are now well fed and clothed.

Prosperity comes with diversity in the demand for human efforts —with development of human powers —with growing power of association —with division of the land —with competition for the purchase of labor —each and every step in that direction, being accompanied by an increase in the power of the laborer to *determine for himself* whether to go abroad, or stay at home; with a diminution, too, in the necessity for seeking abroad the food and clothing denied to him at home.† Throughout the Union,

* "The production of wheat is diminishing! and the production of potatoes is diminishing! Horses, and pigs, and sheep, are disappearing! Of course, they are, because there is nobody to sow or reap, or tend cattle; because cultivators and herdsmen are wanting; and because nefarious legislation has for many years done all it can to cover our fields with desolation, in order that one or two hundred mill-owners may fill their pockets. Give us labor first, and we will then talk of colleges."—*New York Evening Post.*

Eleven years since, the quantity of food exported reached the large amount of $68,000,000, and then the production of cloth and iron was rapidly increasing. Since then, the policy of the country has been directed by persons holding the same opinions with the writer of this paragraph. In that time, the population has increased not less than 8,000,000; the number of persons employed in all the great departments of manufactures has *diminished;* the product of cloth and iron has much declined; and the exhausted farms and farmers are now but furnishing new evidence of the great fact, that *there can be no real agriculture in the absence of manufactures.*

† "It has been a matter of great surprise to me that some one has not, before this, given a true account of the condition of the people and the state of things in California. I have been in this State twelve weeks, and, during

that necessity increases—the power of association tending steadily to decrease. Hence it is, that the history of the past few years exhibits so rapid a growth of belief in the divine origin of human slavery, and in the demoralization of the people and the State.

§ 5. There being in all the real and permanent interests of mankind a perfect harmony, error in one community must tend to the production of error every where; and that such is certainly the case, is fully proved by what we see to be now occurring in the great centre of this injurious system. The annihilation of the power of association throughout Ireland, tended to compel the emigration of Irishmen to England—there, of course, cheapening labor, to the great disadvantage of the English laborer.*

that time, have seen more *misery*, more *vice*, more *immorality*, more *blasted hopes* and *withering disappointment*, more *utter wretchedness* and *impotent regrets*, than I have ever witnessed before in my whole life; and it is astonishing—it is *amazing*—that some philanthropist has not taken upon himself the task, ere this, of exposing to the world the state of affairs here, and the almost universal fate of the great majority of California emigrants. All who leave home for this supposed land of gold, do so with high hopes and brilliant expectations; but did they know the almost certain destiny which awaits them here, they would sooner dig potatoes for fifty cents a day, than undertake this expedition." This would be equally true, if written in reference to a large portion of the people who find themselves compelled to seek the frontier States. See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 267, *note*.

* "Crowds of miserable Irish darken all our towns. The wild Milesian features, looking false ingenuity, restlessness, unreason, misery, and mockery, salute you on all highways and byways. The English coachman, as he whirls past, lashes the Milesian with his whip, curses him with his tongue; the Milesian is holding out his hat to beg. He is the sorest evil this country has to strive with. In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back, for wages that will purchase him potatoes. He needs only salt for condiment; he lodges to his mind in any pig-hutch or dog-hutch, roosts in out-houses; and wears a suit of tatters, the getting off and on of which is said to be a difficult operation, transacted only on festivals and the high tides of the calendar. The Saxon man, if he cannot work on these terms, finds no work. . . . . And yet these poor Celtiberian Irish brothers, what can they help it. They cannot stay at home and starve. It is just and natural that they come hither as a curse to us. Alas! for them too it is not a luxury. The time has come when the Irish population must either be improved a little, or else exterminated. . . . . Every man who will take the statistic spectacles off his nose, and look, may discern in town and country, that the condition of the lower multitude of English laborers approximates more and more to that of the Irish competing with them in all markets; that whatsoever labor, to which mere strength with little skill will suffice, is to be done, will be done, not at the English price, but at an approximation to the Irish price; at a price superior as yet to the Irish, that is, superior to scarcity of third-rate potatoes for thirty weeks yearly; superior—yet hourly, with the arrival of every new steamboat, sinking nearly to an equality with that."—CARLYLE: *Chartism*. See also *ante*, vol. i., p. 240, *notes*.

The long-continued "warfare" upon the industry of other nations, described in a former chapter, carried on under the mistaken idea, that the prosperity of the British people was to be promoted by "stifling in the cradle" all the manufactures of the world outside of Britain, was attended necessarily by the destruction of the smaller manufacturers of Britain herself — the result being seen in the facts, that there is now no place for the little capitalist in any department of manufacture, and that the proportion of society engaged in trade — obtaining a living by "snatching the bread out of other people's mouths" — is a constantly-increasing one. The necessity for emigration, among this class, grows, therefore, daily — the higher and lower classes becoming divided by a constantly-deepening and widening gulf.*

Consolidation of the land driving the laborer to the cities, and consolidation of capital diminishing the competition for the

* "The actual operative in Great Britain has no prospect before him. He may save a few hundred pounds by unceasing industry and sobriety; but why should he save it? This little saved capital — call it thousands instead of hundreds of pounds sterling — can do nothing in the present state of our trade and manufactures, in competition with the vast capitals, accumulated by long inheritance, pre-occupying every branch of industry and manufacture, and producing far cheaper than he can do with his trifling means. Land, by the effect of the privileges accorded to that kind of property, and of the expense of title deeds, is out of his reach as much as trade and manufacture; there being no small estates in Britain, generally speaking, which a laboring or middle-class man could purchase, and sit down upon with his family to live as a working yeoman or peasant proprietor; and thus small capitals, when they are accumulated, are forced into trade and manufacture, although every branch is over-supplied with the means of producing. What can a man turn to, who has a little capital of three or four thousand pounds? What can he enter into, with any reasonable prospect of not losing his little capital in his most honest and prudent efforts? And what can the working-man do, but spend his earnings, drink, and fall into a reckless, improvident way of living, when he sees clearly that every avenue to an independent condition is, by the power of great capital, shut against him? A vassalage in manufacture and trade is succeeding the vassalage in land, and the serf of the loom is in a lower and more helpless condition than the serf of the glebe, because his condition appears to be not merely the effect of an artificial and faulty social economy, like the feudal, which may be remedied, but to be the unavoidable effect of natural causes."—LAING: *Notes of a Traveller*, p. 177.

"Those who themselves are at present above want or poverty, nevertheless are still looking down at that abyss of misery and destitution beneath them, and, while congratulating themselves at their own escape, they do not, and dare not, complain of evils of a less terrible character. They are silent on that *anxiety* which besets their own position, and robs every household of its peace; they are silent on that perpetual contest and strife of commerce which sow the seed of hatred so abundantly through every town and village. Is not the wolf still at the door?"—THORNDALE; *or, the Conflict of Opinions.*

purchase of labor in towns and cities, the power of the laborer to determine for whom he would work, and at what he would work, necessarily declined — the effect being seen in a growing increase in that competition for the *sale* of labor, now regarded as so indispensable to the progress of British manufactures, but which is only another name for slavery.*

The wider the gulf which divides the great proprietors from the laborer on the land, the greater is the space to be occupied by the middlemen, and the smaller is the proportion retained by those who own the land, or those who do the work.† The larger the space between the great manufacturer and the regiment of hands employed in his mill, the more numerous will be the intermediate agents—each and all anxious to obtain the largest prices

* See *ante*, vol. i., pp. 239, 456, 457.

"If the silken curtain be held up, it may be seen from two points of view —from the sunny and brilliant side of Shoolbred's, or from the dark and dreary side of Spitalfields. When worn, the dress is a proof of the increased means of society; when made, it is a testimony to the decreasing means of society. The weaver who wove such silks as that, used, in former days, to earn 2*s.* 5*d.*, where, in our day, he only earns 8*d.* Free trade shines no luxury to him; does not give him the promised big loaf; because, whereas he could have afforded two shillings for a loaf in the dearest days, he has more difficulty now in mustering sixpence. If at one time he made his miserable cottage tolerably comfortable with good cheer in the cupboard, plenty of clothes, and a certain kind of huggermugger amusement, now his cupboard is bare; the neighborhood has become more populous, without being better drained; and, while his misery has constantly increased, he has been made doubly aware of it by the light of day which has been thrown in upon his condition."—*Spectator*, March 27, 1858.

† "From Barnard Castle, I rode on the highways twenty-three miles from High Force, a fall of the Tees, towards Darlington, past Raby Castle, through the estate of the Duke of Cleveland. The Marquis of Breadalbane rides out of his house a hundred miles in a straight line to the sea, on his own property. The Duke of Sutherland owns the county of Sutherland, stretching across Scotland from sea to sea. The Duke of Devonshire, besides his other estates, owns 96,000 acres in the county of Derby. The Duke of Richmond has 40,000 acres at Goodwood, and 300,000 at Gordon Castle. The Duke of Norfolk's park, in Sussex, is fifteen miles in circuit. An agriculturist bought lately the island of Lewes, in Hebrides, containing 500,000 acres. The possessions of the Earl of Lonsdale gave him eight seats in Parliament." —EMERSON: *English Traits.*

Two thousand persons are said to own two-thirds of the land of England. There are forty-six who have incomes of £450,000 a year, equal to two millions and a quarter of dollars, while four hundred and forty-four persons have incomes ranging from fifty to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year, and eight hundred and eleven from twenty-five to fifty thousand. Here are thirteen hundred persons who have princely fortunes; but the number is trifling in comparison to the total population.

for having the work done, while paying the smallest to those who do it.*

The system tends, every where, to the elevation of trade, at the expense of agriculture — looking, as it did in the days of Adam Smith, and as it now does, to the cheapening of all the raw materials of manufacture. Such being the facts, we need scarcely feel surprised at the expression, by one of the most enlightened of modern British writers, of the opinion, that it is neither an imaginary, nor a distant evil, that the middle classes should "sink into nothing" — England then becoming "a Genoa in large, with one small class living in almost royal splendor and luxury, and the great mass of the community in rags and hunger." †

Under such circumstances it is, that the last few years have witnessed an amount of *involuntary* emigration from the British islands, that is wholly without a parallel, except in the history of the African slave trade. Australia has been peopled by convicts.‡ Emigration commissioners have been employed in exporting the women who were required for pairing with the men who had been shipped abroad. Scotchmen have been expelled from their

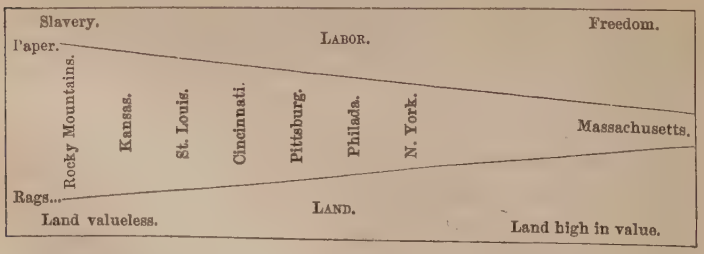
* "The feudalization going on in our manufacturing social economy is very conspicuous in some of the great cotton factories. The master-manufacturer in some districts, who employs eight hundred or a thousand hands, deals in reality only with fifty or sixty sub-vassals, or operative cotton-spinners, as they are technically called, who undertake the working of so many looms, or spinning-jennies. They hire and pay the men, women, and children, who are the real operatives, grinding their wages down to the lowest rate, and getting the highest they can out of the master-manufacturer. A strike is often the operation of these middle-men, and productive of little benefit to, and even against the will of, the actual workmen. They are, in the little imperium of the factory, the equivalent to the feudal barons."— Laing: *Notes of a Traveller*, p. 177.

† *Ibid*, p. 188.

‡ "The social constitution of the colony is in the most wretched condition. Crimes of the most fearful character and degree abound on all sides; the roads swarm with bush rangers; the streets with burglars and desperadoes of every kind. In broad daylight, and in our most public streets, men have been knocked down, ill-used, and robbed; and shops have been invaded by armed ruffians, who have 'stuck up' the inmates and rifled the premises, even situated in crowded thoroughfares. At night men dare not walk the streets, and thieves appear to be so thick upon the ground, and to be so unceasing in their operations, that we feel certain they must often rob each other. Murders of the most frightful character have become so numerous that they scarcely excite attention for a day; and such is the inefficiency of our police system that scarcely since the foundation of the colony has any one perpetrator of premeditated murder been brought to justice." — *Melbourne Argus.*

little holdings, and sent to Canada — arriving there in the depth of winter, and wholly destitute of means to enable them to obtain either food or clothing. Cottages and sheds, by tens of thousands, have been levelled in Ireland, with a view to compel the exportation of the wretched people who had occupied them.* Under such circumstances it was, that 2,144,802 persons left the United Kingdom in the short period of seven years, ending in 1854. Of these, it is probable that more than 100,000 perished on the road to their new homes, victims to the system which finds in buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest one, the chief incentive to action, and sees in man a mere instrument to be used by trade.†

§ 6. Man seeks to obtain power over nature. That he may obtain it, he must learn to utilize the various faculties by which he is distinguished from the lower animals. The more they are utilized, the more perfect becomes his power of combination with his fellow man; the more are the various utilities of the earth developed; the more rapid is the societary circulation; the greater is the power of accumulation; the more equitable becomes the distribution; the greater is the competition for his services among the near and the distant soils, and the greater his power to make his election between them; the closer becomes the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished commodities; and the greater is the tendency towards increase in the value of land and men, and strength in the state, as here is shown: —



* "The whole population of a district many miles in extent are simply turned into the roads, to live or die, as they can." This brief sentence, from the *London Times*, contains a history of Ireland at large, during a large portion of the past ten years.

† The destruction of life in the passage across the Atlantic is fearful — at times almost rivalling that of African slave ships. Ships that are no longer

In that direction — passing from left to right — travel now all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert and of France, and France herself. So, too, have sometimes travelled the United States, with rapid appreciation in the value of both land and man. As a rule, however, they have walked with Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, Jamaica, and other countries, under the lead of England — moving thus from right to left — and like them, have then been troubled with the disease of over-population *

The British policy is selfish and repulsive; its essential object being the separation of the consumers and the producers of the world. In that direction lie poverty and slavery; and therefore it is, that while England seeks to expel her people, no country of the world that follows in her lead — even where abounding in land that is unoccupied — offers any inducement to settlement, by any but those who are driven to it by poverty, if not even by actual want.†

The harmony of the world is maintained, as we have seen, by means of the perfect balance of the opposing attractive and counter-attractive forces. The more perfect the balance, the more rapid is the societary motion, and the greater the tendency towards augmentation in the quantity of food obtained in return to any given quantity of labor. Throughout the realm now chiefly,

fit for carrying merchandize that *can* be insured, are employed in transporting men, women, and children, who *cannot*.

* Free trade periods, terminating in 1824, 1842, and 1858.

† "One can scarcely open a newspaper from any part of the world just now in which we do not light upon a paragraph about the transfer of laborers from one country to another. The movement is so universal, in regard to intertropical colonies, and countries in near relation with them, that the question which naturally occurs to all simple-minded people, is, why do not all these laborers stay where they are, and work at home? What is the use of their turning one another out, and running after or running away from each other, when each country has work to do, and people living there to do it? These simple questions appear to us perfectly rational; and no answer, we are confident, can be made which will satisfy any reasonable and honest mind. This wasteful and laborious shifting of the labor-supply — this costly effort to counteract the great natural laws of society — is a consequence of the prior violation of Nature's laws, which we call slavery, and which slaveholders describe as the beneficiary servitude of an inferior to a superior race."—*London Spectator.*

Why, however, is it that men remain enslaved? Because they are denied the power of diversifying their pursuits. As a consequence, the powers of the soil diminish, and they must fly the land, if they would not perish on it. Hence the extraordinary and wasteful transfer of labor, in all the countries that do not protect themselves against the British system.

even where not wholly, controlled by England, repulsion is universal; as a consequence of which the societary motion tends towards diminution, with growing tendency in all its parts, to furnish, and on a larger scale, the facts required for establishing the doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MALTHUSIAN THEORY.

§ 1. The "one great cause," that has "hitherto impeded the progress of mankind towards happiness"—the one to which are due the "vice and misery" so generally prevailing—that one which has caused the existing inequality in the "distribution of the bounties of nature"—is, as Mr. Malthus has told us, "the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." * Before inquiring into the truth or falsehood of the idea thus propounded, it may be well to determine for ourselves, and that, too, accurately, the meaning of the word "prepared," as here submitted for our consideration.—Were a parent to place at the command of his family the whole contents of a well-filled granary, would he, or would he not, have "prepared" for them a supply of food? Having given them, in the greatest superabundance, all the materials of fuel and clothing, and having endowed them with all the knowledge required for their conversion, could he be justly charged with not having "prepared" for them what was needed for the preservation of vital heat; that, too, for no other reason, than that he had refused to grind the corn, bake the bread, cut and transport the wood, weave the cotton, and then form the cloth into shirts and pantaloons? Having placed it in their own power to feed and clothe themselves if they would, could he be blamed if they then suffered from cold or hunger? Would the fault lie with him, or them? Assuredly, not with him.

Looking now to the great family of mankind, we may inquire what is the real meaning of the word thus used, as connected with the provision made by the great Father of all, for supplying its members with the food and clothing they require. Are we to conceive it as having reference only to the limited

* *Principles of Population*, Book 1, chap. i.

number of already organized forms, vegetable and animal, thinly scattered over the earth's surface, or as referring, far more properly, to the great stock of raw material, capable of being made to assume those forms, deposited in the great treasury of nature, and waiting only man's call to do him service? Have not the coal and ore now lying in the earth, and the corn and wool whose elements so much abound, been as much "prepared" for his uses, as the grass that grows upon the prairie? Has not the electricity, every where existing, been as much "prepared" for him, as that trivial quantity which manifests itself in the lightning's flash? Have not all the vast powers of earth and atmosphere, whensoever and wheresoever found, been "prepared" for his service, and has he not, himself, been endowed with all the faculties required for enabling him to compel them to minister to his wants, and aid in gratifying his desires? That such is the case is beyond all question. If, then, he perishes in the midst of this vast treasury, does the fault lie with his Creator, or with himself?

That men do so perish, and that, too, not unfrequently, we know. Why do they this? Because, as we are here told, of the insufficiency of the stock of nourishment "prepared" for their use. What evidence, however, have we of this? Have they ever found the treasury to have been exhausted? Have they ever had their drafts protested, when they had kept their accounts good, with the great Cashier? Have they not, on the contrary, found a large increase in the balance to their credit, whenever they have complied with the conditions upon which, alone, the earth makes loans — that condition being, the punctual return of the raw material, after having used it? That this last has been the case is proved by the history of every advancing nation of the world — the supplies of food having increased more rapidly than the numbers of those among whom they were to be divided, in every country in which men have been enabled so to combine their efforts, as to bring into activity the various powers with which they have been endowed. Thus far, then, man has had no opportunity for testing the sufficiency of the stock of food, clothing, and fuel, "prepared" for him.

We are told, however, that this is an universal law — the tendency to increase beyond the subsistence that has been prepared,

being equally great throughout every portion of the animal world. On the other hand, we learn, that a single farm is capable of feeding more cattle than could find support in a whole country of forests.* This being so, it is clearly obvious, that more "nourishment" is, in the one case, required to be drawn from a single acre, than in the other is furnished by a hundred acres. Equally obvious is it, that it had already been there "prepared" by an Almighty hand — man having no power to draw from the earth any thing that has not first been placed within it. That nourishment had certainly been so placed, but, before it could commence to do the work for which it was intended, it was required that man should qualify himself to assume command — guiding and directing the various natural forces, with a view to increase the rapidity of their circulation, and thereby enable simple inorganic matter to assume the complex and highly developed forms of animal life. Millions of buffaloes, as we know, could find support on prairies that now feed tens of thousands only, had man the knowledge required for enabling him to profit of the powers of the soil over which he roams. That he may any where obtain it, he must learn to combine with his fellow-men, and divide employments with them — that being the condition upon which, alone, power can be obtained. Failing in this, the people of the prairies, as we may well suppose, unite with Ricardo-Malthusian writers in denouncing the "niggardliness of nature" — when the real cause of difficulty is to be found in their own deficiencies.

Again, it is a well-known fact, that rapid as has been the growth of American population, that of the supply of oysters has been far more so — the consumption, per head, being greater, with thirty millions to feed, than when there was but a single million. Why is this? There has been no increase in the quantity of food "prepared" for such animals — the constituents of the water in which they grow, being the same with those of the waters of the days of William Penn. Why, then, has there been so great a tendency towards this particular change in the form of matter—towards having inorganic matter take that certain organic form? Because, large as had been the store of force "prepared," it was compelled to remain latent and undeveloped, until man could qualify himself for its proper guidance and direction.

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 21.

Further, it has been satisfactorily demonstrated, that by aid of pisciculture, the supply of fish may be almost indefinitely increased — the quantity of subsistence "prepared" for them by nature, being infinitely in excess of the demand yet made upon it. Why has it not been made? Because of the absence of that power of direction which has been confided to man alone — a power which grows with the growth of numbers and of wealth, and consequent increase in the power of association and combination among men.

So far, then, from finding in the facts presented to us, any foundation for the assertion of Mr. Malthus, even in regard to the lower animals, we meet, every where, with evidence that the quantity of food "prepared" for them, and for man himself, is practically unlimited, and that it rests with him, alone, to determine to what extent the elements shall take the form desired — the supply of sustenance tending to increase in the ratio of the demand. On the other hand, we are every where presented with the important facts, that just in proportion as he qualifies himself for drawing on the great bank, the absolutely necessary drafts of the individual man tend to diminish; that the growth of power in himself is attended by corresponding decrease in the quantity of food required for repairing the daily waste; that vegetable food, of which the earth yields by tons, tends to take the place of animal food, of which it yields by pounds — he himself assuming, more and more, the responsible position for which he was intended — and nature co-operating in the work, by directing to the development of his brain, those elements which, otherwise, would have been appropriated to the work of generation.

Study the laws of nature where we may, we find them vindicating the ways of God to man — each and every step on the road towards knowledge, bringing us to a more complete perception of the perfect adaptation of the machinery to the production of the great effect desired—that of fitting the human animal for worthily occupying the place for which it from the first was destined.

§ 2. "A thousand millions of men," as we are assured by Mr. Malthus, "are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years, by the principle of population, as a thousand." Why, then, have they not increased? At the commencement of our era, there were probably that number of persons on the earth, and it is doubtful

if there are more at the present moment. Had they doubled in each succeeding quarter of a century, they would now count by billions of millions. Why have they not? Because in all that time, as we are told, population has been pressing upon subsistence—the tendency of matter to assume the form of highest development, having been so much greater than that manifested in regard to those lower forms in which it becomes "prepared" for man's use, as to cause the existence of wide-spread "vice and misery"—thus producing a necessity for the positive checks of "diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine."* Which, however, in these cases, is the cause, and which the consequence? Are misery and vice the cause of deficiency in the supply of food, or is this latter a necessary consequence of failure in man to exercise the faculties with which he has been endowed? This is a highly important question—deficiency in man himself being within the reach of man's correction, whereas, deficiency in the powers of the great machine given for his use, is entirely beyond the reach of remedy.

Seeking a reply to it, we are met by the facts, that the supply of food, in the last few centuries, has increased in its ratio to the population, in England, France, Belgium, Germany, and all other countries, in which—population and wealth having been permitted to increase — man has acquired greater power to draw upon nature's treasury; while diminishing in Turkey, Mexico, and other countries, in which — population and wealth having declined — his power to command the services of nature has steadily diminished. Look around us now, where we may, we find that where the power of association is a growing one, it is accompanied by an increase in the supply of food, clothing, houses, and all other commodities and things required for man's support and comfort. Wherever, on the contrary, it is a diminishing one, the supply of all these things as steadily decreases — the value of man declining, and he himself becoming more and more the slave of nature and of his fellow-man. Such being the case, the cause of present difficulty would seem to be in man himself, and not in any defect in the scheme of creation, in which he has been assigned so great a part.

* *Principles of Population*, Book 1, ch. ii.

§ 3. Admitting, however, for the moment, that the facts have been as described by Mr. Malthus — that population has, throughout all those countries, been pressing upon subsistence — we shall still have made but little progress towards scientific truth—science always desiring to know, *Why it is*, that such things are.* For thousands of years, it had been remarked that apples fell to the ground, but it was left to Newton to answer the question — Why is it that apples fall? Science then asked, as it now asks — *Why is it*, that food cannot keep pace with population? What is the "one great cause" — THE ULTIMATE CAUSE — of difficulty? Is it to be found in man's inability to make demands upon the earth, or in the incapacity of the earth to meet the drafts he makes? Is it true — can it be true — that, with the growth of population and of wealth, there comes a time when "every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportionate increase in the application of labor to the land" — man thus becoming nature's slave, as he grows himself in power? † If he does so, why is it? Is it possible that man may, by any effort he can make, place himself in the position for which he was intended, that of nature's master? Is there any room for hope, or must he live on, knowing that in virtue of a great and overruling law, the time must come when they who own the land will hold as slaves all those who need to work it? To all these latter questions, the answer is to be determined by that given to the first and greatest of them: What is the ONE great cause of the "vice and misery" now so obviously existing throughout the world?

* "Principles are truths prior to all facts, or makings, and are themselves unmade. They stand in immutable and eternal necessity; and while they condition all power, can themselves be conditioned by no power. Even Omnipotence can be wise and righteous, only as determined by immutable principles. The insight of the reason may often detect, in the fact, the principle which determined the nature of the fact, and in the light of such principle we can say *why* the fact is, and not merely *that* it is.

"The perception of the sense gives facts; the insight of the reason gives principles. The use of facts may lead the mind up from particular to general judgments, whereby we may classify all the attainments of sense, and secure an intelligible order of experience; the use of principles may guide the mind to interpret and explain facts, and raise its knowledge from that of a logical experience to philosophical science. Not facts alone, no matter how logically classified, but facts expounded by principles, constitute philosophy."—HICKOK: *Rational Cosmology*, p. 13.

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 465, *note*.

That is the question Mr. Malthus has professed to answer. How far he has done so, we may now inquire.

Commencing with the American Indians, he tells his readers, that the women are "far from being prolific;" that their unfruitfulness has been attributed by some to a want of ardor in the men;" that this "is not, however, peculiar to this race" — it having been remarked by Bruce and Vaillant, in regard to various tribes of Africa. The causes of this are not, as he thinks, to be found in "any absolute constitutional defect — diminishing, as it does, nearly in proportion to the degree in which" the hardships and dangers of savage life are diminished, or removed. What is, in this case, the cause of difficulty? The ONE great cause cannot here be seen, yet "vice and misery" much abound. Why is it so? Is it because of too great a tendency towards human reproduction, or, is it an absence of disposition, or ability, in man, to make the earth produce? By the admission of Mr. Malthus himself, it is the latter — "vice and misery" here resulting from the operations of the creature, and not from laws instituted by the Creator. What, then, becomes of the *Principle of Population*?

Turning now towards South America, we find that, "in the interior of the province bordering on the Orinoco, several hundred miles may be traversed in different directions, without finding a single hut, or observing the footsteps of a single creature."* This is, nevertheless, one of the richest regions of the world — one in which there is perpetual summer, and in which maize yields three hundred fold. Why is it, that population does not here increase? — it being, according to Mr. M., an undoubted fact, that numbers are limited only by the difficulty of obtaining food, and that they tend, always and every where, to outrun subsistence. Where is the ONE great cause, of which we are in search, and which he would here exhibit?

Looking next to Peru, we find, that having been led, "by a fortunate train of circumstances, to improve and extend their agriculture," its people "were enabled to increase in numbers," in spite of "the apathy of the men, or the destructive habits of the women." Nothing is here said of "population pressing on subsistence" — it being quite too obvious that the large numbers of people

* *Principles of Population*, Book I., ch. iv.

gathered together on the poor lands of the Western slope of the Andes, had been far better supplied with food, than the scattered savages who wandered over the fertile soils of the Eastern slope, a single acre of which could furnish more food, in return to the same labor, than could be obtained from a dozen in Peru.—Thus far, therefore, we have made no approach to the determination of the ONE great cause of the prevalence of "vice and misery" among mankind.

Passing now to the rich islands of the South Pacific, we find tribes of people who live on human flesh, and who — being perpetually at war with each other — "naturally wish to increase the number of their members," with a view to "greater power of attack or defence." No customs here prevail among the women, unfavorable to the progress of population; yet, admirable as is the climate, and fertile as is the soil, they are few in number. Food, nevertheless, is so scarce as to render it "not improbable, that the desire of a good meal should give additional force to the desire of revenge, and that they should be perpetually destroying each other by violence, as the only alternative of perishing by hunger." * Does the difficulty here experienced, lie with man, or with the earth?—If the former, what becomes of Mr. Malthus's *one* great cause of vice and misery?

Infanticide and immorality abounding in Tahiti, Mr. Malthus was of opinion, that when depopulation should have run its course, a change of habits "would soon restore the population, which could not long be kept below its natural level, without the most extreme violence."—That level being the supply of food, and food being here exuberantly abundant, it is clear that the "*one* great cause" cannot, on this occasion, be produced. — Inequality in the distribution of the proceeds of labor being one of those phenomena of society which were to be accounted for by the constant pressure of population against subsistence, the reader of Mr. Malthus's work can scarcely fail to be surprised at finding him here asserting, that "in all those countries where provisions are obtained with great facility"—those, of course, in which the "*one* great cause" cannot be found—"a most tyrannical distinction of rank prevails" —the people being "in a state of comparative degradation." †

Coming now to Asia, we find the Usbecks occupying a soil of

* *Ibid*, Book I., ch. v. † *Ibid.*

"great natural fertility," of which they do not choose to profit — preferring "to pillage, rob, and kill their neighbors, rather than apply themselves to improve the benefits nature so liberally offers them."* What is the evidence here afforded of the existence of the "one great cause," we cannot readily see. — The Tartars, too, as we are told, are robbers; and yet "the whole of their plunder is not equivalent to what they might obtain, with very little labor, from their lands," were they to "apply themselves seriously to agriculture."

The peasants under the Turkish rule, "desert their villages, and betake themselves to a pastoral state" — hoping thereby better "to escape from the plunder of their Turkish masters, and Arab neighbors." The "one great cause" of vice and misery that Mr. Malthus desired to establish, was the inability of the earth to answer the demands of man, but here he only proves the inability of man to make demands upon the earth.

Quoting from Park, Mr. Malthus describes "the wonderful fertility of the soil of Africa, and its vast herds of cattle" — regretting "that a country so abundantly gifted by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state." The cause of this is to be found in the fact, that "they have not many opportunities of turning to account the surplus produce of their labor." Why have they not? Because they need more population — enabling them so to diversify their employments as to give them the "opportunities" they so much require — making a market on the land for all the products of their fertile soils. — Absence of demand for food, however, can scarcely be adduced as proof that population tends to increase more rapidly than food. — Park having attributed the dearths that frequently occurred, to want of people, Mr. Malthus himself replies, that what they really need is "security, and its general concomitant, industry" — and therein he is right. Population *would* then increase, and dearths *would* disappear — the great bank being prepared to answer all the drafts that can be made upon it. What, however, in this case, becomes of the "one great cause"?

"The principle of increase in Egypt," as we are told, "does all that it is possible for it to do" — keeping "the population fully up to the level of subsistence."† — A more natural explanation

* *Ibid*, Book I., ch. vii. † *Ibid*, Book I., ch. viii.

of the phenomena here observed, would be, that insecurity and oppression keep the supply of food below the level of population. Such an one, however, would have no tendency to prove the existence of the alleged "great cause"—the insufficiency of the powers of the earth to meet the demands of man.

Siberia is represented as abounding in land, whose vigor is said to be inexhaustible, and yet, "many of these districts are thinly peopled"—the population not increasing "in the proportion that might be expected from the nature of the soil."* For this, many reasons are adduced—the necessity for their adduction tending, however, to prove the non-existence of the *one* great and universal cause of the "vice and misery" which may there be found.

In the physical world, all effects being due to fixed and certain causes whose force is capable of being measured, we are enabled, in relation to distant phenomena, to reason from cause to effect, and from effect to cause, with the same confidence as if the whole were passing before our eyes. So must it be in the social world—cause and effect being every where the same, and vice and misery being as clearly traceable to failure in man to qualify himself for obtaining command over nature, as evaporation can be shown to be a consequence of heat.—In Mr. Malthus's book, however, there is nothing of the kind—his readers being distinctly informed, that "nothing is more difficult than to lay down rules that do not admit of exceptions."† As a consequence of this it is, that after having assured his readers of the existence of "*one* great cause" of vice and misery, he afterwards gives them almost as many causes as there are communities to be treated of—always, however, selecting that one which best will suit his purpose.—Food being abundant, vice and misery take their place as causes of over-population. Food being scarce, they become effects.—The market being near, and raw produce being high, over-population is an effect. The market being distant, and food being low, vice and misery are the consequences.—Infanticide abounding, over-population is regarded as fully proved. Life being prolonged, excess of numbers is the necessary consequence.—Food being scarce, men become enslaved. Food being superabundant, slavery is the inevitable result.—Government being oppressive, the abandonment of land is a cause of over-population. Taxes being light,

* *Ibid*, Book I., ch. ix. † *Ibid*, Book II., ch. iv.

and cultivation extending itself, there arises a necessity for cultivating the poorer soils.—Want of sale for products, retards agriculture. Double, or even treble, the quantity of food, and we may be "perfectly assured," that we "shall not want mouths to eat it."*—Inequalities of distribution need to be remedied. If people were equal, the difficulty would be "imminent and immediate."—Epidemics pave the way for a great increase of population. Marriages may, or may not, follow a great mortality.—The richer the soil, and the fewer the people to eat its products, the greater is the tendency to poverty and wretchedness. The more productive and populous a country, the more the "checks" are needed.—"Highly probable" that constant wars gave to the Volsci a full supply of able-bodied men. Constant wars among the Arabs, cause population to press hard against subsistence—producing "a state of habitual misery and famine."

Haunted by the idea of an imaginary fact, Mr. Malthus pressed into its service a quantity of real ones—all of them tending to prove how steadily and generally men had been engaged in preventing themselves from obtaining command of the food "prepared" for them, but none of them tending, in any degree whatsoever, to prove, that the supply had not, every where, increased in full proportion to their power to make demand. Instead of establishing the existence of his "one great cause," he has given us an almost infinite variety of causes, out of which to select the one to which we may be best disposed to attribute the "vice and misery" that are every where around us.—In his anxiety to effect his object, facts are frequently distorted—the rapid increase of population in the Western American States being treated as a result of natural increase, and without allowance for immigration—and the increase of early German tribes being assumed as having been fully equal to that observed throughout the United States. Where facts cannot be given, suppositions and probabilities are furnished—all of them tending, of course, to the establishment of the great facts, that the principle of increase in man is greater than in the lower forms of organized matter; that population must, therefore, outrun subsistence; and, of course, that the Creator had made a serious blunder.

Occasionally, his views are accurate, as when he tells his readers,

* *Ibid*, Book II., ch. ii.

that where there are no manufactures, raw produce will be cheap, and finished commodities dear; that, in countries in which the agricultural system entirely predominates, "the condition of the people is subject to almost every degree of variation;" that, commerce and manufactures are necessary to agriculture; and, that the poverty and wretchedness of Africa, and other countries in which fertile soils so much abound, are due to that want of power to maintain commerce, which always results from absence of diversity in the demand for human faculties. — Rejecting these truths, while adopting all his errors, his countrymen have been most consistent in the effort to prevent the establishment of manufactures in any country outside of Britain — thereby producing, or perpetuating, throughout the world, the "vice and misery" described by Mr. Malthus, and by him attributed to what he called the "Principle of Population;" that principle being a mere form of words, indicative of the existence of a great, but altogether imaginary, fact.

Few books have exercised a greater influence, yet few have had less claim to the exercise of any influence whatsoever. Few have been so prejudicial to the modes of thought, and yet, no one can hesitate to believe, that its author was prompted by a desire of benefiting his fellow-men.

§ 4. Having discovered the one great and universal cause of the "vice and misery" of the world, Mr. Malthus did not fail to furnish an equally great and universal remedy; a panacea for the correction of all the social evils he had so well described; in the form of a recommendation to "moral restraint," in reference to the contraction of the matrimonial engagement—seeking thereby to arrest the growth of population. Before, however, we can admit the propriety of adopting one general course of practice, it would seem to be required that we satisfy ourselves of the existence of the one universal disease. Tested in this manner, we may suppose the inventor to have suggested its adoption by one of the American Indians above referred to — receiving his reply in the following words: "You mistake, my dear sir, our cause of difficulty. We are not troubled with any excessive desire for procreation. On the contrary, our young men are very cold, and, as a consequence, matrimonial connexions are but slowly formed,

few children are born, and we continue poor and scattered. The remedy we really need, is one that would stimulate our people to sexual intercourse—giving us a larger population, and thus facilitating that combination of action which would enable us to clear and cultivate the rich soils around us, by whose aid we might acquire wealth."—In like manner, the solitary inhabitant of the Orinoco would probably say: "I am here, as you see, alone, in the midst of a land, each acre of which would furnish the food required for a family's support. Give me neighbors, and see that they have both wives and children. We have here no need for either monks or nuns."—The Tahitan, in his turn, would be likely to say: "Moral restraint is precisely the thing we do not need. Intercourse, throughout the island, being exceedingly promiscuous, is very unproductive. Population is, therefore, small, while food is most abundant. Were we to take your prescription, we should have many children, and would soon be troubled with over-population — your remedy producing the disease it was honestly meant to cure."—The Tartar would perhaps reply, that he spent his life in the saddle; that he preferred robbery to the pursuits of civilized life; that he felt little desire for sexual intercourse; and, that the remedy would be of little use to him. — The Turkish peasant would probably exclaim: "Moral restraint! Abstinence from matrimony! That, my dear sir, is precisely the evil of which I so much complain—the rich having so entirely monopolized the women, that I am unable to find a wife. Many of my neighbors are in the same situation with myself, and we should be greatly obliged to you if you could help us to obtain wives and children. Population and wealth then increasing, we should be enabled to protect ourselves, and would no longer be compelled to forego the cultivation of our fields, as now we do."—The Irishman would answer, that an essential cause of the growth of numbers throughout the island, was to be found in the "moral restraint" already so much existing. "Deprived," as he would say, "of all but mere animal enjoyments, my countrywomen find in the sexual intercourse, the one and only pleasure in which they may indulge. Proverbially chaste, they are very fruitful — our difficulty lying in that direction. Under existing circumstances, any further adoption of your remedy would but aggravate the disease you seek to cure." — Go where Mr. Malthus might, the answers would be still the same—his own

countrymen, even, assuring him, that one of the principal existing checks to population, was found in the great extent of indiscriminate intercourse.*

Prudence and foresight are strongly recommended to the consideration of the poor, by writers who commence by expelling from their minds the idea of hope — assuring them, that the check upon population, resulting from inability of the earth to furnish the necessary supplies of food, is "constantly in operation," and "*must*" be felt, "*in some or other of the various forms of misery, by a large portion of mankind.*"† A slave to nature man was brought into the world, and a slave to his fellow-man he must remain in it — he having "no claim, of right, to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, *no business to be where he is*," *if* "*the society does not need his labor.*" "At nature's feast, there is no place for him. She tells him to begone, and will quickly execute her own order."‡ Inquiring anxiously if there is no hope of escape for his wife, his children, or himself, he is met by the assurance of the existence of certain fixed and immutable laws, so absolute in their operation, that "were the whole mass of human sustenance," now produced, "to be increased tenfold by the efforts of human ingenuity and industry," it might be asserted, "*as an undoubted truth*, that the *only* effects, after the lapse of a few years, would have been the multiplication, in like proportion, of the number of its occupants, with probably, at the same time, a far increased proportion of poverty and crime."§ "In obedience to the great principle of population, there is now, and always must be, a tendency towards peopling countries "up to the limits of subsistence"—those limits being "the lowest quantity

* It was stated some years since by a clergyman (we think the Rev. Mr. Cunningham), that the morals of his parish were improving; and the reason given for this belief was, that bastards had become more numerous, from which fact he inferred that indiscriminate intercourse had become less common.

† *Principles of Population*, Book I., ch. i.

‡ *Ibid*, second edition, p. 431. Mr. Malthus, in deference to public feeling, subsequently expunged this passage, and yet, in writing it, he was but carrying out his "principle." Subsequent writers have gone quite as far as he did, in writing what is here quoted. See *ante*, vol. i., p. 470.

§ Quoted by Mr. Rickards, in his work, *Population and Capital*, without the author's name. Mr. R., like the present writer, is opposed to the Malthusian theory, and furnishes much, in the way of both fact and argument, that is worthy of the reader's attention.

of food which will maintain a stationary population.'' *—Such being his prospects, why should he hesitate to avail himself of the only source of pleasure that is open to him — the gratification of his animal appetites? †

"Moral restraint'' comes with growing self-respect — that, in turn, growing with the growth of intellectual development. That mind may be developed, there must be a power of association, resulting from the existence of diversity in the demand for human faculties. Where that exists, man acquires power over nature, and over himself—ceasing to be the slave of passion, and passing, by degrees, towards the condition of the responsible being we may properly designate as MAN.—With every step in that direction, the consumer takes his place by the side of the producer — agriculture becomes more and more a science — labor obtains power over capital—distribution becomes more equitable—society tends towards taking its natural form — and man becomes more free. — The British system tending every where to prevent the production of these effects, and man becoming, under it, a mere

* *Principles of Population*, Book III., ch. xiv.

† "A half-starved wretch, who has only rags to wear, and a ruined mud-hovel to sleep in, knows that he cannot be more despised, though he may be more pitied, if the holes in his cheeks and coat, and in the roof of his shed, become twice as wide as at present. Neither is the absence of shame on account of his outward appearance supplied, as might be expected, by increased dread of the more real ills of poverty. On the contrary, it seems that the more wretched a man is, the more heedless he is about increasing his misery. If he were in easy circumstances, he would be reluctant to risk any of his comforts; but a very poor man may have no comforts to lose. If his means be barely sufficient to appease the cravings of nature, without affording him any positive gratification, he may think that, being already so badly off, he cannot become much worse; and that it is not worth while to practise present self-denial, from the dread of a slight increase of future privation.* He might possibly be disposed to postpone the indulgence of his inclinations, if there were a chance of his condition improving; but, if he have no such hope, the present opportunity may seem as unobjectionable as any that is ever likely to occur. He may even persuade himself that it will be for his advantage to marry early, that his sons may be able to assist him in his old age, when he would otherwise be altogether destitute He may reason in this manner, if he think at all; but it is more likely that his misfortunes will have rendered him inconsiderate and reckless. With so gloomy a prospect before him, he may prefer to close his eyes upon the future, and, caring only for the present moment, he may snatch at any means of alleviating his sorrows, without calculating the cost."—THORNTON: *Causes of Over-population*, p. 120.

* "This argument has been briefly summed up in one of Dr. Johnson's memorable sayings: 'A man is poor — he thinks, I cannot be worse, so I'll e'en take Peggy.' "—*Croker's Boswell*, vol. ii., p. 103.

instrument to be used by trade, hence it is, that it has given rise to the theory of the "one great cause" of evil, and the one great remedy—the former leading to utter despair of the future, while the latter urges abstinence from the chief, even when not the only, source of pleasure left open in the present. As taught by Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo, social science has been well described as being "the philosophy of despair, resting upon an arithmetic of ruin." *

§ 5. Responsibility grows with the growth of the gifts of God to man — he who is rich in the development of his powers, and, therefore, capable of influencing the societary action, being responsible to his fellow-man, and to his Creator, for the full and strict performance of his duties. The poor laborer, on the contrary, is the slave of circumstances over which he exercises no control — rising, as he so frequently does, uncertain where he shall find his daily bread, and sleeping supperless, because of having found that society did not "need his labor," and had, therefore, allowed him no place "at the table" provided for all mankind. Again and again he repeats the experiment — again and again failing to exchange his services for food, and returning to his wretched home, to encounter there the demands of a starving wife and children. Despairing, he steals a loaf — society then holding him to a strict accountability, while relieving those in power from all responsibility, by maintaining the existence of great natural laws, in virtue of which a large proportion of every population must "regularly die of want."

That there is a great deal of vice and misery in the world, is

* According to Mr. J. S. Mill (*Principles*, Book IV., ch. ii.), "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled a great population to lead the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers to make large fortunes."—This sad result, for result it certainly is, is attributed to excess in the tendency to procreation, but, Mr. Mill would have been more nearly right, had he attributed it to an effort at monopolizing the machinery of manufacture — preventing, outside of Great Britain, the development of agriculture, and producing, within the kingdom itself, all the evils predicted of it by Adam Smith. Looking to the present condition of all the unprotected countries of the world, he might have gone even further — asserting, that the condition of the human race had deteriorated since the day on which steam was first applied to the production of cloth and iron. The reverse of this might, however, be asserted in regard to all the protected countries of Central and Northern Europe.

an undoubted fact. What are the causes of its existence, is yet disputed. Equally undetermined is it, as yet, who is responsible for it, and whether it is remediable, or otherwise. — Mr. Malthus says, that it is the natural result of a divine, and therefore inevitable, law — the result, as we see, being that of relieving the governing classes of the world from any possible responsibility for the welfare of those below them. Both religion and common sense, however, teach, that the Being who made this wonderful world, in which every part is so perfectly adapted to the production of harmony, could have imposed upon man no law tending to the production of discord; that vice and misery are consequences of human error, and not of divine laws; and that the men who exercise power, and control the societary movement, are responsible for the condition of those around them. — Such is the difference between Social Science, and the doctrines of the Ricardo-Malthusian school — the one holding the rich and strong to a high responsibility, while the other shifts the whole of it to the shoulders of those who, being poor and weak, are unable to defend themselves.

The one inculcates, that the great treasury of nature is practically unlimited in its extent; that there exist great natural laws, in virtue of which, food and other raw materials tend to increase more rapidly than population; that it is the *duty* of the powerful to study and understand those laws; and that if, by reason of failure in the performance of that great duty, vice and misery prevail throughout the world, they, and they alone, must be held accountable therefor. — The other teaches that, by reason of the scarcity of fertile soils, the powers of the earth are perpetually diminishing in the ratio borne by them to the mouths requiring to be fed; that there exist great natural laws, in virtue of which, population tends to increase more rapidly than food; *that it is the duty of the poor, the weak, and the uninstructed, to understand those laws*—failing to do which, the responsibility rests with them, and them alone.

The one holds to a belief in the great law of Christianity, which teaches, that men should do to others, as they would that others should do unto them; that where there are old, blind, lame, or otherwise helpless persons, it is the duty of the strong and the rich to see that they are provided for.—The other teaches, that "charity,

in applying itself to the relief of the distressed, does but augment the number of the poor;"* that population is superabundant, and that there is no remedy but that of "starving out the surplus;"† that marriage is "a luxury" in which the poor have no right to indulge;‡ that it is "an enjoyment" to which "the poor have no right until they have made provision for their expected family;"§ that "labor is a commodity," and that if poor men *will* marry, and have children, and "we stand between the error and its consequences," which are poverty, wretchedness, and death, "we stand between the evil and its cure"—thus intercepting the penalty, and perpetuating "the sin." ‖

§ 6. The nearer the consumer to the producer, and the closer the approximation of the prices of rude products, the larger is the production, and the more equitable the distribution — the laborer becoming from day to day more master of his future, and of himself. The more distant the producers and consumers, and the wider the separation of prices, the smaller is production, the more inequitable becomes the distribution, and the greater is the tendency towards having the laborer become a mere instrument in the hands of the trader. In the first of these, the feeling of responsibility grows daily, among the poor and the rich. In the last, it declines as steadily in all. — Here are propositions of universal truth, by aid of which, past history may be studied — the present may be understood — and the future may be predicted.

British policy tends in the last of the directions above described, and hence it is, that British writers have been led to give us the monstrous doctrines above described.—By some of the advocates of the Malthusian theory, it is asserted, that its author is not to be held responsible for the sayings of his followers; and yet, these latter are but the legitimate results of the teachings of his cele-

* CHERBULIEZ: *Etudes*, p. 73.

† JEFFREY. Quoted by Mr. Rickards, *Population and Capital*, p. 215.

‡ THORNTON, on *Over-population*.

§ *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1849.

‖ *Ibid.* As in the case of Mr. Malthus above referred to, the author of this article did not venture to carry out his views to their fullest extent. He, therefore, made an exception of "positive death;" but the man who would have us leave the poor to suffer unassisted all the other ills "that flesh is heir to," need not have shrunk from adding that last of all, which comes as a relief for all.

brated work — no theory having ever yet been published, so well calculated to expel from the bosom of the laborer all feeling of hope in the future for his wife, his children, or himself; none so fitted to fill that of the employer with all uncharitableness; none so calculated to annihilate confidence in the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator. Having made the world, harmonious and beautiful as we see it to be, He could have been under no necessity to institute laws for man's government, in virtue of which, obedience to the great command — "Increase and multiply, and subdue the earth" — should be productive of the vice and misery that so much abound. If He has done so, then has He done it of malice prepense—His power and His knowledge being infinite.*

* "If *doubling* is the natural tendency of man, how can it be, that it is impossible in the case of food? Are not the animals and vegetables which constitute the fund from which he draws subsistence, like himself, endowed, and on a grander scale, with the faculty of reproduction? If this faculty, with them as with him, remains sometimes latent, do we not, at others, see it manifesting itself with an intensity that is truly wonderful? That it may always do so, nothing is required, but that it be not prevented. To man was given not only the power to remove existing obstacles, but also that of causing the production of the state of things most favorable to the development of the reproductive faculty — that, indeed, being his great mission. Placed in the midst of a superabounding life, of every kind and degree, he seizes it on its passage, but he destroys it not — *occupying* it but for a moment, and then returning it to the great reservoir from which it had been drawn. Consumption, like the production by which it is alimented, and which, in turn, it aliments, is but a transformation — NOTHING BEING BY IT DESTROYED. . . So far, then, from increase of numbers being a cause of weakness and of ruin, it is a cause of wealth and power—the supply of food, instead of flying from before them, becoming more and more abundant as men increase in numbers, and are more enabled to combine together. . . If, then, human life is, of all machines, the most destructive, it is, too, of all, the most productive."—PASSY: *L'Economiste Belge*, Oct. 10, 1858.

CHAPTER L.

OF COMMERCE.

Of the Relations of the Sexes.

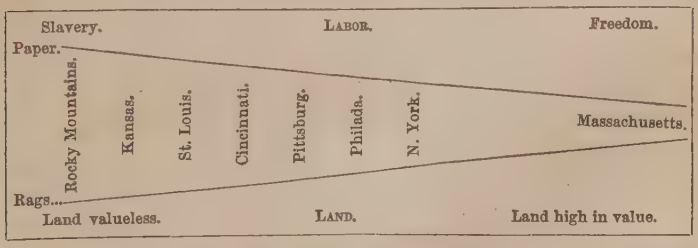
§ 1. THE American Indian wastes in utter idleness all the time that is not employed in war, or in the chase—leaving to his miserable squaw the labors incident to the preservation of his children, and to the perpetual changes from place to place.—He shoots the deer — leaving to his unhappy helpmate the task of carrying the meat to their wretched home. He helps himself, and when there is enough for both, she may eat. When there is not, she may perish for want of food. — The savage of Van Dieman's Land marks his female companion by breaking the joints of her fingers, and knocking out her front teeth — thereafter treating her as a beast of burthen, and paying with stripes for her patient labors.— The African buys his wife, and sells his daughters. — The Turk fills his harem with slaves, the creatures of his will — holding their lives at their master's pleasure.—Woman is, thus, the slave of man, where man himself is nature's slave.

Tracing the latter upwards, we find him gradually becoming nature's master — substituting mental power for the merely muscular efforts upon which he previously had depended — the distinctive qualities of the MAN becoming more and more developed. With every stage of progress, he is enabled to become more fixed at home — the work of cultivation slowly, but certainly, taking the place of mere appropriation — domestic habits gradually replacing those wandering ones by which he had been distinguished — and he himself coming more and more to find "in the comfort and happiness of home, the grammar of life." With each, the wife acquires increased importance as being the mistress of the house, the companion of his joys and his sorrows, and the mother of his children. With each, there is increased demand for

the various powers of the weaker sex — the various individualities of its members becoming more developed as man himself becomes more qualified to assume the post assigned to him. Brain then taking the place of mere muscle, the weak woman finds herself becoming more and more the equal of the man who is strong of arm — passing by slow degrees, from the condition of man's slave towards that of his companion and his friend.

Man's value grows with the growth of wealth — wealth consisting in the power to command nature's services. Woman's value grows with the growth of demand for her peculiar powers — that, too, growing with the growth of wealth. Capital is, thus, the great equalizer — the demand for female faculties growing in the direct ratio of the development of man's latent powers.

This latter, as we have seen, comes with growth in the power of association, resulting from growing diversity in the demands for human powers — the consumer then taking his place by the producer's side — the latent forces of the earth being then stimulated into activity—and land itself becoming divided, with growing tendency towards giving to each and every man a home of his own, to be to him a little savings' bank for all his surplus powers, and for those kindly feelings and affections which await the demands of wife and children. Improvement in woman's condition comes, thus, as man becomes more individualized and self-reliant. For proof of this, we must refer the reader once again to the diagram already so often placed before him, desiring



that he should trace the gradual change in the condition of the sex, as he passes from the region of undivided land and homeless men, on the left, towards that of divided land and cultivated homes, on the right.

Look in what direction we may, we find new evidence, that it

is in the near approach of the prices of rude products and finished commodities, and consequent increase in the value of man and land, we are to find the most conclusive evidence of advancing civilization. With every stage of approximation, the middlemen class, whether soldiers or sailors, traders or politicians, diminishes in its proportions, with correspondent decline in its power to control and direct the societary movement. With each, the circulation becomes more rapid — agriculture tends more to become a science — and woman tends more towards occupying her proper place, that of man's first and nearest friend—stimulating him into activity, and heightening his enjoyments, while ever ready to administer consolation in his afflictions.* Reasoning *à priori*, such would seem to be the necessary effect upon the future of the sex, resulting from that diminution in the proportion of the merely appropriating classes which follows, necessarily, the closer approximation of the consumers and producers of the world.—How far the facts of history tend towards proving that such *has been* the course of events, we may now inquire.

§ 2. The Spartan institutions, tending as they did towards the prevention of association, and the perpetuation of the relation of master and slave, were essentially barbarous — their result exhibiting itself in consolidation of land and demoralization of man. As a consequence, the true WOMAN finds little place in Spartan history — her place being occupied by females racing, naked, in the arena, before assembled thousands; by wives who profited of the law which authorized the substitution of lovers for husbands; and by sisters who found an excuse for incest in a desire for improving the physical proportions of the race. Need we wonder, then, that Sparta has left behind her scarcely any trace of her existence?

Wisdom, love, chastity, poetry, history, the liberal arts, and even Athens herself, were typified by female figures — Minerva, Venus, Diana, and the Muses, having been the objects of divine

* It may be said, however, that the earlier periods of society exhibit women occupying higher positions than would be now assigned them, as in the cases of Semiramis, Boadicea, Fredegonda, and others. Inequality is, however, the constant attendant upon barbarism and semi-barbarism. The sex at large, in those days, occupied a position that was little, even where at all, superior to that of the negro slave of the present day.

worship among the people who had looked to Solon for their institutions and their laws. When, however, we look to the interior of the Athenian family, we find, as in all cases of semi-barbarism, the home to have had no real existence, the wife having been a mere drudge, whose sphere of action was limited to the perpetuation of the family and the superintendence of the household — the husband, meanwhile, finding the best society the city could supply, in the dwelling of his mistress. Neglected as she was, chastity was then, nevertheless, the characteristic of the Athenian matron. When, however, Athens had become mistress of 1000 cities; when centralization had been fully carried out; when trade, war, and politics, had become the sole pursuits of Athenian men; and when tyranny, rapacity, and pauperism, had become universal; we find Socrates lending his wife to his friend, while Pericles scarcely surprises his fellow-citizens when presenting to them Aspasia, his own mistress, and the mistress of so many others, as his legitimate wife — the class of *hæteræ* then constituting the most distinguished feature in the highly *civilized* society which had Attica for its home.

In the earlier centuries of Rome, when land was divided, and when men like Cincinnatus cultivated their own little farms, woman was, in general, treated as being little better than a mere chattel; and yet, in the inheritance of property, the son and daughter stood together — sharing their patrimony between them. To that period, the world stands now indebted for Lucretia, Virginia, and Volumnia, and for the fact, that thus far, the attention of Roman courts had never once been called to the question of divorce. Later, we find a city abounding in pauperism, and a land cultivated by slaves; Catos who *sell* the privilege of cohabitation with chattels that they, perhaps, have themselves begotten; and a State that wrests from the weaker sex, the single privilege it thus far had enjoyed, — the female right of inheritance being then abolished by the Voconian law, after an existence of more than 600 years. Licentiousness becoming universal, the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the chastity of the sex, are found to have disappeared together — Pompey and Cæsar distinguishing themselves by violations of the one, while Messalina and Aggrippina, Poppæa and Faustina, stand before the world as fitting specimens of the other.

France, perpetually engaged in foreign and domestic wars, presents to view, at home, during many centuries, contrasts in the condition of the sex which are very striking — the depression and poverty of the laboring many, being in precise accordance with the magnificence of the few who live by the exercise of their powers of appropriation. As the feudal system was extended, as land became consolidated, and as the smaller proprietors disappeared, the homes of wives and daughters became less and less secure — the right of *jambage and cuissage* becoming, at length, so universally asserted, and so generally exercised, as to cause the eldest son of the tenant to be held more honorable than his brothers, because of his highly probable relation to the lord.—Abroad, her history is one of unceasing interferences with the rights of others—Italy and Spain, the Netherlands and Germany, Russia and Egypt, America and India, presenting the various scenes of action. In all of these, towns and cities have been ruined, husbands and sons have, by hundreds of thousands, been deprived of life, while wives and mothers have been compelled to endure the last indignity to which their sex is liable, and daughters have been driven to prostitution as affording the only means of obtaining food. Educated abroad in the career of rape and murder, her sons have practised at home what they so well had learned — the domestic history of no country of Europe exhibiting so total a disregard of female rights or honor as may there be found, from the days of Charles the Bold and his *bons bouchers*, to those of the *noyades*, and the guillotine, of the Revolution.

With every stage, however, in the consolidation of the land, we find individual women become more and more the controllers of their country's destinies—the history of that country, from the days of Fredegonda and Brunechild, to those of Maintenon, Pompadour, and Du Barré, exhibiting the subjection of a nation to female influence, such as is unparalleled, elsewhere, in the history of the world.—With the final adoption of the system of Colbert, however, there came a change — land thereafter becoming divided — the feudal rights disappearing — and the small proprietor, capable of defending the honor of his wife and daughters, gradually taking the place that had, so recently, been so fully occupied by the nobles and the Church. Further division coming, as a consequence of revolution, the class of free proprietors has steadily

increased — millions of people whose predecessors had been little better than mere serfs, now having lands, houses, and homes of their own, of which the wife is chief director.* Here, however, as every where, we find political centralization counteracting the influence of that social decentralization which looks to elevating the condition of all the people of the State, whether male or female. Enormous taxation aids in building up the central city, at the cost of the rural districts — enabling the few who divide among themselves the spoils, to live in affluence, while wives and mothers, elsewhere, suffer for want of the commonest necessaries of life.

Throughout Central and Northern Europe, the tendency is, every where, in the same direction—land becoming divided—men becoming more free — and woman assuming a higher place in the social scale, as, with the growing power to command the use of steam and other forces, the taste and skill, the eyes and fingers, of the weaker sex, are substituted for the mere muscular powers of the stronger man. Such is now the tendency in Sweden and Denmark, Belgium, Northern Germany, and Russia, all of which

* "The other circumstance which strikes the traveller is the condition and appearance of the female sex, as it is affected by the distribution of land among the laboring class. None of the women are exempt from field-work, not even in the families of very substantial peasant proprietors, whose houses are furnished as well as any country manse with us. All work as regularly as the poorest male individual. The land, however, being their own, they have a choice of work, and the hard work is generally done by the men. The felling and bringing home wood for fuel, the mowing grass generally, but not always, the carrying out manure on their backs, the handling horses and cows, digging, and such heavy labor, is man's work; the binding the vine to the pole with a straw, which is done three times in the course of its growth, the making the hay, the pruning the vine, twitching off the superfluous leaves and tendrils,—these lighter yet necessary jobs to be done about vineyards or orchards, form the women's work. But females, both in France and Switzerland, appear to have a far more important rôle in the family, among the lower and middle classes, than with us. The female, although not exempt from out-door work, and even hard work, undertakes the thinking and managing department in the family affairs, and the husband is but the executive officer. The female is, in fact, very remarkably superior in manners, habits, tact, and intelligence, to the husband, in almost every family of the middle or lower classes in Switzerland. . . . In France, also, the female takes her full share of business with the male part of the family, in keeping accounts and books, and selling goods, and, in both countries, occupies a higher and more rational social position certainly than with us. This seems to be the effect of the distribution of property, by which the female has her share and interest as well as the male, and grows up with the same personal interest and sense of property in all around her."—LAING: *Notes of a Traveller*, p. 172.

follow in the lead of Colbert and of France. — In all of these, Russia, perhaps, excepted, the right of the wife to the ownership of separate property, as well as her claim upon the husband's estate, in case of death, is fully recognized. In none, however, does woman yet occupy her true position — the eye of the traveller being perpetually offended by the sight of women carrying burdens wholly disproportioned to their strength, and engaged in other occupations that would more appropriately fall to the lot of sons or husbands.

What is needed, however, to be determined, is, not the actual condition of any people, but the point towards which society is tending, however gradual may be the movement. In all these countries, the condition of the laborer has but recently been nearly allied to that of serfage—the change we now observe, having occurred within the present century. With a single exception, all of them have, at various times, been overrun by foreign armies, while wars at home have largely contributed towards preventing accumulation of the wealth required for enabling man to take his true position in reference to nature. Germany, in particular, has suffered greatly from both foreign and domestic wars, and most especially in the half century which preceded the formation of the *Zoll-Verein*. Seeing all these things, the real cause of wonder is, that so much has been effected in so brief a period.*

§ 3. In the days of the Plantagenets, Saxon women were sent abroad to be sold as slaves — Scotch and Irish men becoming purchasers. With the growth of wealth and population, however, their condition gradually improved; and yet, even so late as the days of Blackstone, the common people, as he says, claimed and exercised the privilege, secured to them by the older law, of giving their wives "domestic chastisement," in "moderation." The little proprietors, however, then numbered 200,000— each having, for his wife and children, one of those homes which Adam Smith so much admired, and so well described.

Nevertheless, so far as regards any private right in property, the position of English women has been a steadily deteriorating one — the one now occupied being far inferior to that

* For Chevalier Bunsen's view of the effects of war, as exhibited in Germany and Russia, see *ante*, vol. ii., p. 146.

secured to them by the early English law. So recently as the reign of Charles I., the wife retained, at marriage, all her own real estate, while entitled to claim a life estate in a third of the property, real and personal, of her husband, at his death. Since then, those rights have wholly disappeared — the law giving the husband the whole of the wife's property, while securing to her nothing whatsoever. However profligate may be the husband, the wife can have no separate property — all her earnings belonging to her partner, and being liable to be taken for payment of his debts. In no part of the world, claiming to be held as civilized, is the wife so entirely at the mercy of the husband—so much his slave — as in England.

Looking now to the countries that follow in the train of Britain, we find, in all of them, a movement directly the reverse of that observed in those which follow in the train of Colbert and of France — the societary proportions of the middlemen class constantly increasing, when they should decrease. All of them are moving steadily towards societary dissolution — the process being that of gradual decay, to end, and that inevitably, in social death.

In all such cases, it is the woman who suffers most — the man being able to change his place, while wife and children must remain at home.—The annihilation of Irish manufactures having deprived tens of thousands of Irish females, of the employments to which they had been accustomed, where could they then seek to sell their labor? The whole Irish people having been reduced to the condition of mere "starvers upon potatoes and water," the men could yet roam abroad — seeking employment in England, or even beyond the ocean; but who were left to furnish food to hundreds of thousands of wives and mothers, daughters and sisters, left behind?—Where "popular starvation," as we are told by a distinguished English writer, had become "the condition" of a whole people, what *could* be done with those who were weak of body or of mind? — It is under such circumstances that man becomes a slave to nature, and woman a slave to man.

Looking next to India, we find a change to have been effected in the societary arrangements, tending, as in Ireland, to the annihilation of domestic commerce, and attended with an amount of ruin and distress, to which "there is no parallel to be found in the annals of commerce." Who were, here, the severest sufferers?

Sons and husbands might find employment in the Company's service, but in what direction could wives and daughters look for food? Men could emigrate to the Mauritius, but women and children must remain at home. Driven to despair, by a series of oppressions unparalleled in the history of the world, the unfortunate people have recently attempted a revolution, and the country has, for two years past, been made the theatre of a civil war, in the course of which, the country has been ravaged, towns and villages burned, and great cities plundered, even when not almost destroyed. What, in this state of things, has been the condition of the wives and mothers, the sisters and the daughters, every where exposed, as they must have been, to the vilest outrages.*

Passing now to Turkey, we are there presented with a picture, drawn by an English traveller, of the "hopeless competition" of industrious women and children, with the machinery of England—the latter working assiduously, "from the moment their little fingers can turn the spindle," and the former giving the unremitting labor of a week for the miserable pittance of an English shilling, even where not wholly deprived of employment, by reason of inability to dispose of the yarn which they have spun.†

Turkey and India exhausted, we now witness a persistent effort, during half a century, at the demoralization of China, by means

* The following picture of the scenes which followed the storming of Badajos, in 1812, is by an English officer, who was present on the occasion, and may enable the reader to form some idea of the probable condition of the women of Delhi and Lucknow, and of India at large, throughout the last two years:

"A convent at the end of the strada of St. John was in flames, and I saw more than one wretched nun in the arms of a drunken soldier. Further on, the confusion seemed greater. Brandy and wine casks were rolled out before the stores; some were full, some half drunk out, but more staved in, in mere wantonness, and the liquors running through the kennel. Many a harrowing scream saluted the ear of the passer-by; many a female supplication was heard asking in vain for mercy. How could it be otherwise, when it is remembered that twenty thousand furious and licentious madmen were loosed upon an immense population, among which many of the loveliest women upon earth might be found? All within that devoted city was at the disposal of an infuriated army, over whom, for the time, control was lost, aided by an infamous collection of camp-followers, who were, if possible, more sanguinary and pitiless even than those who had survived the storm. It is useless to dwell upon a scene from which the heart revolts. Few females in this beautiful town were saved that night from insult. The noblest and the beggar—the nun, and the wife and daughter of the artisan—youth and age, all were involved in general ruin. None were respected, and consequently few escaped."

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 314.

of opium, *forced into that country in defiance of governmental opposition.* For the accomplishment of that object, we have now had two wars, in which cities have been stormed, men have been killed, and women have been violated. How far such measures tend towards the advancement of civilization, may be judged by the women of this country, who see in the dram-shop the greatest foe to domestic happiness and peace.*

It is in the face of all this, that the women of England address those of America in relation to the evils of slavery, while an English clergyman congratulates his readers on the facts, that "no civilized power" has ever been "engaged in such constant and multitudinous wars"—there having been "*no month or week in the history of the last two hundred years, in which it could be said*" *that they were* "*not interchanging shot or sabre stroke, somewhere or other on the surface of the globe.*" Look when we may at the *Times*, as he further says, we find that the "meteor flag is waved in bloody advance"—that, too, "being," as we are assured, "an indispensable part of the British position." †

The British system gives us, thus, perpetual war *upon* the nations of the world, by means of soldiers and sailors, guns and gunpowder; and a perpetual "warfare" *within the bosom* of all those nations — this last being carried on by aid of those great capitalists, who can afford to make the "sacrifices required for gaining and keeping possession of foreign markets."—Against whom, however, is this double warfare chiefly carried on? It is against those who are unfit for labor in the field — against the weaker sex. Unfit to dig the earth, they find themselves driven from the light labor of conversion, in every country subject to the system, "from Smyrna to Canton, Madras to Samarcand." What, then, remains to them? In millions of cases, little else than prostitution; yet are we constantly assured of the civilizing effects of that trading system, to which the term "commerce" is

* "Never, perhaps, was there a nearer approach to a hell upon earth, than within the precincts of those vile hovels," the opium dens.—Rev. E. B. Squire.

"We have little reason to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners, when such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime, and disturbance. No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade."—Rev. Howard Malcolm.

† Rev. I. White: *The Eighteen Christian Centuries*, p. 482. — It is within the two centuries above described, that the English woman has lost all her previous claims to either her own property, or that of her husband.

so erroneously applied.—How it tends to the amelioration of the condition of the English women themselves, we may now inquire.

§ 4. Since the days of Adam Smith, more than 160,000 small proprietors have disappeared from England — so many homes having lost the husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers, who, less than a century since, stood upon their own land, and among their own children. So has it been throughout Great Britain — the customary right of clansman having wholly disappeared, and their clearance from the land having been effected with a rudeness to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, except in Ireland.* Driven from the land, the parents seek for homes in the towns and cities — wives and children seeking employment in mines and factories. Simultaneously, however, with the consolidation of the land we have the consolidation of great capitals, ever ready to crush domestic or foreign competition for the purchase of labor, or the sale of labor's products. The result is seen in the many harrowing Reports of Parliamentary Committees — reports in which we are presented with females working like slaves, and perfectly naked, among boys and men, in the mines; with wives and daughters subjected to an amount of physical effort, for which they were not intended by the Creator to whom they owe their

* "Will you ask the oldest inhabitants of the bare rock sides along the bleak and rugged shores of the West, how it happens that they starve out a drizzling existence on these unproductive wastes, while, for scores of miles, ten thousand times ten thousand available acres lie in bleak and barren desolation? Will you ask them to tell you how it happens that whole straths and glens, once vocal with the merry laugh of hundreds of happy cotters' children, now echo naught save the bleating of sheep, or the huntsman's horn, or the sportsman's rifle? Will you inquire how it happens that the population of Lairg is only a third of what it could boast of in 1801; how Loth has diminished a third; Kildonan, by three-fourths; Creich, by 1500; and other parishes to a less extent; so that the whole county of Sutherland has not increased 7 per cent. during the whole of the last fifty years?—Will you ask if it be true that the county which obtained a distinguished niche in the annals of this country, for the number and prowess of its soldiers, cannot now get half a dozen of its sons to recruit it even for the militia, or to act as volunteers in being merely trained for the defence of the coast; if it be a fact that, since the commencement of the present century, more than 15,000 of the aboriginal inhabitants of Sutherland have been thrust out from the land which their ancestors from traditionary ages occupied, and thrust out —not because convicted of crime, not because guilty of laziness, not because of arrears of rent, not because of immoral conduct, but to convert their holdings into monster sheep-walks and grouse-grounds."— DOUGLAS JERROLD: *Letter to Mrs. Stowe.*

miserable existence.* Recently, there has been an effort at improvement; the working of females in the mines having been, under certain circumstances, prohibited, and the hours of employment for children having been limited by law—the very fact, however, of the necessity for such laws, furnishing evidence of the absence of that competition for the purchase of labor, which would enable the laborer to obtain a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The "wasting shop," in which women are compelled to work 16 or 20 hours per day, and under a temperature so high as far to exceed the heat of the Torrid Zone — the shop in which their lives are "expended like those of cattle on a farm"— still exists; and all attempts at interference, with a view to the protection of these helpless women, is resisted, because of the "keenness of the competition" for the sale of cloth.† What, however, is the object of this competition? That of preventing the women of India, of Ireland, and of America, from finding purchasers for

* "My attention was drawn to one public house, much frequented by factory workers; I accordingly called about nine o'clock one evening, and found in the tap-room six females, three married and three single; also five men. The women were all workers at one factory. I entered into conversation with one of these women, as follows: —'What time do you go to work in a morning?' 'We begin work at six, but I generally get up at five o'clock, as I have upwards of a mile to go?'—'Do you get your breakfast before you go, or is it brought to you afterwards?' 'No, I carry it with me, and also my dinner and drinking.'*—'What time have you allowed for breakfast?' 'Fifteen minutes.'—'What time for dinner?' 'One hour.'—'What time for drinking?' 'Fifteen minutes.'—'What time do you leave at night?' 'Half-past seven o'clock.'—'Do you feel fatigued after your day's work?' 'I can assure you, sir, I do; for ours is very hard work: we have to lift above our heads four combs a minute, each weighing twenty-four pounds.'—'You mean to say, then, that you lift ninety-six pounds per minute, the day through?' 'Yes, sir, and week about. That is the reason you see us here drinking; for we cannot eat much, and we must have something. I brought this bread and butter with me this morning, and you see I have not eaten it.'—'Is your husband in work?' 'No, nor has not been these eighteen months.'—'Does he get up in a morning when you do?'—'No, I leave him in bed with the youngest child.'—'How many children have you?' 'Three.'—'What age are they?' 'Five, three, and one: *that at three I have not seen sometimes from Monday morning to Saturday night; for it is put to bed before I get home, and I leave it in bed in the morning.*'—'What do you generally get for this sort of employment?' 'Our wages vary from six to eight shillings per week.'—'How long have you been a factory worker?' 'Since I had my second child.'—'How many females are there working in your factory?' 'Thirty.'—'How many of them are married?' 'Ten.'—'How many of the others have had children?' 'Nearly the whole; and them that have not will, if they remain there long; for they are wicked places. I wish I had never known them, for the sake of my children! I can assure you, sir, I have known better days.'"—*Wrongs of Women*, p. 134.

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 474, *note*.

* "Drinking is the term used for their tea."

their taste or talent, their labor, whether physical or mental. The English woman is thus degraded to the condition of a mere instrument for crushing her fellow-women throughout the world — her own poverty, wretchedness, and recklessness, being then adduced as evidence of the truth of the doctrine of over-population. Driven to despair—hopeless of improvement in this world, and careless about the future — she next is urged to the adoption of the Malthusian panacea of "moral restraint"! It is a mere mockery of words, to suggest the idea to English women, under existing circumstances.

Centralization forces Irish women to seek in England purchasers for their labor — thus augmenting the competition for the sale of that one commodity, human effort, which perishes at the moment of its production, and giving to those who need to purchase, power to determine what shall be the quantity of effort given, and what the compensation paid. *That* is slavery. — Centralization, in like manner, is steadily producing the effect of making London the one and only place in England itself, for the sale of female taste or skill, while greatly limiting the range of female employments.* The effect of this is seen in the unhappy condition of poor girls who aspire to become milliners, compelled, as they are, to labor, for months together, no less than 20 hours out of the 24 — breathing the foul air of the workshops, and receiving the poorest food in exchange for instruction, of which they are perpetually defrauded. Consumption closes the career of these more delicate instruments of trade — leaving to the hardier and less-aspiring journeywomen, to seek in prostitution the means of support in the intervals of the seasons.†

* "On the continent, though we see women often doing men's work, employed in a coarse kind of field-labor not suitable to women, yet, as a compensation for this, they are not deprived of their own proper work so much as they are in this country. The Paris ladies' shops do, indeed, employ men to some extent, but not to such an extent as we do; and, at foreign railway stations, women are often ticket-keepers. Women in France act as copying-clerks, and serve in all shops where books, prints, and light goods are retailed. In Switzerland, they are watchmakers. In America, they are compositors in printing-offices. Our system is wholly in the direction of depriving women of all work, but we cannot think for a moment that English ladies, once realizing the effect of this system, will allow a few trifling advantages to outweigh the great and terrible evils which result from a violation of the proper apportionment of labor."—*London Times.*

† For a general view of the condition of the working-women of England, see the work above referred to, the *Wrongs of Women*, by CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

Lower, even, than these latter, are the slop-workers, the "horrors" of whose "white slavery," says a recent writer, "have not been exaggerated." "How," he continues, "could such colossal fortunes be made by Hebrew and other outfitters, if the soil from which the harvest issued were not plentifully watered and manured with blood and tears? Everybody knows that London is full of 'distressed needle-women.' But how, it may be asked, is this to be helped? There is a demand for cheap garments. And there is a demand for employment in the making of cheap garments, even greater than the demand for the garments themselves. Miserable as is the pittance which they receive, it is better than nothing. It is better to be hungry than to die. You may see the poor creatures clustering about the doors of the slop-shops, with their sharp, eager faces, waiting for their supply of wretched work, as though their very lives depended upon the issue. One wonders that it should be so — but so it is."* An inquiry made some years since, showed that there were in London, of such persons, no less than 33,000, "permanently at the starvation-point — working at the wages of a few pence per day."

These poor women are all competing with each other for the sale of their only commodity — failing to dispose of which, they are driven to prostitution. Such being the facts, need we wonder that it should be now probable, that 50,000 females walk the streets of that great city, at night, "*wholly because they are unable to obtain a living in any other way.*" A large proportion of these, as we are assured, having been domestic servants, needle-women, waistcoat makers, &c., "driven to dishonesty by the difficulty of obtaining honest employment, *there is scarcely one of them who would not forsake her unhappy calling, to-morrow, if honorable work could be provided for her.*"† "We err," says the same writer, "more barbarously than those nations among whom a plurality of wives is permitted, and who regard women purely as so much live stock; for among such people women are, at all events, provided with shelter, with food, and clothing — they are 'cared for' as cattle are. There is a completeness in such a system. But among ourselves, we treat women as cattle, without providing for them as cattle. We take the worst part of barbarism, and the worst part of civilization, and work them

* *North British Review*, "The Employment of Women," p. 171. † *Ibid.*

into a heterogeneous whole. We bring up our women to be dependent, and then leave them without any one to depend on. There is no one — there is nothing for them to lean upon; and they fall to the ground."

This is slavery, and of the worst kind, and the longer the system shall be maintained, the more oppressive must it become — the foundation of the system, now as in the days of Adam Smith, being found in the idea of cheapening labor, and all other raw materials of manufacture. The more that prices are reduced in England, the greater must be the tendency towards reduction in America — it being there already declared, that the only remedy for the cure of the distressed needle-women, is to be found in the reduction of wages "to the famine point." The more they are there reduced, the greater must be the reduction in England — the tendency of the modern free trade system being that of increasing the dependence of the laborer, and making of her that mere instrument to be used by trade, so well described by Hood, in his admirable, but melancholy, "Song of a Shirt."

Colonization being, as we are told, the remedy for excess of numbers, every nerve is strained in the effort to expel the surplus people, to whose existence it is due, that population has become "a nuisance." Who are they, however, who emigrate? The men — leaving wives, daughters, and sisters, behind, to provide for themselves as they may. The surplus of females in Great Britain already exceed half a million, and it must increase — the whole tendency of the existing system, being that of dispersing the men, in the hope of thereby further cheapening the rude products of the soil, and with the effect of increasing, every where, the competition for the sale of labor, and labor's products.*

The world presents to view nothing that is more sad, than the condition of the female portion of the British population. That of the women of Central and Northern Europe, is by no means satisfactory, but, in comparing them, it must always be recollected that, while England has enjoyed domestic peace during many centuries, continental Europe has been the theatre of constant

* From 1839 to 1856, female crime, in offences against the person, rose in its proportions, from 11·2 to 18·1 per cent., and in those against property, from 26·9 to 30·8 —Women are driven to the perpetration of crime, and then transported as criminals.

wars; and, that the condition of English men and women was, a century since, almost infinitely superior to that of their continental neighbors — the one having been free, while the others were almost, even when not quite, enslaved. — England, too, preceded the continent in the subjugation of the great natural forces to man's direction — the latter remaining very far behind. — Further, it must be borne in mind, that — there being a solidarity of interest among all the people of the world — whatever tends to lessen the productive power of any one community, is injurious to all. Were the labor of the English people more productive, English women could make more demand for the products of the skill and taste of the women of France; and were American women enabled to find, in the making of cloth, a demand for their peculiar powers, they could become better customers for the taste and skill of the women of both France and England. Protection tends to increase competition for the *purchase* of labor — thereby emancipating both men and women. The British system, wherever found, increases competition for its *sale* — thereby enslaving all who need to sell it, be they male or female.

§ 5. Here, as every where, the American Union is a country of contrasts, one portion exhibiting woman in the enjoyment of a degree of freedom elsewhere unknown, while in another, females, married and unmarried, are passed from hand to hand as mere chattels — being sold at the auction-block, with, or without, fathers, husbands, sisters, brothers, children. — Looking towards commerce, the tendency, in the former, has been towards the creation of local centres, facilitating association, and producing development of the latent powers of the earth, and of the men and women for whose use that earth was given. — Believing in the omnipotence of trade, and seeking the extension of its dominion, the latter has, however, moved in the reverse direction — the result being seen in annihilation of local centres, diminution of the power of association, exhaustion of the soil, and limitation of demand for female powers. — In the one, the tendency is uniform in the direction of such alterations of the English law, as shall give to the wife a separate right of property. In the other, it has as uniformly been in that of taking from woman the power, under any circumstances, to obtain the right of property in themselves.

Comparing his countrymen with the men of America, a distinguished French traveller says: "We buy our wives with our fortunes, as we sell ourselves to them for their dowries. The American," as he continues, "chooses her, or rather offers himself to her, for her beauty, her intelligence, and the qualities of her heart; it is the only dowry which he seeks. Thus, while we make of that which is most sacred, a matter of business, these traders affect a delicacy, and an elevation of sentiment, which would have done honor to the most perfect models of chivalry." * As a consequence, the marriage tie is here, more generally than elsewhere, held sacred — such being the necessary consequence of a political system based upon the creation of local centres, and on that division of the land which tends in the direction of securing to each and all, homes of their own, for the benefit of their wives, their children, and themselves. † Every where, there is manifested, towards the sex — old and young — rich and poor — high and low — a degree of deference elsewhere little known. ‡ They travel, unprotected, for thousands of miles, fearing no intrusion, and encountering none of those discomforts to which they are in other countries so much exposed. With marriage, the husband assumes the task of providing for the family; the wife being left to the performance of the duties of the household, and the care of her children — the performance of those duties, too, being lightened in its labor by improved machinery. § In no part of the Union, however, is she seen to the same advantage as in Massachusetts, where a naturally sterile soil, close to market, has been made to yield larger returns than the rich soils of Western prairies, most of whose products are swallowed up in the cost of transportation.

* CHEVALIER: *Lettres sur l'Amerique du Nord.*

† "You may estimate the morality of any population, when you have ascertained that of the women; and one cannot contemplate American society without admiration for the respect which there encircles the tie of marriage. The same sentiment existed to a like degree among no nations of antiquity; and the existing societies of Europe, in their corruption, have not even a conception of such purity of morals."—M. DE BEAUMONT.

"The marriage tie is more sacred among American *workmen* than among the *middle-classes* of various countries of Europe."—CHEVALIER.

‡ "One of the first peculiarities that must strike a foreigner in the United States, is the deference paid universally to the sex, without regard to rank or station."—LYELL.

§ "The inventive spirit of the people of New England, and of their descendants throughout the Union, is displayed in the production of machinery for economizing the time and labor of their wives."—CHEVALIER.

Centralization, however, grows daily, and with its growth we find a growing tendency to the production, in the Western world, of all the evils that, as we see, have been produced in England. Exhaustion of the soil of the older States, expels the men, while leaving helpless women behind, to seek a livelihood as best they may. Manufactures decline, with constant diminution in the demand for female skill and taste, and corresponding tendency towards forcing them to seek, in distant cities, the employment no longer found at home. Competition for the *sale* of female labor, therefore, grows steadily—thousands being "crazy to work at any price."* Look where we may, throughout the Union, we shall find conclusive evidence, that freedom for both man and woman comes with diversity in the demand for human powers — slavery, with all its attendant evils, being a necessary consequence of limitation to the labors of the field. American policy tends in the latter direction, and therefore it is, that crime and prostitution so rapidly increase.† How it affects the relations of the family, we may next inquire.

* "Many would hesitate to believe the smallness of the compensation received by women for their labor, and the amount of work exacted from them in return for it, were it not capable of such strong proof. Even the skilled work of the professed dress-maker, milliner, and tailoress, is very poorly remunerated. But the sum received by that large class who look to plain sewing for a support, is least of all, and very often is wholly inadequate, even with the greatest economy and management, to procure the commonest necessaries of life. We have known here, in our own city, women employed in making coarse shirts at fourteen cents a piece. Two of these were as much as they could possibly make in a day, sewing incessantly. Working six days in the week, the amount earned was not much over a dollar and a half. Out of this they were to clothe, board, and lodge themselves. And this was their only resource for a livelihood, and a precarious one, too; for a steady supply of this kind of work, unprofitable as it is, cannot be looked for."—*New York Tribune.*

† "What is the position of the needle-woman? Far worse than that of the servant. . . . Nor is the position of a milliner or dress-maker, much superior to this. It matters not if she faint from exhaustion and fatigue; Mrs. —— wants her ball-room dress to-morrow, and the poor slave must labor as if her eternal salvation rested on her nimble fingers. But the gay robe which is to deck the face of beauty is completed; the hour of release has come at last; and as at night the wearied girl walks feebly through the almost deserted streets, she meets some of her own sex bedecked in finery, with countenances beaming from the effects of their potations, and the thought flashes across her mind, 'They are better off than I am.' Her human nature can scarcely repress such an exclamation, which is too often but the precursor of her own ruin."—SANGER: *History of Prostitution*, New York, 1858.—Dr. Sanger's book abounds in facts in proof of the rapid growth of prostitution, and its attendant crimes.

The penitentiary of Blackwell's Island, New York, contains no less than 800 females, of all ages, and all degrees of crime.

CHAPTER LI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Of the Relations of the Family.

§ 1. THE wretched savage, slave as he is to nature, and limited to the work of mere appropriation, sees in the birth of his child but an addition to his burthens, and, but for the affection of the mother, few, particularly of the weaker sex, would live for even a single day. Arriving at maturity, the child, in time, sees in the parent only a useless competitor for the poor supply of food — the disease of over-population thus presenting itself, and in its most malignant form, where land is most abundant, and men are least in number. In this case, however, the remedy is simple — the parent being sometimes buried alive, and, at others, left to become the prey of tigers, or of wolves.

The civilized man, master of nature, rejoices in each addition to his little family circle. Cultivating the richer soils, and finding in the neighboring markets a demand for all their various products, his land and labor become, from day to day, more valuable, with corresponding decline in the value of commodities needed for his wife, his children, and himself. His leisure growing with every step in that direction, he becomes enabled to give his attention more fully to the study of his children's character, and to the formation of their minds—thus preparing them for becoming kind and respectful sons, and useful citizens. Combining with his neighbors, he aids in the establishment of schools and colleges — preferring the happiness and prosperity of future generations, before his present appetites. — The child, in turn, desires to aid his father in his age—paying the debts incurred in his youth, and respecting his parents' rights, as his own had been respected.

Of all beings, the human infant is the most helpless — there being none whose faculties come so slowly into action. Of all, the aged man most needs association with his kind — there being

none whose faculties decay so slowly, in advance of death. Of all, the human animal is most dependent upon the maintenance of that commerce between the parent and its offspring, by means of which, alone, the latter is enabled to stand forth the real MAN, master of nature, and shield and protector to those to whom he has owed his being.

How the power of combination grows for this, as for every other useful purpose, is fully exhibited in the diagram already so often laid before the reader, and to which he is now again referred — the law of progress proving to be every where the same, meet it where we may. Turning to it, he finds on the left the lowest condition of society — the relation of parent and child being little different from that existing among the lower animals. Passing thence eastward, we meet, at first, a scattered population, having little leisure to be given to instruction, and less ability for contribution to the support of schools or teachers. With each successive step, however, we see a growth of power for both these purposes, until at length, arriving in Massachusetts, we find a community in which the duty of developing the infant mind, and thus fitting the child for the maintenance of commerce with its fellows, was earlier recognized, and is now more thoroughly performed, than in any other of the world.

On the left, land remains undivided; men live by the exercise of their powers of appropriation, and those alone; the power of association has no existence; production is small; the disease of over-population is ever present; parent and child are foes. On the right, land is divided; the power of combination is great; production is large; man grows in value; agriculture tends to become a science; commerce, within and without the family, becomes more rapid from year to year. — Look where we may, it will be found, that as employments become diversified—as matter becomes more utilized—as the prices of rude products and finished commodities approximate — as man and land acquire value — the commerce of the family becomes more intimate — parents and children becoming more fully sensible of their responsibilities towards each other, and the holiness of home becoming more fully appreciated.*

* "Such is the holiness of home, that to express our relation with God, we have been obliged to borrow the words invented for our family life. Men have called themselves *sons* of a heavenly *Father*."—SOUVESTRE: *Attic Philosopher*, p. 101.

§ 2. Of the European nations, one portion, as we know, follows in the lead of Colbert — seeking to place the consumer by the side of the producer, and thus relieve the farmer from the grinding tax of transportation. Chief among these is France, to which we now may turn — seeking to ascertain, to what extent the pursuit of a policy promotive of association, has led to manifestation of any feeling of responsibility in reference to development of the youthful mind.

Always at war, abroad or at home, the tendency, throughout that country, during a long series of centuries, was in the direction of consolidation of the land, centralization of power in the nobles and the Church, and enslavement of the people. Famines and pestilences being there of perpetual recurrence, children were generally regarded as incumbrances, and of those that were born, but a small proportion lived to the age of manhood. With the final adoption of Colbert's policy, however, there came a change — land becoming gradually divided, and the feeling of responsibility at length manifesting itself in a provision of the Constitution of 1791, by which it was declared, that there should be organized a system of instruction common to all, and "gratuitous, so far as regarded that instruction which was indispensable to all." — Unceasing wars and revolutions, however, prevented progress in this direction — the result being seen in the fact, that so recently as 1830, of all the young men brought forward under the conscription, more than half could neither read nor write, while of the remainder, ten per cent. could only read. Writing about this period, M. Dupin told his countrymen, that, except the Spanish peninsula, the Turkish provinces, the south of Italy, the ruins of Greece, and the steppes of Russia, there was no part of Europe in which education was more backward than in France.* As late as 1836, there were whole cantons, embracing fifteen or twenty communes, that were wholly destitute of schools, while, throughout the kingdom, out of nearly 23,000,000 adults, more than 14,000,000 could neither read nor write. — Since then, however, the change has been very great — the law of 1833 having provided not only for the gratuitous instruction of the primary schools, but, also, for a system of secondary instruction, calculated to fit the youth of the nation for employment in the arts, and in a scientific agri-

* *Forces Commerciales*, vol. i., p. 52.

culture. In 1830, the total number of pupils in the primary schools was about a million. In 1850, it was 3,784,797—having almost quadrupled in the short space of 20 years. In the same period, there has been a constant increase in the provision for instruction in the higher branches of education—the amount expended for that purpose having risen, six years since, to more than 27,000,000 francs = $5,000,000.*

Turning now to Denmark, in which, but seventy years since, the peasant was liable to be flogged and imprisoned at the pleasure of his lord, we find that not only is one in every four of the population at school, but that public and circulating libraries, museums, and newspapers, are to be found in each and all of the larger towns, while educational institutions, and other indications of intellectual tastes, are to be met with in all the smaller ones—local centres of industrial activity, meanwhile, providing for the application to the various purposes of life, of the mind developed in the schools.†

In Sweden, one in every six of the population being an attendant of the schools, it is rare to meet with a person who cannot read and write.‡

In Belgium, in 1830, the number of children attending the primary schools, was 293,000. In 1848, it had risen to 462,000, or more than 1 in 9 of the population. The present proportion is 1 to 8.

In Northern Germany, every child, for the last 20 or 30 years, has been receiving a good education. "Four years since," says Mr. Kay, writing in 1850, "the Prussian Government made a general inquiry throughout the kingdom, to discover how far the school education of the people had been extended, and it was then ascertained that, out of all the young men in the kingdom who had attained the age of twenty-one years, *only two in every hundred were unable to read.* This fact was communicated to me by the Inspector-General of the Kingdom.

"The poor of these countries," as he continues, "read a great

* *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*, art. "Instruction Publique."

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 115.

‡ The feeling of responsibility here exhibits itself very strongly, in the regulations adopted by the proprietors of all the larger factories of Stockholm, given in a former chapter. See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 171.

deal more than even those of our own country who are able to read. It is a general custom in Germany and Switzerland, for four or five families of laborers to club together, and to subscribe among themselves for one or two of the newspapers, which come out once or twice a week. These papers are passed from family to family, or are interchanged." . . .

"In the towns," as he further says, "where the poorer classes are even still more intelligent than in the country, it is not difficult for the poor to obtain books as well as papers. In the towns, therefore, of Germany and Switzerland, the poor read a great deal. Indeed, it will be hardly credible to English ears, when I inform them how the poor of these towns amuse and instruct themselves in their leisure hours, and during the long winter evenings. I was assured by Dr. Bruggeman, the Roman Catholic Counsellor in the Educational Office in Berlin, and by several teachers and other persons, that not only were the interesting works of German literature perused by the poorest people of the towns, but that translations of the works of Sir Walter Scott, and of many other foreign novelists and writers, were generally read by the poor.

"I remember one day, when walking near Berlin in the company of Herr Hintz, a professor in Dr. Diesterweg's Normal College, and of another teacher, we saw a poor woman cutting up, in the road, logs of wood for winter use. My companions pointed her out to me, and said: 'Perhaps you will scarcely believe it, but in the neighborhood of Berlin, poor women, like that one, read translations of Sir Walter Scott's novels, and of many of the interesting works of your language, besides those of the principal writers of Germany.' This account was afterwards confirmed by the testimony of several other persons.

"Often and often have I seen the poor cab-drivers of Berlin, while waiting for a fare, amusing themselves by reading German books, which they had brought with them in the morning, expressly for the purpose of supplying amusement and occupation for their leisure hours.

"In many parts of these countries, the peasants and the workmen of the towns, attend regular weekly lectures or weekly classes, where they practise singing or chanting, or learn mechanical drawing, history, or science.

"As will be seen hereafter, women as well as men, girls as well as boys, enjoy in these countries the same advantages, and go through the same school education. The women of the poorer classes of these countries, in point of intelligence and knowledge, are almost equal to the men."

Half a century since, the total number of pupils in the schools of Spain was but 30,000; whereas, seven years since, it had increased to no less than 700,000 — being 1 in 17 of the total population. — Russia advances slowly, but steadily, in the same direction, but the step necessarily preliminary to any general diffusion of education, is only now being made.

§ 3. Looking next to the countries that follow in the lead of England, we find that from India, schools have almost disappeared;* while Portugal and Turkey, exhibit nothing that deserves the name of general education. In Jamaica, and the other British islands, the children generally perished.† Ireland, before the Union, as has been already shown, furnished so large a market for books, as to warrant the republication of the principal works produced in England. With the Union, that market wholly disappeared. Recently, an extensive system of instruction has been organized, and its results are highly spoken of; but of what avail is the education of the schools, where there exists no demand for the faculties thereby developed? Ireland having no manufactures, and consequently no agriculture that deserves the name, society must continue to present to view but two great classes — the very rich and the very poor. — Such being the case, there can be no power of combination; the faculties of the people must remain undeveloped; the societary circulation must remain more sluggish than that of any other country claiming to be civilized; and the great disease of over-population must continue to exist.

Arriving at the centre of this system, and the home of the over-population doctrine, it becomes essential to observe, that, while France has been the seat of civil and religious wars, followed by repeated invasions of her soil by foreign armies — while Belgium has been the almost constant theatre of war for assembled Europe — and while Germany has been, for centuries, ravaged by contending armies — England has scarcely, since the Conquest, wit-

* See *ante*, p. 281. † See *ante*, vol. i., p. 301.

nessed the presence of a hostile foot, and never, since the Scottish outbreak of 1745, heard the explosion of a hostile gun. Such having been the case, there exist the strongest reasons for expecting to find her far in advance of Continental Europe in the manifestation of a feeling of responsibility for the proper training of her youth, and in the power to carry into effect all the measures by it suggested. — So far, however, is it the reverse of this, that here it is we find a growing consolidation of the land, and growing centralization, accompanied by a total failure on the part of the government to establish any system of education, similar to those of Northern and Central Europe. As a consequence of this it is, says Mr. Kay, that, "of the children of the poor, who are yearly born in England, vast numbers never receive any education at all, while many others never enter any thing better than a dame or a Sunday-school. In the towns they are left in crowds until about eight or nine years of age, to amuse themselves in the dirt of the streets, while their parents pursue their daily toil. In these public thoroughfares, during the part of their lives which is most susceptible of impressions and most retentive of them, they acquire dirty, immoral, and disorderly habits; they become accustomed to wear filthy and ragged clothes; they learn to pilfer and to steal; they associate with boys who have been in prison, and who have there been hardened in crime by evil associates; they learn how to curse one another, how to fight, how to gamble, and how to fill up idle hours by vicious pastimes; they acquire no knowledge except the knowledge of vice; they never come in contact with their betters; and they are not taught either the truths of religion, or the way by which to improve their condition in life. Their amusements are as low as their habits. The excitements of low debauchery too horrible to be named, of spirituous liquors, which they begin to drink as early as they can collect pence wherewith to buy them, of the commission and concealments of thefts, and of rude and disgusting sports, are the pleasures of their life. The idea of going to musical meetings, such as those of the German poor, would be scoffed at, even if there were any such meetings for them to attend. Innocent dancing is unknown to them. Country sports they cannot have. Read they cannot. So they hurry for amusement and excitement to the gratification of sensual desires and appetites. In this manner, filthy, lewd, sensual,

boisterous, and skilful in the commission of crime, a great part of the populations of our towns grow up to manhood. Of the truth or falsehood of this description any one can convince himself, who will examine our criminal records, or who will visit the back streets of any English town, when the schools are full, and count the children upon the doorsteps and pavements, and note their condition, manners, and appearance, and their degraded and disgusting practices.

"Many town parishes," he continues, "are without any schools at all; the instruction given in most of the schools, which are established, is miserable in its character; infant schools are terribly needed in almost every town in England. Efficient teachers are needed every where. Every child in Germany and Switzerland remains in school, or continues to receive education, from the age of six to that of fourteen, and often to that of sixteen or seventeen; while in England, even of those children who do go to school, few remain there beyond the age of nine or ten. If all this be true, is it to be wondered at, that the dress of our peasants, their manners, their appearance, their amusements, their manner of speaking, their cleanliness, the character of their houses, the condition of their children, and their intelligence, should be all miserably inferior to those of the peasants of Germany, Holland, and of some parts of Switzerland and France?"

Looking to London, we learn from the same writer, that "careful inquiries by Lord Ashley, and by the excellent men connected with that admirable society, the City Mission, have shown, that in the midst of London, there is a large and continually-increasing number of lawless persons, forming a separate class, having pursuits, interests, manners, and customs of their own, and that the filthy, deserted, roaming, and lawless children, who may be called the source of nineteen-twentieths of the crime, which desolates the metropolis, are not fewer in number than *thirty thousand!*

"These 30,000 are quite independent of the number of mere pauper children, who crowd the streets of London, and who never enter a school; but of these latter nothing will be said here.

"Now, what are the pursuits, the dwelling-houses, and the habits of these poor wretches? Of 1600 who were examined, 162 confessed that they had been in prison, not merely once, or even twice, but some of them several times; 116 had run away from

their homes; 170 slept in the 'lodging-houses;' 253 had lived altogether by beggary; 216 had neither shoes nor stockings; 280 had no hat or cap, or covering for the head; 101 had no linen; 249 had never slept in a bed; many had no recollection of ever having been in a bed; 68 were the children of convicts."*

The effect of a system under which land is daily becoming more consolidated, while its people are being forced to seek an asylum in towns and cities, is well exhibited in a report upon the parish of St. Giles, of which the following is a passage: "Your Committee have thus given a picture in detail of human wretchedness, filth, and brutal degradation, the chief features of which are a disgrace to a civilized country, and which your Committee have reason to fear, from letters which have appeared in the public journals, *is but the type of the miserable condition of masses of the community, whether located in the small, ill-ventilated rooms of manufacturing towns, or in many of the cottages of the agricultural peasantry.* In these wretched dwellings, all ages and all sexes — fathers and daughters, mothers and sons, grown-up brothers and sisters, stranger adult males and females, and swarms of children — the sick, the dying, and the dead — are herded together *with a proximity and mutual pressure* which brutes would resist; where it is physically impossible to preserve the ordinary decencies of life; where all sense of propriety and self-

* "Whitechapel and Spitalfields," says the *Quarterly Review*, "teem with them like an ant's nest; but it is in Lambeth and Westminster, that we find the most flagrant traces of their swarming activity. There the foul and dismal passages are thronged with children of both sexes, and of every age from three to thirteen. Though wan and haggard, they are singularly vivacious, and engaged in every sort of occupation but that which would be beneficial to themselves and creditable to the neighborhood. Their appearance is wild; the matted hair, the disgusting filth, that renders necessary a closer inspection, before the flesh can be discerned between the rags which hang about it, and the barbarian freedom from all superintendence and restraint, fill the mind of a novice in these things with perplexity and dismay. Visit these regions in the summer, and you are overwhelmed by the exhalations; visit them in the winter, and you are shocked by the spectacle of hundreds shivering in apparel that would be scanty in the tropics; many are all but naked; those that are clothed are grotesque; the trousers, where they have them, seldom pass the knee; the tail-coats very frequently trail below the heels. In this guise, they run about the streets, and line the banks of the river at low water, seeking coals, sticks, corks, for nothing comes amiss as treasure trove. Screams of delight burst occasionally from the crowds, and leave the passer-by, if he be in a contemplative mood, to wonder and rejoice that moral and physical degradation has not yet broken every spring of their youthful energies."—*Quoted by* KAY, vol. i., p. 409.

respect must be lost, to be replaced only by a recklessness of demeanor, which necessarily results from vitiated minds."

Of the males who are married in France and England, one-third make their marks when signing the parish register — the proportion in each being almost precisely the same. — Of the females, rather less than half in England, and more than half in France, do the same — the advantage, in this case, being on the side of the former. The question here, however, as every where, is not of actual condition, but of progress, and in this France takes the lead — the number of her day scholars having almost quadrupled in 18 years, while in England it had not even doubled.*

Of the extent to which infanticide is carried, we have spoken in a former chapter, but of that other species of child-murder which consists in the hiring out, by parents or guardians, of children ranging from 6 to 8, 10, and 12 years, it is proper here to speak. The persons to whom these poor creatures are transferred, and by

* Number of English day scholars in 1818 ..... 674,883, or 1 in 17·25.
" " " 1833 ..... 1,548,890, " 1 in 11·27.
" " " 1851 ..... 2,407,409, " 1 in 8·36.
In 1833, the Sunday scholars were as 1 to 9·28.
In 1851, " " " 1 to 7·45.

The fact, however, is exhibited, says Mr. Tremenheere, in his report, that "the great bulk of the children leave the elementary schools *before they are ten years old*"— that their attendance is very irregular, and that the little they may have learned, "is all nearly lost after a few years." The general ignorance of those who have passed through the English schools, is thus exhibited by Mr. Wood, Chairman of the Institute of Mining Engineers:

"At the annual bindings, *there is scarcely a single man or boy who signs his own name to the bond; and yet these men and boys have gone through the schools, and we suppose that they have learned to read and write*, but they have left school at so early an age that *they lose what little they have learned*, and you find them incapable of writing their own names."

"In the course of a recent investigation by a Committee of the British Parliament, Coroner Wakley testified that there was a lamentable deficiency of education among the people; and, as an evidence of it, mentioned that a jury which he empanneled in the western division of Middlesex County, had eleven out of thirty members who could not sign their names. He added his belief, that an examination of his receipts for expenses would show that not one-half of his jurymen generally could write. One foreman of a jury, who was stated to be worth from $100,000 to $150,000, could not write."

"Wherever we turn, ignorance, not always allied to poverty, stares us in the face. If we look in the *Gazette*, at the list of partnerships dissolved, not a month passes but some unhappy man, rolling perhaps in wealth, but wallowing in ignorance, is put to the *experimentum crucis* of 'his mark.' The number of petty jurors, in rural districts especially, who can only sign with a cross, is enormous. It is not unusual to see parish documents, of great local importance, defaced with the same humiliating symbol, by persons whose office not only shows them to be 'men of mark,' but men of substance." —DICKENS: *Household Words.*

whom they are tortured, says a recent English writer, "employ two sorts of machinery in their business: one being made of flesh, the other of wood and iron. If a wheel or strap becomes entangled," as she continues, "it is set to rights by the proper workman; if so injured as not to allow of speedy repairing, it is thrown by, and a new one substituted, to avoid any delay. Just so it is with the human department. Why should any difference be made? Why should not a child be worked as long as it can be compelled to go on, with a little occasional quick patching, and when it cannot, be thrown into the street, just as a broken wheel is thrown into the lumber-room, to fall to pieces? It is not to be expected that the master's profits of a few hundreds, or thousands, per annum, should be decreased to the amount, now and then, of one and sixpence, by allowing a little creature, that has worked itself ill in his service, to lie by for a week without forfeiting its eighteen pence; or to retain its claim to re-admission on recovery. But add to this the fact, that what the child earns is not at its own disposal, going to remunerate the person who has charge of it, for such food and such clothing as it gets, we may believe the little laborer to be in the position of a shuttlecock, struck alternately from one battledore to the other, until, escaping a stroke, it falls to the ground, and is trampled into kindred dust." *

That the facts are so, and that helpless little beings are thus treated as mere machines, is proved by thousands of facts that have, at various times, been brought to light by parliamentary and other investigations. No one who has studied the subject, can hesitate about agreeing with this writer, in her expression of the opinion, that "the misery, the wretchedness, the sufferings, the degradation of young English girls, far exceed those of the little heathen abroad; nor is the foulest system of pagan demoralization, cruelty, and crime, second in atrocity to that which varnishes itself over with the name of Christianity, and seizes for its victims the free-born children of Britain, baptized into a faith of which they live and die in soul-destroying ignorance."

Strikingly in contrast with this, is the fact, "that all the children between the ages of six and fifteen, in the German and Swiss towns, and nearly all the children in the French, Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian towns, spend *every day* in airy, roomy, clean, and

* Charlotte Elizabeth: *Wrongs of Woman*, Part III., p. 100.

well-furnished class-rooms, or in dry exercise grounds, and often in the company of children of the middle-classes, and in the society of men who are fit to be the teachers of the children of the rich."

Differing in all else — climate, soil, habits, manners, and religion — the people of the countries last above referred to, are alike in the fact, that they "live, move, and have their being" under the system for which the world is indebted to Colbert — that system which looks to the promotion of the habit of association and combination, and the development of the latent powers of land and man. As a consequence, the family relation tends to become more cheering from day to day — the feeling of responsibility for the proper direction of the infant mind, becoming more intense from year to year.—Differing in all else, the various countries that follow in the lead of England, unite with England herself in rejecting Adam Smith, and adopting the principles of the Ricardo-Malthusian school—the result being seen in this, that in each and all of them may be found a great treasury of facts to be used in support of the theory of over-population—the helpless child there becoming more and more a mere instrument to be used by trade.

Of all communities, past and present, there is, and has been, none so highly favored as England, in respect to the power placed at its command, by a beneficent Providence, to be used for promoting the happiness and prosperity of mankind at large. Of all, there is none by which the power granted has been so unscrupulously used for the destruction of happiness, morals, and life, at home and abroad; and hence it is, that it has been necessary to establish a natural discord — with a view to proving, that an omniscient Deity had erred in adjusting the supply of food to a growing population.

§ 4. Here, as every where, America is a land of contrasts — one portion of the Union prohibiting, by the most stringent laws, the education of its laboring population, while the other recognizes fully the right of all to receive instruction, and the duty of property to aid in seeing that it be obtained.* — In the one,

* The appropriations of the city of Boston, with a population of 150,000, for the purposes of education, in the year 1856–7, were $335,000, and were appropriated to the maintenance of one high, one latin, one normal, seven-

teachers are imprisoned for violation of the anti-education laws, while in the other, few persons are more respected than those who most have labored to bring the means of education within the reach of all — the orphan and the criminal, the very poor, as well as the very rich.

The political system of the Union being based upon the idea of decentralization, local centres of action tend, necessarily, towards the general dissemination of educational institutions of every kind, from the school library and the house of refuge for juvenile delinquents, to the high school and the college. Federal centralization, however, tends to produce a reverse effect — annihilating, as it does, the local markets for the products of the earth, and thus compelling the abandonment of the land of the older States. The rural population, as a necessary consequence, declines, with steady diminution in the power to maintain the village schools.* Great cities, meanwhile, grow, to be the nursing mothers of ignorance, vice, and crime — the tendency in that direction, being here, as everywhere, in the direct ratio of the exhaustion of the soil, and the expulsion of its occupants. Each and every stage of this downward progress, is marked by a growing tendency towards the exercise of the power of appropriation, as a substitute for honest labor. As a consequence of this it is, that American cities are rapidly sinking, in this respect, to a level with the worst of those of Europe.†

teen grammar, and 204 primary schools. The number of scholars was 23,749, and the average cost of education, $14.41. — The cost of public worship in the same year, is given at $240,000.

* See *ante*, p. 338.

† "Of the higher grades of felony, four-fifths of the complaints examined have been against minors, and full two-thirds of all the complaints for crime acted on during the term have been against persons between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one."—*Presentment of the Grand Jury*, New York, 1852.

"Out of 16,000 criminals committed to the Tombs, New York, this last year, over 4000 were under twenty-one years of age! And of these, about 800 were between the ages of nine and fifteen! Of the 2400 thieves confined there, 1100 were under twenty-one, and some 600 under fifteen.

"During the last two years, the writer of this has had some considerable opportunity of observing the degradation of Europe, and to him it is sadly ominous of evil, that our future society rests on such a basis of guilt and wretchedness. There is nothing in Europe worse than the black side of New York. The lanes of Liverpool, Westminster, and St. Giles — the faubourgs of the Seine—the suburbs of Vienna—do not any of them present an aspect of such unmingled poverty and unchecked vice as our lowest Wards."—Rev. C. L. Brace.

§ 5. Books have been written with the intent to prove that crime and education go together — that is, that the greater the power of the man to command the services of his own faculties, the greater is his tendency to interfere with the rights of others. Were this so, it would be better to close the schools. That it is not, the reader may feel well assured. Why it sometimes so appears, is, as we think, easily explained.

That the development of human faculties may be beneficial to man, it is indispensable that there be a market for the faculties developed — the rankest weeds coming always from the richest soil, neglected by its owner. That the market may exist, there must be diversity in the modes of employment — producing competition for the *purchase* of human effort of each and every kind. Centralization tends to prevent the growth of this competition, while promoting competition for its *sale* — the man who needs to sell his efforts becoming, thus, the slave of him who has means with which to purchase. The greater the tendency in this direction, the more does society tend to become divided into two great classes, the very poor and the very rich — leaving no place for the proprietors of small amounts of either material or mental capital. The class of middlemen, occupying themselves as soldiers, sailors, traders, lawyers, and otherwise as non-producers, grows necessarily — the societary motion becoming slower at every stage of growth, and rendering it more difficult to obtain an honest livelihood. Crime, therefore, grows — doing this, as a direct consequence of that slight excitement of human faculty, produced at school, which needs the activity of social life for its full development. Under such circumstances, education does little more than sharpen the human faculties for enabling man more readily to prey upon his fellow-man—that being the present tendency in England, and in all the countries which follow in her train.*

* On a recent occasion, Lord Campbell addressed the following language to the Grand Jury of the county of Chester, in reference to the state of public morals in that locality:

"The calendar before him was quite appalling. It was only three or four months since the last assizes were held and the jail was delivered, and now there was another list of crimes, tremendous in their magnitude and alarming in their number. Not only were the cases very numerous, but they included cases of a very deep dye. There they lay before him, in groups and in alphabetical order, under most of the heads there being a considerable number of cases, and consisting of bigamy, burglary, damaging machinery, housebreaking, manslaughter, murder, rape, and other crimes, some of which

Among these latter, as a general rule, may be placed the United States — occupying, however, a position between the widely different classes above described. Throughout the Northern States, almost all receive a certain amount of education, but when they pass from the school into the world, they find that, with the single exception of a rude agriculture, those employments which look to augmentation in the quantity, or improvement in the quality, of the commodities at man's command, are closed against them. Trade, the law, and the more abstract pursuits generally, are, on the contrary, always open, and absorb, therefore, an undue proportion of the faculty developed in the school.*

The consequences of this are seen in the creation of a large floating population, ready for almost any invasion of their neighbor's rights, and in the consequent growth of crime.

Study the world where we may, we shall find evidence of the truth of the proposition, that the feeling of responsibility towards both God and man, grows in the ratio of the approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished commodities, and consequent increase in the productiveness of labor, and in the equity of the division of labor's products.†

were not to be named among us. This was a very sad state of things. For this, no blame could attach to them. They had, no doubt, exerted themselves as magistrates, so that the law should be observed, that order should be maintained, and the rights of property should be secured, but it was a matter for grave consideration and reflection, that as our material prosperity increased, crime in some parts of the country increased also. He had hoped that by the progress of education and religious instruction on the part of the clergy, a better state of things would have been presented."

* See *ante*, vol. ii., pp. 243, 254.

† For more than half a century, Mr. Malthus and his disciples have been urging upon the English people the adoption of their *theory* of "moral restraint," while advocating *measures* tending towards the destruction of moral responsibility. How effective have been these latter, was shown at the recent Liverpool meeting for the promotion of Social Science, by a clergyman who gave as a serious difficulty standing in the way of any scheme of enforced education, as applied to a district where the people are principally engaged in weaving, that a very young child is there made useful to its parents. "Such a child," as he said, "can nurse a baby while the mother weaves; and *if a young woman happens to have one or two children before marriage, it is actually an advantage to her in securing a match among the many practical husbands of that district of Lancashire!*"

CHAPTER LII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Of the Commerce of the State.

§ 1. The complex organism of the human body being, by the sympathies and dependencies of its various parts, made an unit in its action and its uses, the entire race, in a sense as real and as true, philosophically and practically, becomes one man, and may so be treated. The species is but so many representatives of the individual — the aggregate differing in degree, but not in kind, from any of the atoms of which it is composed. Politically, we have the idea embraced in our national motto, *e pluribus unum* — the same truth of fact presenting itself in the legal ideas of joint and several obligation, and joint and several right, where each debtor is bound for the whole debt, and each creditor is entitled to look to each and all for payment. The corporation, or artificial man, is another familiar instance of the same idea — the moralist, in his turn, using the word *solidarity*, for indicating the liability of each and all the members of society to suffer for the errors, or profit of the judicious action, of any of its component parts. The recognition of correspondence, analogy, or oneness, here exhibited, runs through all branches of theory and practice having man for their subject — warranting the study of the many in the one, and promising helpful illustrations of the societary body, to be derived from examination of the individual.

The living man — whether considered in regard to the doubling of the sexes, the union of soul and body, the individual and his race, or that aspect of his life in which he is at once an organic instrument, and a being holding the relation of agent and object to the world around him — is a being of two-fold existence; and we shall find the value, force, and importance, of his complexity of constitution, intrinsic and relative, in every effort towards arriving at a proper comprehension of his form and movements.

The laws of his individual life indicating what he is capable of as member of a society, we may commence by looking at him as he stands before the physiologist, and ascertaining what his organic structure teaches in reference to his societary functions and relations. His surroundings having no power to alter his intrinsic nature, that nature must indicate the natural range of his external relations — the individual man thus standing as the type of the aggregate, or grand man, of which he is the exponent. The constitution of the one covers, while it displays, the nature of the kind.

He has a vegetable and an animal, or an individual and a relative life, and an appropriate set of organs for the service of each — these, too, wonderfully adapted to their respective and widely-different uses, and bound together into a happily-adjusted concert of action and unity of service. The union is mechanical so far as frame-work and instrumental connection of parts can serve in physical uses, but it is vital in all that relates to sensation, perception, volition, and consciousness. The articulation of the limbs and muscles, and the collocation and distribution of the internal organs, are duly linked together by mechanical arrangement — the nervous system, however, presiding over and executing the coordination of the various parts of the body among themselves, and being, besides, the sole agency by which the relative life of the individual is administered and sustained.

This system is necessarily as complex, and as variously organized, as its variety of functions requires. Digestion, assimilation, circulation, respiration — all the instincts and processes of nutrition of the vegetative, or individual, division of his nature — are provided for by adapted forms of innervation, through corresponding accommodation of nervous structure — the reciprocal agents of excretion being, for the sake of complete enumeration, added to those functions which minister to the life and growth of the body, as a whole.

His relative life, for the purposes of our inquiry, may be comprehended in his powers of locomotion and sensation, and in his higher instincts, the sentiments, and moral and intellectual faculties of his nature. Each of these has its fitting nervous organism, with its respective kinds of appetency and power. To harmonize and combine into unity of action and identity of agency, such im-

mensely varied forces, the power of co-ordination holds the rank that government claims to hold among its subjects.

The anatomical structure of the nervous system necessarily answers to this complication and combination of nervous offices—appropriateness of apparatus being, here as every where throughout creation, logically expectant upon the existence of a need for it. The discoveries and demonstrations of dissection are, as yet, neither complete nor conclusive, but enough is already known to warrant the belief, that conformity of structure with function will yet be fully and completely established; so far, at least, as observation is capable of prying into the secrets of life. It is known, that the nervous masses, ganglions, plexuses, and fibres, are immensely varied in form and in their qualities of texture and arrangement; it is known, too, that those parts of the system which supply the organs of vegetative, or nutritive, life, while so far independent of those which rule the life of relation, as is needed for fitting them to maintain the economy of the frame, whenever and wherever consciousness and intellect prove incompetent, are yet so far subordinated to the superior portions, as is required for the interests and uses of the physical organism. Over the ultimate processes of assimilation, nutrition, reproduction, and growth, the brain proper has but little conscious control. Over those organisms which are the purveyors to the body's wants, it has, within certain limits, an authority that is greatly larger. It has a positive control over the primary steps of the nutritive process, as in the selection, prehension, and ingestion, of food. To a certain extent, it modifies, suspends, or accelerates, digestion, and, in a considerable degree, effects respiration — its power of intervention shading off towards incapacity, as the actions escape from the sphere of liberty and voluntary agency, into that of necessity and unconsciousness.

The external senses serving more immediately the sovereign offices of the brain, are still more fully subject to its control, and in a ratio that is direct as to the mental, while indirect as to the instinctive life of the subject. This law of gradation obtains also among the individual senses — taste and smell, which stand as sentinels over organic life, being almost entirely independent of the will. Hearing, important as it is, as an inlet to the tidings of danger and the suggestions of science, is nearly as much so,

while touch and vision, with their larger range of subserviency to the intellect, are proportionably more obedient to its direction. High above, and at the top of this range, the brain, in its proper and exclusive office of thought and emotion, is free, spontaneous, and paramount in the nervous economy of the system.

Some of the bodily functions have a mixed character — directly serving now the instinctive, and now the rational life. The muscles of the œsophagus, for instance, in the act of swallowing food and drink, act, for the most part, unconsciously; but they, too, are, to a certain extent, subjected to volition. The same thing is true, although in a smaller degree, even of the organs of locomotion; and, to a very great extent, of those of respiration. The will cannot absolutely suspend the process of breathing, but it can retard or accelerate it, for the purposes of vocalization. The eye closes instinctively and irresistibly, at the approach of an offending object, notwithstanding that the ordinary subjection of its movements to volition is absolute. The movements of the face are largely voluntary, but in expression, from the paleness of fear up to the flush of anger or of shame, they are essentially involuntary and beyond control.

Here, to proceed no further in details which are limited only by the limits of the nature of the subject — ranging, as it does, from the insensate limestone to the spirit life of the finest nerve — here is a world of variety in unity, subordinated and co-ordinated, with an economy of services and government—executive authority and independence balancing each other in a manner that fairly illustrates the various interests, sympathies, and functions, of the life of the human race.

The two-fold physiological division of the life of man, as an organic and as a related being, is clearly analogous to the man as an individual, and the man as a member of society. The analogies are exact in all the varieties and modifications of the physical economy of the individual, and in the social and political relations of man with his fellow-man—the process of nutrition, and its correspondencies, affording a happy illustration. The physical support of the system being its primary intention, that portion of the work is involuntary; that is, it is not under the control of the governing brain, nor subject to its casual impulses. Nevertheless, in selecting and securing the food, the external senses and the

judging intellect, and their servants, the limbs, are required for all that lies beyond the instinctive nurture of infancy — thus furnishing the suggestion, that infant societies may supply their animal wants, without the intervention of an executive intelligence in making the provision. In the more mature life of the community, however, as in the developed growth of the individual, a head, with its executive ministers, is not only essential, natural, and beneficial, but absolutely indispensable.

The government — representing, as it does, the intelligence of the body, physical and social — has a duty and a use, and therefore, a right to a place in the natural order. While ministering to the well-being of the body, it may not, and, as we see, it does not, intervene in that sphere of life which is nearest its central movements. *Laisser faire* is *there* the law — ruling all that has already been appropriated. Elsewhere, we find regulative help in bringing the sustenance of the body within its reach, and guardianship in warding off all disturbing and injurious influences from without — giving liberty to the internal life, and protection to the social life — that protection, too, embracing both assistance and defence.

Further, the digestive and assimilative organs are numerous and variously related in their several offices — each individual having its own peculiar function, although intimately interlinked with its associates in the same general process. They are a lesser society — a corporation of converting laborers. The stomach, liver, pancreas, intestinal tube, and lacteal vessels, are principal members of the association — all, however, subjected to the incorporating influence of the great sympathetic nerve, which, while binding them into corporate unity, frees them also from the control of the governing brain, to such extent as is required for securing their due efficiency in their proper offices. Nevertheless, while supplied with nervous power by a special and separating set of nerves, each individual one has a branch of direct communication with the central nervous mass. In other words, their sympathy and interdependence among themselves, are closer and more complete than between any of them and the all-governing brain. They can even perform their functions so far as to sustain life, for a short time, and in an inferior degree, when the agency of the brain is entirely withheld — doing this, however, much less

advantageously than when its influence is rayed out upon them, as it is in a state of perfect health. In reptiles, the digestive apparatus continues to act long after the head has been severed from the body. In the human fœtus, the growth of the body seems to be quite perfect, even where the brain is wholly absent. In the case of the animal, the life of relation is a very feeble one, but in that of the child it is wholly absent — the intervention of the brain being, therefore, of slight importance to either. At birth, however, the acephalous fœtus of the human race perishes, for want of the co-ordinating brain-power—the decollated tortoise doing the same, after a few hours of the like deprivation. *The necessity for a co-ordinating power appears, therefore, to exist in the direct ratio of development.*

The analogy we have sought to trace, here affords the correspondence. In a state of absolute isolation, or that of feeble and imperfect social relation, man, denied, as he is, the protecting and assisting aid elsewhere resulting from combinations of men with their fellow-men, has but a low grade of individual existence. In the healthy maturity of society, as in that of the man, the independence of the individual, though embracing many of his most important interests, cannot be entire, either in extent, or in degree. The connection of the societary man with his fellows is a double one — its analogue being found in the vegetative organs. The sympathetic system of nerves receives branches directly from the brain and spinal marrow, throughout its entire course in the neck, thorax, and abdomen — the organs which it supplies, as the stomach, liver, and pancreas, having, besides, an immediate connection with the brain and spinal cord by means of nerves sent directly to them. The societary man has his independency rooted in his original relations with his fellow-men — threads of common life holding him in a general dependency upon every neighbor man — organized government, meanwhile, representing his fellows in their aggregate, and stretching its lines of support, protection, and harmonizing restraints, over all the points in which his life has its relative issues.

Moreover, physiologists tell us,* that in addition to the sensitive nerves which, receiving impressions from without, convey them to the sensorium, and the motor nerves which transmit the

* Dunglison: *Human Physiology*, vol. i., p. 99.

resulting impulses from the brain to the muscles, there are other nerves which, in like manner, receive impressions to be conveyed, not to the sensorium, but to local or ganglionic centres, quite distinct from the common sensorium — exciting in those centres, reflex motor impulses, which are carried by their associate efferent nerves, and inducing the answering muscular movements without any direct intervention of sensation or volition; that is, without involving that portion of the brain in which resides the governing power. The actions over which this set of nerves, connected with these local centres in the axis of the system, are held to preside, are such as the propulsion of food along the œsophagus, the motion of the chest in ordinary respirations, and like processes, all of which are well carried on in infancy, in reveries, in sleep, and in disease — generally without consciousness, and, of course, without volition, or impulse from the throne-room of the mind. Even the muscles of locomotion, although promptly responsive to the will, and under the guidance and direction of the perceiving and reflecting forces of the intellect, have yet the capability of performing their offices without, and independently of, such direction and government. They also belong, in one of their dependencies, to the simple excito-motory system of nerves which have their centre of origin and termination in their own ganglions, or local centres. Thus, even organs which are eminently under the rule of the sensorium, or principal and supreme portion of the cerebral mass, are also provided with a proper life which endows them with spontaneity; in other words, which takes them from under the sole and constant government of the mind — they being, nevertheless, held in its command for all other uses and purposes, remote from their individual and independent functions.

In this brief and imperfect outline of the nervous functions, we have three grand classes of vital agencies: first, the regular and symmetrical nerves, called cerebro-spinal, centering in the sensorium, and ruling all the others for the general well being, as well as for performing their own special offices; second, the excito-motory set, serving in those offices of the body which are sometimes spontaneous, and, at others, in the exigencies of the individual life, taken under the control of the sensorial or voluntary system, to be employed in extraordinary, or, as we may call them, social uses; third, the great sympathetic or visceral nerves, wholly

dedicated to the vegetative life, but rooted in the brain and spinal cord, and modified in their offices by branches from the same source, which meet them in their ultimate agency—there influencing them according to the exigencies of the body corporate.

We have here a system of checks and balances — a harmony secured among severalties — a government maintained among spontaneities — a liberty and an order realized — a rule of law, and a dominion of intelligence — in the individual man, which presents the very type and model of that aggregate man designated as society. There are, here, neither compromises, expediencies, nor functional equalities. Competency and ability are enthroned — giving us subordination, without sacrifice — authority, without usurpation — intervention, without interference. Most important of all, government is not abdicated — service is not reserved, yet liberty remains uninvaded — the result being found in the securing of the highest welfare of all the parts.

The theory of political government of these United States is in an obvious general harmony with the vital economy, as it has been here exhibited. The individual, having rights and interests with which no one ventures to interfere — the atom, in its proper isolation — scarcely feels the rein of a nerve of the ruling functionaries, though receiving the vital impulse, and the nourishing circulation, in equal partnership with masses of the highest organization. The family, held together by its proper sympathetic ties, is obedient to an almost unconscious influence on the part of the central life — meeting its restraints and directions only when its offices link it to its daily augmenting relations. The school district has powers which it exercises independently of that larger society from which it derives its powers, and to which it is responsible for the rightful exercise of its functions — the cerebro-spinal nerve touching it only for necessary government. The township enjoys a similar independence — feeling the corresponding control of the county. The county holds its franchises under similar conditions of freedom and limitation. The State is sovereign in all remoter and more general relations, consistent with the supremacy of the Union — that, again, being supreme only in what is essential to the harmony and well-being of the whole of the great confederacy.

§ 2. Social science here branches into political economy — the former treating of *the laws* which govern man in his effort to secure for himself the highest individuality and the greatest power of association with his fellow-men, and the latter of *the measures* required for so co-ordinating the movements of society, as to enable the laws to take effect. To Galileo, Newton, and others, we have been indebted for a knowledge of the laws of motion, but it is to another and widely-different class of philosophers—to men like Watt, Arkwright, and Fulton, we owe the power to profit of the laws discovered. Careful study of the law is indispensable to success in practice, it being, in the words of M. Comte, by means of a "knowledge of the laws of phenomena, of which the invariable result is foresight, and by that alone," that we can so conduct ourselves in active life, as to be enabled to "modify the one by the other, to our advantage. In short, *science whence foresight, foresight whence action* — such," he says, "being the simple formula which expresses the general relation of science and art."

Men approach each other, prompted by a desire for association, and by a consciousness that their own strength and power will be increased by combination. Met together, thousands of cases occur, in which unenlightened selfishness is found opposing itself to measures looking to the promotion of the good of all — measures, in the benefits of which, those so acting would participate. Such being the case, it becomes soon obvious that some certain persons must act as umpires, empowered so to co-ordinate and determine the movement of the societary body, as to call into activity all the powers of its members, while requiring each and all to hold in due respect the rights of those around them — the object sought to be obtained being that of removing obstacles which stand in the way of association and combination. The duties to be performed by the persons so empowered, are thus precisely the same with those that, in the physical body, are assigned to the brain, and the health of the social body must as much depend upon their due performance as does that of the physical one upon the performance by the brain of the duties assigned to it — abdication, without injury, being no more possible in the one case than in the other. Order having been well defined, by M. Guizot, as being "only the free and certain exercise of

rights," failure in its maintenance among the various members of a society, is as certain to be followed by injurious consequences, as is failure of the intellect to direct the operations of its many subjects. Being Heaven's first and greatest law, the feeling of its necessity exhibits itself, whensoever and wheresoever men come together — the most disorderly of beings, the very pirates of the ocean, always selecting some certain person to be invested with the authority needed for maintaining discipline among themselves, and for securing that there be a fair division of the plunder among both the absent and the present.

The first and greatest obstacle to association being found in the necessity for effecting changes of place, one of the earliest wants of man is found in the need for roads. At first, the footpath supplies the only means of intercourse, but as men increase in number, the pack-horse takes the place of man — the value of the latter rising because of his centering in himself all the power thus obtained. In time, however, other and better roads are needed; but now the difficulty arises, that the owner of the pack-horse, in his ignorant selfishness, opposes their construction, under the belief, that his services and those of his animals, may be thereby lessened in their power to command remuneration. The farmer, too, opposes it, for the reason, that it will divide his farm — wholly overlooking the fact, that the economy of transportation will probably double the money-value of his property. In this state of things, society, by its head, steps in — deciding the terms upon which the land shall be yielded for the general purposes, and upon what terms the owner of the land shall be entitled to use the road. — Later, turnpikes and railroads are needed, but how, in the absence of a co-ordinating head, could such roads be made? Were each and every proprietor along the line, to make his separate piece, each would be owner of his share — determining for himself the charge for its use, and endeavoring to obtain, at the cost of all the others, the largest portion of the tolls. Here, again, society comes in — fixing the terms upon which the land may be taken, and the tolls that may be claimed — at the same time creating an artificial man, and authorizing the head of the body thus created to guide and direct the operations.

Water is needed — each and every person being now obliged to go daily to the distant river for his day's supply, and the whole

combined wasting, in each successive year, more labor than would, if at once applied, bring the river to their doors. Who, however, is to do it? Being done by A and B, C and D would profit by it — paying nothing for the service. Society now interferes — deciding that what is for the good of all, must be done by all, and authorizing the authorities of the town to do the work at the public cost. Each then obtains his supplies in return for diminished effort — giving the body corporate only a small per centage of the product of the labor thus economized.

The precious metals pass in lumps, each exchange involving a necessity for weighing of the pieces. Seeing that much labor may be saved, society, by its head, authorizes certain persons to receive such lumps as may be brought to them — to test their quality—to make them up in pieces of a certain weight and shape — and then to stamp them with certain marks, as evidence that they had passed through proper hands.

So, too, with regard to weights and measures — commerce being much facilitated by the determination of the precise idea that is to be conveyed by the expressions — a yard of cloth — a pound of butter — a ton of coal — a bushel of wheat.

Valuable minerals exist, and in abundant quantities, but who shall make the investigations required for bringing such treasures to the light? A and B have tried it, but have failed. All are likely to be largely benefited by such discoveries, but none are willing to risk the large expenditure they may require. Society now steps in — bringing science to their aid, showing where such deposits may be safely looked for, and requiring all to pay their quota towards explorations promotive of the good of all.

The losses by sea are so very great as to add largely to the tax of transportation, to the great detriment of those who own, and those who farm the land. That this evil may be removed, there is needed a knowledge of the laws of the currents and the winds, but who shall study them? Being for the good of all, it should be done at the cost of all, and society, by its head, requires that it be so done.*

* At a cost so trivial as to be wholly unworthy of notice, Lieut. Maury, of the U. S. Navy, under the authority of the Government, has brought together, in the last ten years, an amount of information in reference to winds and currents, whose annual value to the world, in the economy of time, property, and life, counts by millions of dollars.

In default of evidences of marriage and of birth, property is frequently retarded on its way to the proper heirs. Seeing this, society determines that certain persons shall keep records of births, marriages, and deaths—thereby facilitating all future operations in regard to the transfer of lands, houses, stocks, and other property, at the death of their present owners.

Schools are needed, but the rich are indisposed to pay for educating the poor, and the poor are unable to educate themselves. To the former, society now says, that the strength of a community increases in the ratio of the development of the powers of its members; that with every step in that direction, land acquires increase of value; that diffusion of intelligence tends to the promotion of morality, and thereby gives increased security to person and to property; that the rich are, therefore, directly interested in the education of the poor; that it is for the good of all; and that, therefore, all must contribute a small per centage upon the value of their properties, to be so applied.

A city requires to be supplied with gas, and, for that purpose, extensive works are to be erected, and miles of pipes required to be laid. Who shall do it? The city owns the streets, and if it grants permission to use them, without conditions, it thereby creates a monopoly, that may become most oppressive. The city head decides the terms upon which the obstacles to combination among the makers of gas, and those who desire to consume it, may be removed — the head of the State, at the same time, authorizing the former to combine among themselves, for carrying the arrangement into full effect.

Among the community there are some who are blind, while others are deaf, dumb, or otherwise deprived of power to provide for their own support. They cannot be allowed to perish, yet who shall contribute to their relief? In answer to this question, society says, that it is a common burthen, to the carrying of which each shall contribute in the ratio of his means—thus distributing among those who have been favored by Heaven, the care of those who have been less fortunate.

Drainage being needed, the health of the community is affected. Who shall do it? What is the business of all is that of none, and marshes remain undrained. At length, however, society determines that what is for the good of all, must be done at the cost

of all — the rich and the poor being required to contribute in the ratio of their respective interests.

Epistolary intercourse must be maintained, but how can it be done? In the absence of combined action, the few who are rich and powerful can afford to send their letters by special messengers — profiting largely by information obtained in advance of their weaker neighbors. To remove this difficulty, and in the interests of all, society takes charge of the correspondence — transmitting letters to a distance of thousands of miles, and receiving in return a smaller amount of money than is usually paid for carrying a single letter to an adjoining street.

A country embraces all the varieties of soil and climate requisite for a very varied agriculture, from the barley of the north to the sugar of the south; and yet, in default of the introduction of many articles, its inhabitants are compelled to go abroad from year to year — paying three, four, or five times, the original cost, and thus losing annually, a greater amount than would, if properly applied, give to its farmers new employment for labor and land, that would add largely to the general wealth. In this state of things, society comes to their aid — asking each and every contributor to the tax of transportation to pay, into a common fund, a small per centage of its amount, to be applied to the introduction of seeds and knowledge, by means of which they may, in a brief period, be relieved from the payment of further contributions.*

Schools develop the various faculties of the younger portion of the community, but in default of diversity in the modes of employment, those who would have distinguished themselves in the workshop are compelled to remain idle, if they would not follow the plough, or begin to trade. Iron ore and fuel abound, but, there being no furnaces in which the former can be smelted, both

* The amount paid annually for transporting tea to the United States, would probably suffice for securing the successful establishment of the tea culture at home. Such a work, however, would ruin any individual, as it has already beggared the enterprising man by whom it was, some years since, undertaken. The tea seed must be procured from China, whose people naturally resist the exportation of the best seed, as prejudicial to their interests. So the tea shippers, commission merchants, importers, &c., regard the establishment of the tea culture here as a deadly blow to the craft whereby they have their wealth. Then, the proper climate, soil, and culture, in this country, have all to be ascertained by patient and repeated experiments, which, however triumphant in their results, must be costly in their progress.

remain idle in the earth, and the farmer can with difficulty obtain a plough. Wool abounds, but there is no woollen mill, and the farmer's daughter is idle, while he, himself, is unable to obtain a coat. Corn abounds, but the cost of transporting it to a distant market, leaves its producer little to pay for either machinery or clothing.—A furnace and a mill are needed, but who shall build them? Building materials, and labor unemployed, abound, but how can they be combined? Those who might undertake the work, would speedily find, that, however much their operations might tend towards increasing the quantity of cloth and iron obtainable in exchange for food and labor, their distant competitors would still so far control the market as to drive them from it, to their own entire ruin — fearing which, the furnace and the mill would remain unbuilt; labor would remain unemployed; fuel, ore, and food, would remain superabundant; the farmer would continue to give the larger part of the clothing-power of his corn for freight on the remainder; and the whole people would continue poor.—In this state of things, society says to the farmers and laborers, that the establishment of mills and furnaces would double the value of both land and labor, and that to enable them to combine their efforts for the erection of such establishments, it will require of the foreign producers of cloth and iron a certain portion of the value of all they may import — applying the proceeds to the making of new and better roads, or to paying the expenses of government; thus, while relieving them, at once and forever, from the oppressive tax of transportation to the distant market, improving the modes of communication among themselves.

In all these cases, the political head does exactly that which, as we have seen, has been provided to be done by the physical one — co-ordinating the movements of the various members of the society in such manner as to remove the obstacles which stand in the way of association, and prevent that diversification of the employments of society which is required for adding value to land and labor, and giving freedom to man. The more perfect that co-ordination, whether in the physical or social body, the more complete must be the development of all the parts, and the more harmonious the action of the whole.

It may, however, be said, that the exercise of these various

powers tends towards centralization, yet is the reverse of this the case. Each and every movement above described, tends towards the development of the various powers of the earth and man — towards the creation of local centres — towards increasing the rapidity of the societary circulation — towards creating a counterbalance to the attractions of the political or trading capital — and, therefore, towards concentration. The more perfect the balance of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, the greater must be the steadiness of the societary movement — the larger the proportion borne by fixed to circulating capital — the more perfect the individuality of both people and State — and the greater the tendency towards the perfect establishment of human freedom. Are there, then, no proper limits to the sphere of action of those who guide and direct the commerce of the State? There are — *their whole duty being found in the removal of the obstacles to perfect combination.* Going beyond that point, government leaves its proper sphere — doing then mischief in place of good.

§ 3. For accomplishing the objects above described, and a thousand others, men associate themselves together — sometimes as simple joint-stock companies, and at others as public or private corporations; and as, in all of these, the co-ordinating power is required to take a part, it is needed that we here look to its action upon them, as well as at their action upon the people among whom they are found.

Joint-stock companies do not, necessarily, limit the liability of the partners in them — companies having frequently been incorporated in England, for the simple purpose of enabling them to sue and be sued, as a body, and without limiting the responsibility of the shareholders, each and all, for payment of the debts. Such, too, has been the case in Massachusetts, where, for a time, every partner was liable for all the debts of her various manufacturing companies — a state of things that was followed by ruin to almost all concerned.

An act of incorporation so organizes a company as to give it permanent existence, and a legal identity, under all the changes of membership that may occur — thus effecting for bodies politic precisely what the laws of life accomplish for the constantly-changing atoms of the natural body. Never, even for an instant,

intrinsically the same, these latter are so always, in their relations with the exterior world. In the creation of a social body corporate, as one of the means of removing the obstacles to combination, the co-ordinating power of the society at large, does but copy the arrangements adopted by nature herself.

In the forms of incorporation most usual in both Europe and America, limitation of liability to loss, beyond the amount invested, is secured—thus removing another of the obstacles to association. Water being needed, or roads being required, thousands may be found who would be willing to contribute according to their means, to the accomplishment of the great work, when not even a single one would be willing to assume the whole risk, while dividing with his neighbors the benefits there resulting, in the increase of comfort to themselves, or in the growth of value in their land.

Here again we find the societary action in perfect accordance with the general laws instituted for man's government — the scheme of creation involving no such absurdity as that of holding one man liable for the errors of another. Perfectly natural, therefore, as is this form of association, equally so is it, that society at large should be indebted to it for all those institutions which tend most towards increasing the power of combination in the people among whom they are found — as in the case of canals, roads, banks, telegraphs, insurance offices, steamers, and many others that might be named — including literary and philosophical associations, charities, and churches.—Of all concerned in the organization of such institutions, few expect to derive from them much advantage except in common with those around them, for which reason there is strict justice in permitting them to limit the amount of risk to be incurred.

Acts of incorporation have frequently carried with them prohibitions of association for similar purposes among any but the parties named — monopolies being thus created. Here, the co-ordinating power steps beyond its proper sphere of action — creating obstacles to association, when its real duties are limited to their removal. Many such had been created in England, prior to the statutes of 21 James I., by which they were nearly all abolished — the sole exceptions being those of patents, granted for the encouragement of publishers of useful inventions and improve-

ments. That, however, was the day of small monopolies only—those of the East India Company, the South Sea Company, the Bank of England, and many others, dating their existence from a later period.

"It was chiefly," says Chancellor Kent, "for the purpose of clothing bodies of men in succession with the qualities and capacities of one single, artificial, and fictitious being, that corporations were originally invented, and for the same convenient purposes they have been brought largely into use."* Blackstone quotes Plutarch for the statement, that they were first introduced by Numa, who erected each separate manual trade and profession, in Rome, into a society, for the purpose of subdividing the rival Roman and Sabine factions, by which the city was being torn to pieces, into smaller ones, each of which would help to neutralize the others. Two centuries later, Solon permitted the Athenians to form themselves at pleasure into companies, provided they did nothing contrary to the public law †—those periods in both Greece and Rome in which real freedom most existed, being precisely those in which the co-ordinating power is shown to have been most applied to the promotion of combination. That freedom having passed away, Cæsar found in corporations only nurseries of faction and disorder—a state of things that still endured in the time of Trajan, who is recorded to have refused, for that reason, to grant incorporation to a simple fire association.‡—Corporations for the advancement of learning were entirely unknown to the ancients; nor was it until the 13th century that colleges and universities began to confer degrees.§

The creation of civil and municipal bodies, for political and commercial purposes, finds a place in the early history of modern Europe, and yet earlier among the Romans—their empire having been, in no small degree, composed of corporations. "The Latin, Samnite, and Etruscan nations, were mere confederations of cities—there having been," says M. Guizot, "no country places, no villages. The proprietors of land, and of country estates," as he further says, "dwelt in cities—leaving them occasionally to visit their rural property, where they usually kept a

* *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 469.
† *Ibid*, p. 268.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 269.
§ *Ibid*, p. 270.

number of slaves; but that which we call the country, the scattered population, sometimes in lone houses, and sometimes in hamlets and villages, and which every where dot our land with agricultural dwellings, was altogether unknown in ancient Italy." Outside of Italy it was the same, "the history of the conquest of the world by Rome, being but the history of the conquest and foundation of a vast number of cities."* Although conquered, their privileges were, during a long period, respected—limitation of liability on the part of their people towards the officers, and of the latter towards the central power, having been fully recognized. With growing centralization, however, those limitations wholly disappeared — taxation then recognizing no limits but the entire inability to pay, and the municipal officers being responsible for the amounts assessed, whether collected or not.† Leaving their posts without permission, their entire property became confiscated to the State — the performance of their municipal obligations being a duty to which all were liable who possessed property to the extent of twenty-five acres, and from which none could free themselves by any voluntary act. Under such circumstances it was, that the co-ordinating power of the cities almost entirely disappeared — the middle class passing away, and leaving behind it little but officers of the central government on one hand, and slaves on the other.

The Roman Empire having disappeared, the ancient institutions slowly revive again — cities, towns, and fraternities re-appearing on the stage, invested with corporate powers and privileges, and with extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction. Presenting barriers

* *Histoire de la Civilization*, tom. i., Lecture II.

† Among "the functions and duties of the curiales thus forcibly confined within their curia, were as follow: —

"1. To administer the affairs of the municipium, its revenue and its expenditure, either deliberatively as a private member of the curia, or executively as a municipal magistrate. In this double situation, the curiales were not only responsible for their own individual conduct, but they were called upon to provide for the wants of the town out of their own means, if the civic revenue was insufficient.

"2. To collect the public taxes. Here also they were themselves responsible if they failed to levy the full amount imposed. Any lands subject to the land-tax, which were abandoned by their possessors, reverted to the curia, who were bound to pay the tax in respect of them, until some one was found who was willing to take the land and its liabilities upon himself. If no such person appeared, the tax continued to be made up amongst the other proprietors."—Guizot: *Histoire de la Civilization*, tom. ii., Lecture II.

to feudal tyranny, these immunities were sought for, not only from a thirst for liberty, but also from a desire for the creation of local monopolies — the one tending towards the promotion of the habit of association, and the other towards its limitation. Affording protection to those engaged in the mechanic arts, they formed a counterpoise to the exorbitant powers, and otherwise unchecked rapacity, of the barons. Facilitating commerce, and promoting the development of individuality, they gave value to both land and labor, while adding largely to the strength of the State, of which they were a part.* By this means it was, that order and security, industry, agriculture, and the arts, revived in France and Spain, Germany and Italy, the Netherlands and England — the re-establishment of regular government, after the centuries of disorder which followed the invasion of barbarian hordes, having been largely due to the institution of civil corporations, with their extended privileges.

American civil polity is distinguished by the prevalence and diversity of civil corporations — political power being, by this means, distributed, decentralized, and co-ordinated. Under it, counties, towns, and cities, are held to be *quasi* corporations, invested with subordinate legislative powers, to be exercised for local purposes connected with the general good — their exercise, however, being still subjected to the general control of the State. Among the first acts of the Connecticut General Assembly, in 1639, was one for incorporating the small towns of the colony — thereby securing to each and all the right of selecting their own officers and magistrates — of holding local courts — of providing for the registry of deeds and mortgages, and for the maintenance of schools and churches. Each little community being thus constituted, so far as regarded matters of local interest, as little independent republics, the American town has been justly described by M. de Tocqueville, as forming the vital principle of American liberty. Here, however, we have but the first element of the system, the application of the corporate principle having since

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 127, for an account of the cities of the Albigenses, in the 11th and 12th centuries. The rights and liberties of London were secured by a provision of Magna Charta, in the 13th century. — M. Raynouard, in his *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, says M. Guizot, has furnished "traces of a municipal system, in uninterrupted vigor, from the 8th to the 12th centuries."

been carried to an extent unknown in any other country — giving to the bodies thus created, a flexibility and variety wholly unknown, says Chancellor Kent, to the Roman or English law.*

Charters creating corporations, having for their object the promotion of industry and commerce, may be regarded as Enabling Acts, conferring upon individuals the powers and privileges required for the advancement of the general welfare. Securing the parties concerned against unlimited risks, they facilitate the combination of labor and capital — thereby promoting industrial enterprises in a manner, and to an extent, that could in no other way be effected. The principle upon which they are based is a plain and simple one, that of the unity and identity of social interest; or, in other words, the brotherhood of man translated into the partnership of business. It is the same as that which lies at the foundation of all associations for peaceful purposes, whether as nations, states, communities, towns, or banks — the object sought being organization, incorporation, unity, harmony, and co-operation. The interdependencies, as well as the natural sympathies of men, tend to draw them together — the first and greatest need of man being that of association with his fellow-men. That they may associate, and thus be enabled to combine their efforts, there must be organization, giving, as its result, not only an aggregation but a multiplication of forces — human force increasing geometrically, as the habit and the power of association increase arithmetically.† The more perfect that power, the more rapid becomes the societary movement, and the greater the tendency towards increase in the value of man and land.

With every stage of progress in that direction, the necessity for the services of the trader and transporter tends to decline — the various functions of societary life tending more to take the forms of partnership, joint investment, participation in loss and profit, and common interest in the increased productiveness of labor, and in the general well-being of each and every member of the community. With each, the proportion of the laborer tends to rise — labor itself, however, still remaining divorced from, and antago-

* *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 280.

† The admirable effects of combination are well exhibited in the recent reports of the Superintendents of the Newsboys' Lodging-Houses — showing, as they do, at how small a cost the condition of large numbers of persons may be much improved.

nistic to, the capital of which it is itself the sole creator. At one moment, the laborer *must* sell, if he would not perish for want of food. At another, the capitalist *must* buy, if he would not have his machines thrown idle upon his hands. Competition is here a war between hostile forces, and so must it continue to be, as long as wages shall continue to be the reward of the laborer, and profits those of the capitalist.* So, too, is it with rent and interest — the risks and responsibilities being thrown upon the renter and the borrower, while the money-lender and the landlord stand guaranteed against loss, so long as the former shall continue able to fulfil their contracts.† There is here no equitable mutuality in the spirit of the contract — no acknowledgment of an identity of interests — no true harmony among the contracting parties. Co-operation tends to produce such unity — all concerned being then alike interested in so directing the affairs of the association as to diminish friction, and increase production.‡

It is certainly true, that that general prosperity which in every country results from diversification in the demand for human powers, tends of itself to cause increase in the laborer's proportion of the product — thus placing him in a more independent position as regards his employer.§ It is, nevertheless, quite

* How slight is the tendency towards harmony, and how small is the prospect of its arrival, under a system which treats man as a mere instrument to be used by trade, will be seen on a perusal of the following passage from one of the most distinguished advocates of the free trade system:

"Humanity, indeed, would rejoice to see them [the laborers] and their families dressed in clothing suitable to the climate and season; having homes in roomy, warm, airy, and healthy habitations, and fed with wholesome and plentiful diet, with perhaps occasional delicacy and variety; but there are very few countries where wants, apparently so moderate, are not considered far beyond the limits of strict necessity, and therefore *not to be gratified by the customary wages of the mere laboring class.*"—J. B. Say: *Political Economy*, Philad. edit., p. 336.

† For the effect of money rents in England, see *ante*, vol. ii., p. 79, vol. iii., p. 284.

‡ See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 432, for the ownership of New England banks, and for the amount of loans. As a rule, there is there scarcely any friction between the lender and the borrower — the one receiving as *dividend*, almost exactly the same rate that is paid by the other as *interest*. — Such, too, was the tendency of that New England joint-stock manufacturing system, which now is tending so rapidly to disappear. No more striking evidence of the injurious effects of the present free trade policy could be produced, than that which is now exhibited, throughout New England, in reference to the substitution of great individual capitalists for associations of small proprietors.

§ "It is the great multiplication of the productions of all the different arts, in consequence of the division of labor [combination of action], which

apparent, that as yet we know not how to divide the results of any business enterprise between the capital, skill, and toil, that have been required — each and all having been equally essential to the production of its results. A bank can divide its profits, to the smallest fraction, among its stockholders, but it must purchase the talent, skill, and service of its agents, at such prices as they will command in the general market. Buying and selling are an array of hostile interests — excluding wholly the idea of harmony, sympathy, neutrality, partnership, or even equity of distribution. Not in any manner involving the idea of co-operation or organization, reference to the mutual life and health of the parties finds no place among its instincts.* Hence it is, that harmony in all

occasions, in a well-governed society, that universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people. Every workman has a great quantity of his own work to dispose of, beyond what he himself has occasion for; and every other workman being exactly in the same situation, he is enabled to exchange a great quantity of his own goods for a great quantity, or, what comes to the same thing, for the price of a great quantity of theirs. He supplies them abundantly with what they have occasion for, and they accommodate him as amply with what he has occasion for, and a general plenty diffuses itself through all the different ranks of the society."—SMITH: *Wealth of Nations.*

* The most remarkable case of co-operation on record is that of the *Equitable Pioneers' Society*, of Rochdale, England, commenced fourteen years since, by some thirty or forty poor and humble workingmen, with less than $10 in the treasury, and an income of two pence a week from each stockholder — its object being that of making arrangements "for the pecuniary benefit and improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members." From this small beginning it has grown to have seven distinct departments, and the capital is now $75,000, held in $5 shares, of which over $18,000 is invested in the mill, in which they are the owners. The Pioneers have incurred no debts, and made no losses; and, though their aggregate dealings have amounted to $1,500,000, they have never had a lawsuit. Nearly a hundred persons are directly and constantly employed by the Society, a dozen or more of them being in the store alone. Over the grocery is a news-room, where the members are reading every evening, and a circulating library of 2,200 choice volumes, from which they and their children are taking out books. Toad Lane is crowded each evening by cheerful co-operators, and as much as $2000 has been taken by the store in a single day. "It is not," however, says the author of the interesting little volume, "the brilliancy of commercial activity in which either writer or reader will take the deepest interest; it is in the new and improved spirit animating this intercourse of trade. Buyer and seller meet as friends; there is no over-reaching on one side, and no suspicion on the other; and Toad Lane, on Saturday night, while as gay as the Lowther Arcade in London, is ten times more moral. These crowds of humble workingmen, who never knew before when they put good food in their mouths, whose every dinner was adulterated, whose shoes let in the water a month too soon, whose waistcoats shone with devil's dust, and whose wives wore calico that would not wash, now buy in the markets like millionaires, and, so far as pureness of food goes, live like lords. They are weaving their own stuffs, making their own shoes, sewing their own garments, and

the relations of society grows so rapidly in all those countries in which the producer and consumer take their places by each other's side — approximating the prices of rude products and finished commodities, and thereby diminishing the space allotted to the trader.* Hence, too, the growing discord in those, in which the proportions of the trader tend to augment, with corresponding tendency towards reduction in those of both consumers and producers — competition for the purchase of labor growing in the one, while competition for its sale grows steadily in the other.†

grinding their own corn. They buy the purest sugar, and the best tea, and grind their own coffee. They slaughter their own cattle, and the finest beasts of the land waddle down the streets of Rochdale, for the consumption of flannel-weavers and cobblers. When did competition give poor men these advantages? And will any man say that the moral character of these people is not improved under these influences? The teetotalers of Rochdale acknowledge that the store has made more sober men since it commenced, than all their efforts have been able to make in the same time. Husbands who never knew what it was to be out of debt, and poor wives who, during forty years, never had sixpence unmortgaged in their pockets, now possess little stores of money sufficient to build them cottages, and go every week into their own market with money jingling in their pockets; and in that market there is no distrust, and no deception; there is no adulteration, and no second price. The whole atmosphere is honest. Those who serve, neither hurry, finesse, nor flatter. They have no interest in chicanery. They have but one duty to perform — that of giving fair measure, full weight, and a pure article. In other parts of the town, where competition is the principle of trade, all the preaching in Rochdale cannot produce moral effects like these." —*Self-Help by the People. History of Co-operation in Rochdale.* By G. J. Holyoake.

* "When small farmers have any hold on the land, as in Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, and France, they combine to raise funds for any project that promises to be generally beneficial. In this way, channels many miles in length are made for irrigation or drainage; and a dozen owners of three or four cows, or occupiers of as many acres, combine to make cheeses as large and fine as any that Cheshire can produce; and even to establish a beet-root manufacture, the most extensive and scientific of all modern agricultural operations. Mutual co-operation thus places within the reach of small farmers almost every advantage possessed by their wealthy rivals." — Thornton, on *Over-population*, p. 331.

† Competition, according to M. Bastiat, is "democratic in its essence" — being "the most progressive, the most equalizing, and the most communistic, of all the provisions to which Providence has confided the direction of human progress."—*Harmonies Economiques*, p. 407. Elsewhere, he tells his readers, that "he has not failed to see, and will not deny, the extent of evil that competition has inflicted upon mankind."—*Ibid*, p. 458. The contradiction here existing, results from his having failed to remark, that competition is of two kinds—the one being for the *sale* of labor and its products, and the other for its *purchase*. Whatever tends to increase the first, tends towards slavery — increase in the other, on the contrary, tending towards freedom. The more distant the producer from the consumer, the more do buying and selling tend to become the business of all mankind, with constant increase of discord The nearer they are to each other, the less is there of purchase and sale, and

§ 4. Among the men who have, at any time, been placed in charge of the helm of State, Colbert stands pre-eminent for his full appreciation of the fact, that the headship of a nation brought with it a necessity for the performance of great and important duties — each and all of them, however, looking to the removal of the obstacles to association and combination. Every stage of progress in that direction, as he clearly saw, tended towards developing the individual faculties of his countrymen, and towards fitting them for more extended intercourse with distant people.* Differing widely from modern teachers, he regarded wealth only as a means — the end being found in the elevation of the people subject to his control, and the gradual substitution of the real MAN for the mere human animal bequeathed to him by his predecessors.† That he erred occasionally in regard to the measures required for enabling him to attain the desired end, as when he prohibited the export of artisans and corn, is not extraordinary — seeing how little progress has been made, in the two centuries which have since elapsed, towards harmony among the teachers of social science, whether as regards the facts themselves, or the deductions they may be held to warrant.‡

the greater is the tendency towards that co-operation among all the members of society, by means of which all, great and small, become participators in both the losses and the profits.

* The spirit of Colbert's system, as regarded external commerce, is thus briefly given by himself, in one of his Reports to the King: "Reduction of export duties upon all domestic products; diminution of import duties on raw materials; exclusion of foreign manufactures, by means of increase of duties."

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 307, for the principles by which his colonial policy was governed.—In one of his letters to the Intendant of Tours, he says to him: "In all your visits, study the condition of the peasantry — seeing how they are dressed — how their houses are furnished — whether or not they are more merry at festivals and marriages than they had used to be—and finally, if their condition is improved. These four points," he continues, "embrace all the information we need for proving the establishment of a better state of things than that which existed during the war, and in the early years which followed the return of peace."—*Quoted by* M. CLÉMENT: *Histoire du Système Protecteur*, p. 32.

‡ In the work above referred to, M. Clément says, that "countries in which provisions are cheap and abundant," have, in the manufacturing contest for the markets of the world, "a marked advantage over those in which the cost of living is great." It may indeed, as he thinks, be regarded as an established principle, that "the less the people are required to expend for food, the lower will be the cost of production." Directly the reverse of this, however, is the fact — the cost of conversion being least in those countries in which food is highest, and greatest in those in which food is cheapest.

Leaving Colbert, we may now pass to Mr. Hume, in whose opinion, no country need fear any difficulty in regard to its power of commanding the services of those great instruments of association, the precious metals, provided only that it "preserved with care its people and its manufactures"—so exercising its power of co-ordination, as to facilitate the near approach of the converters of raw products to the neighborhood of those by whom the commodities had been produced. Of all economists, none appears more fully to have appreciated "the superior skill and industry that become developed in countries whose power of conversion have fitted them for obtaining the start of others in trade." No one ever saw more clearly how the possession of the arts of manufacture facilitated the accumulation of wealth — enabling merchants to hold "greater stocks," "to trade on much smaller profits," and thus to offer great inducements to the people of other countries to come to them when they desired to buy, or when they needed to sell.—No one has ever shown himself more sensible of the fact, that land and labor must, in the absence of manufactures, be low in price, and that, in countries so situated, the difficulty of regaining the ground they had lost, or gaining that which had not been previously obtained, was a great and growing one.*

No economist, more than Adam Smith, has manifested his admiration of local centres of action, in which agriculture and manufactures were happily combined. In his view, the course of his countrymen, in seeking to centralize the machinery of manufactures for the world, and thus converting themselves into "a nation of shopkeepers," while compelling all other nations to send their raw materials abroad in their rudest state, was not only an act of folly, but also "a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind"—such a violation as, had he lived in any other country, would have led him to urge such action on the part of the co-ordinating power, as would afford a remedy for the evils

Food is cheap in Illinois, but finished commodities are dear — the former being dear in England, while the latter are cheap. Food was cheap in France, in the days of Louis XV., but cloth and iron were scarce and dear. The former is now much dearer, but the latter are cheaper.—Such being the errors of the present day, we may well excuse those made by Colbert, two centuries since.

* *Essay on Money.*

that thus were sought to be produced. That he highly approved of the navigation laws, we know, and the fact that he did so, furnishes evidence of his belief in the necessity for the exercise of a sound discretion — thus discarding absolutely the belief in the propriety of an indiscriminate application of the idea implied by the expression, *laisser faire*.

Protection, as regarded those productions which were necessary for self-defence, he regarded as equally justifiable with that afforded by the navigation laws to shipping. As to that extended to other branches of industry, he was of opinion, that the articles thus protected might, after a time, "be made as cheap, or cheaper, than in the foreign country." * He did not, it is true, regard it as certain that "the sum total" of the revenue of a country could be thereby increased, yet he elsewhere proved it to be so, when he showed, that to whatsoever extent the market might be brought home to the farmer, the saving of the cost of transportation must enure to him — giving value to his labor and his land. Adding to this the further advantage resulting from the cheapening of commodities that before had been imported, his gain was doubled, where not even trebled or quadrupled.

Much more fully than Dr. Smith, did Mr. J. B. Say appreciate the necessity for action on the part of the co-ordinating power — circumstances, in his opinion, greatly modifying the proposition, generally true, that each and every individual is capable of judging for himself as to the most advantageous mode of employing his capital and his labor. Smith wrote, as Mr. Say well saw, in a country whose government had shown itself little disposed to neglect its interests — one, therefore, that was, in its societary arrangements, far in advance of many others. Admitting the general truth of Smith's propositions, he was, nevertheless, led to ask if, in these latter, there existed no prejudices little likely to be overcome, without the aid of government? "How many are the towns and provinces," did he inquire, "in which may not be found a spirit of routine, in regard to the employment of capital? Here," he continues, "they will have nothing but mortgages; there, they have faith only in certificates of public debt. In both — every new application of capital being looked upon with distrust — protection, granted with a view to promote the profitable

* *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV., ch. ii.

application of labor and capital, may become productive of universal benefit." "Further," as he adds, "such employments, though destined to result in great advantage, when the workmen shall have been trained, and the preliminary obstacles shall have been surmounted, are liable, without the aid of government, to cause heavy loss to the undertaker"—a result that, as he thought, was carefully to be avoided.*

Following in the footsteps of his distinguished predecessor, Mons. Blanqui tells his readers, that "experience has already taught us, that a people ought never to deliver over to the chances of foreign trade, the fate of its manufactures." †

Turning now to one of the most eminent of recent economists, we find him utterly disclaiming the idea of non-intervention by the co-ordinating power — telling his readers, that however true it is that, under ordinary circumstances, perfect freedom of trade would furnish the most certain means of augmenting the productive power, circumstances *will* occur to render necessary a departure from the rule.‡ Elsewhere he says — "There is no father of a family who does not know, that there are circumstances in which the sacrifice of to-day may be followed by advantages that will not only compensate therefor, but will do far more. A prudent and enlightened administration requires the making, in view to probable future benefit, of advances that may not, possibly, be repaid in full. There is no father of a family," he continues, "who, having good reason to believe that there existed on his property a great deposit of mineral wealth, would not feel himself called upon, having the means, to make some examinations with a view to prove the fact — thereby opening to his children a new road to affluence. Equally true is this, when applied to the conduct of a nation." On another occasion we find him declaring, that he held it to be undeniable, that there are exceptions to the free trade principle — an idea in which he would have been more fully confirmed, had he reflected, that in every community there exists, latent, all the ability shown to exist in others more advanced; that its development is dependent altogether upon the

* *Traité d'Economie Politique*, ch. xvii. See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 47, for Mr. Say's view of the results of Colbert's policy, as now exhibited in France.

† *Histoire d'Economie Politique, tome* II., p. 237.

‡ Rossi: *Cours*, Leçon 2 me.

power of combination; and that, where that power does not yet exist, the vast treasure of human faculties remains as useless and unproductive as would have done the mineral wealth to which he above refers.

"Italy," says M. Moreau de Jonnès, "profited of her liberty to create, in her free cities, the first manufactures that were to be found in Christendom — thereby securing to herself a monopoly of the production of silks and woollens, and of arms. Our wars," he continues, "having led our armies into that beautiful country, and we having thus become initiated into the secret of its prosperity, efforts were made at transplanting into our provinces the culture of the mulberry, the raising of silk, and the silk manufacture. All progress in this direction ceased, however, under the late sovereigns of the Valois family, the luxuries of France having been then exclusively supplied by the cities of Italy and the Netherlands. Manufacturing industry was, therefore, compelled to wait the appearance of Sully and Henry IV., to obtain from them the royal protection, and the aid so much required."

Mr. J. S. Mill is of opinion, that "the superiority of one country over another, in a branch of production, often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may," as he continues, "be no inherent advantage on one part, or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire, may, in other respects, be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field; and besides, it is a just remark, that nothing has a greater tendency to produce improvement in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot," as he says, "be expected that individuals should at their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture, and bear the burthen of carrying it on, until the producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes have become traditional. A protecting duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which a country can tax itself for the support of such an experiment." * Elsewhere he says, that "the countries which have, at the same time, cheap food and great industrial prosperity, are few in number." † He might have gone further—

* *Principles*, Book V., ch. x. † *Ibid*, Book I., ch. xiii.

asserting that the existence of either one is wholly incompatible with that of the other. Food is cheap where, because of the absence of the industrial class, the market is distant. Finished commodities are there dear — the combination of the two phenomena presenting evidence of a feeble civilization. They are found together in all the countries that follow in the train of the Ricardo-Malthusian school.

Though generally favorable to the system commonly denominated "free trade," not one of these writers, as here is shown, has failed to see the necessity for the exercise, in the social body, of that same co-ordinating and regulating power, we see to be so constantly exercised in the physical man who furnishes, within himself, the type of the various societies of the world.

§ 5. "It is asserted," says M. Chevalier, "in favor of the protective system, that in every country, the age of maturity having arrived, there arises a necessity, in the interest even of civilization, for acclimating among its people, the principal branches of industry; that, agriculture alone becoming insufficient, it is needed to add thereto trade and manufactures; that it is necessary to have, not only some certain species, but each and all of the principal manufactures — adding to woollens and linens, those of silk and cotton; that it is required that they become familiar with the working of metals and of mines, with mechanics, and with the arts of navigation. Up to that point," he continues, "the programme is certainly right — every community, considerable in numbers, and occupying an extensive territory, being well inspired when seeing to the establishment, among its members, of diversity in the modes of employment. From the moment when it approaches maturity, it should seek to prepare itself therefor, and when it fails to do so, it makes a great mistake. This division of labor, or, according to Messrs. List and Mill, this combination of varied effort, is not only promotive of general prosperity, but it is the condition of national progress. It is, certainly, much better than a less varied production could be — being more in harmony with the diversity of human faculties, and of capabilities presented by a widely-extended territory. It is favorable to the advancement of knowledge — there being but few who willingly

study those departments of science from which they are little likely to derive direct advantage."

Having exhibited to his readers the benefits that have resulted from the association of men in towns and cities, and from that development of manufacturing industry which he himself regards as synonymous with diversification in the demands for labor, M. Chevalier thus continues:

"Nature has herself determined the limits beyond which this diversification may not be carried. It would be absurd for England, or for Northern Germany, to endeavor to produce at home the wines they drink; for us to try to raise the cotton that we spin, weave, and print; for Italy to pretend to draw from within herself the ice with which she seeks, in the heat of summer, to cool her thirst; for Western Europe to impose upon itself a necessity for drawing from its own poor mines, its supplies of the precious metals; or for France to refuse to manufacture any tin, copper, or zinc, but those yielded by its own particular mines. When nature, in her caprice, has refused to a country so extensive as our own, an abundance of ores and fuel, it would then be an absurdity for it to insist upon supplying all its wants from the few little veins of coal, or meagre deposits of ore, that have been scattered over it."

Within the limits thus assigned by nature, however, M. Chevalier holds, that every nation owes it to itself to seek the establishment of diversification in the pursuits of its people, as Germany and England have already done in regard to cottons and woollens, and as France herself has done in reference to so many, and so widely-different, kinds of manufacturing industry. Within these limits, he holds, that "it is not an abuse of power on the part of the Government; on the contrary, *it is the accomplishment of a positive duty, so to act at each epoch in the progress of a nation, as to favor the taking possession of all the branches of industry whose acquisition is authorized by the nature of things.* Governments are, in effect, the personification of nations, and it is required that they should exercise their influence in the direction indicated by the general interest, properly studied, and fully appreciated. Therefore," he continues, "I shall carefully avoid censuring Colbert in France, or Cromwell in England, for the effort to establish in his own country a powerful commercial

marine. I regard as excellent the desire of some of the eminent men of the principal nations of Europe to establish around them the various branches of manufactures, although I may not praise without distinction all the measures by them adopted for the accomplishment of their object." *

Nothing could be more accurate than this view of the duties of the government, yet is its author hostile to the maintenance of protection in France — assuring, as he since has done, the agricultural population of that country, that "raw materials, such as wool, and agriculture itself, incomparably the first of French pursuits, both by the number of persons engaged in it, and by the many interests dependent upon it, have ceased to enjoy the advantages of protection, while bearing the charges of it wherever it seeks to obtain improved machinery of cultivation, and other articles of common use." †

Is it so? *Has* French agriculture ceased to be protected? If it has, then should protection be abandoned. To enable us to answer this question, we must begin by inquiring why it is, that protection can be needed? Because, according to M. Chevalier himself, it promotes the conversion of raw materials into finished products. In what manner, however, does that profit the farmer? Is it not by the approximation of the consumer to the producer? Is it not by diminishing the expense of sending his goods to market, and thus lessening the tax of transportation? It certainly is so — proximity of the makers of cloth making a home demand for large quantities of food and wool, and thus diminishing the quantity that must be sent to the distant market, while largely increasing the facility with which it may be sent. Does not the farmer here profit doubly — realizing all the advantages indicated by Adam Smith, when describing the facility with which tons of food and wool, when compressed into cloth, may be sent to the remotest corners of the world? Assuredly he does — the farmers of France realizing the advantages of protection in the fact, that of the 1,800,000,000 francs of French products now sent, in a single year, to distant countries, at least two-thirds are products

* *Examen du Système Commerciale, connu sous le nom du Système Protecteur.* Paris, 1852.

† *Journal des Economistes*, Sept., 1856. *Memorial of the Council-General of the Herault.*

of the farm that never could reach those countries, unless they had been compressed together, in accordance with the sound advice of the author of the *Wealth of Nations*. Such being the case, it is certainly a great mistake to say that French agriculture has ceased to be protected. All the protection that agriculture, any where, requires, is that of having the market brought to its door, and thus enabling it to maintain the powers of the land while freeing itself from the one great tax of transportation — compared with which, all other taxes sink into insignificance.

Desiring to satisfy his agricultural friends how little reason they have to fear competition in the supply of foreign food to their own markets, M. Chevalier exhibits to them a very accurate picture of the exhaustive process now pursued in these United States — their rule being that of drawing daily on the great bank provided by Nature for man's service, and paying nothing back. The result, as he shows, is found in the small amount of "surplus that may be applied to the satisfaction of the non-agricultural population even at home, and still more so, that which may be sent to foreign lands." *

We have, here, two great facts established — first, that, in the absence of domestic markets, there must be little to sell, and next, that that little must be cheaply sold, because of the heavy cost of transportation. † From both of these evils the French farmer is exempt — being enabled to improve his land, while freed from the necessity for paying for transporting his products to a distance.

* *Examen du Système Commerciale*, p. 212.

At page 322 *ante*, the reader will find a comparative statement of the production of the various kinds of grain in the years 1840 and 1847 — showing an increase of more than *forty per cent.* in the few years in which the iron, cotton, and other manufactures, made such extraordinary progress under the protective tariff of 1842. In the eleven years that have since elapsed, American policy has tended to the destruction of manufactures, as a consequence of which the number of persons employed in the principal departments of the arts of conversion is less now than it was then, and yet, the total quantity of grain produced in the current year is estimated at only 1,100,000 bushels — being but *twenty-five per cent.* greater than it was in 1847. In the protective periods, the increase was *twice greater than that of population.* In the free trade ones, it is *one-fifth less than that of the numbers to be fed.*—Hence it is, that the power to purchase foreign commodities decreases, as the necessity for their purchase increases — the course of affairs in the United States being precisely the same with that observed in Ireland, India, Turkey, and all other free trade countries.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 189.

How? *By that protection of which M. Chevalier so much complains* — that protection which, having built up manufactures, now enables the farmers of France to send abroad their products, to the extent of almost 2,000,000,000 francs, where, but thirty years since, they sent but 500,000,000.

Civilized communities follow the advice of Adam Smith, in exporting their wool and their corn in the form of cloth, at little cost for transportation. Thus, France, in 1856, exported silks and cloths, clothing, paper, and articles of furniture, to the extent of $300,000,000; and yet the total weight was short of 50,000 tons — requiring for its transport but fifty ships of very moderate size.

Semi-barbarous countries, on the contrary, export their products in their rudest state, at heavy cost. India sends the constituents of cloth — cotton, rice, and indigo — to exchange, in distant markets, for the cloth itself. Brazil sends raw sugar across the ocean, to exchange for that which has been refined. America sends wheat and Indian corn, pork and flour, cotton and rice, fish, lumber, and naval stores, to be exchanged for knives and forks, silks and cottons, paper and China-ware. The total value of these commodities exported in 1856—high as were then the prices —was only $230,000,000; and yet, the ships engaged in the work of transport, were of the capacity of 6,872,253 tons.*

In the movement of all this property, there is great expense for transportation. Who pays it? Ask the farmer of Iowa, and he will answer, that he sells for fifteen cents — and that, too, payable in the most worthless kind of paper — a bushel of corn that, when received in Manchester, commands a dollar — giving to the support of railroads and canals, ships and sailors, brokers and traders, *no less than eighty-five per cent. of the intrinsic value of his products.* Ask him once again, and he will reply, that while his bushel of corn will command, in Manchester, eighteen or twenty yards of cotton cloth, he is obliged to content himself with little more than a single yard — *eighty-five per cent. of the clothing-power of his corn having been taken, on the road,* as his contribution towards the tax imposed upon the country, for the mainte-

* This is the total tonnage that left for foreign countries, in that year. A portion was required for the transport of manufactured commodities, but it was so very small as scarcely to require notice.

nance of the machinery of that "free trade" which modern economists so much admire.

The country that exports the commodity of smallest bulk, is almost wholly freed from the exhausting tax of transportation. At Havre — ships being little needed for the outward voyage, while ships abound — the outward freights must be, generally, very low.

The community that exports the commodities of greatest bulk, must pay nearly all the cost of transportation. A score of ships being required to carry the lumber, wheat, or naval stores, the tobacco, or the cotton, required to pay for a single cargo of cloth, the outward freights must always be at, or near, that point which is required to pay for *the double voyage* — and every planter knows, to his cost, how much the price of his cotton is dependent upon the rate of freight.

Careful study of these facts would probably satisfy M. Chevalier that the French system tends towards increasing the quantity of commodities produced, while raising their prices — the American one, on the contrary, tending towards diminution of quantity and annihilation of price. That done, he could scarcely hesitate to admit the vast advantages to the French farmer, resulting from a system which looks to making a market upon, or near, the land, for all its products.

M. Chevalier is anxious for freedom of trade. Who has it — the French farmer, or the American farmer and planter? The one sends his food, in the form of silks and cottons, *to every part of the civilized world* — doing this directly, and without the intervention of any other people. The other — having only raw products to sell — *must go to those countries, and those only, which have machinery of conversion* — being as much enslaved, as is the other free. Why this difference? Because France is a disciple of Colbert, while the American people have followed the advice of men who teach that trade is to be promoted by cheapening labor and the raw products of the earth — finding the result in a doctrine of over-population, in virtue of which, slavery is the ultimate portion assigned by the Creator to the laborers of the world. In the one, the prices of rude products and finished commodities gradually approximate — agriculture becomes a science — land grows in value, and becomes divided. In the other, those prices

become more widely separated—agriculture continues in its rudest state — and land, abandoned by the small proprietors, becomes more consolidated from year to year. The one is daily furnishing evidence, that protection to the people is, in fact, protection to the government itself — the other, meanwhile proving, that a government which refuses to perform the duty of protection, must become daily weaker and less respected.

§ 6. Fifteen centuries since, millions of Christians rallied under a banner, upon which was inscribed the word *homoousian*, while other millions followed another bearing that of *homoiousian* — the difference between the ideas thereby expressed, being little likely to be comprehended by the masses who slaughtered one another to the extent of hundreds of thousands, with a view to the determination of the question, which of the two should represent the faith of the Christian world. A thousand years later, hundreds of thousands of honest Dutchmen gathered together under flags, bearing the words *hoecks* and *kabbeljaws* — butchering each other, as occasion offered, with the idea of thereby determining if it was the fish that took the hook, or the hook that took the fish. — In modern times, *patriots* seek to overthrow all civil government; *Christians* disseminate the true faith by aid of opium, spirits, and gunpowder; *reformers* and *liberals* advocate centralization *— *democrats*, meanwhile, growing daily in the belief of the divine origin of slavery, and the necessity for re-opening the slave trade.†

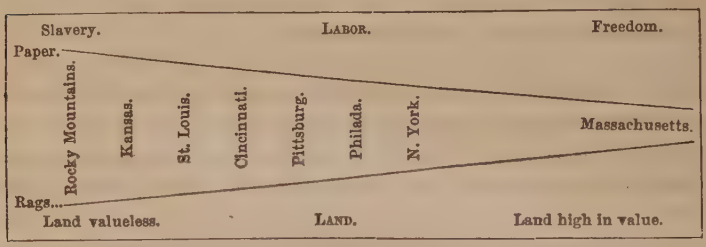
The world is word-governed, unmeaning phrases being made idols of — objects of word-worship — to the great profit of the large class which stand between the producers and consumers of the world — living at the cost of both.‡ Of these phrases, some have reference to the affairs of another world, while others refer to the societary movement of the present one — prominent among the latter being those of *Laisser faire, laisser passer* — the

* The republican government of 1848, perfected the monopoly of the Bank of France, by closing all the departmental banks. German reformers seek the creation of an overshadowing central power. Swiss reform has resulted in augmented centralization. In England, centralization has grown daily since the passage of the reform bill — important stages of its progress being found in the Bank Act of Sir Robert Peel, and the absolute subjection of India to English law.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., pp. 258, 259, *notes*. ‡ See *ante*, vol. i., p. 39, *note*.

world is governed too much — that country is best governed, which is least governed — &c., &c.

That the reader may be enabled to determine for himself, what is the real value of these phrases, we place again before him the following diagram:



On the left, there is no co-ordination — the law of force alone being recognized. There, however, we find the most government — the laborer being a slave, and the trader a tyrant. On the right, the power of co-ordination is in constant exercise; yet, there it is, that government is most unfelt — the laborer being free, and his employer respecting his rights. Such being the case, the law would seem to be, that that country is best governed in which the co-ordinating power is most on the alert for the removal of the various obstacles by which the societary circulation is liable to be impeded — the first and greatest of which is the necessity for effecting changes of place, with its oppressive tax of transportation.

Prominent among the societary operations in which it has been proposed to apply the doctrine of *laisser faire*, stand those having reference to a public provision for individuals unable to help themselves — Mr. Malthus having assured his countrymen that all laws having that end in view, tended to depress the general condition of the poor, by increasing the population without increasing the food required for their support. He, therefore, urged the gradual, but total, abolition of the system — failing, however, to suggest any mode, by means of which that which was the duty of all should be performed by all; and leaving us, therefore, to find in mendicity the only means of providing for the lame and the blind, the deformed and the diseased. Following in his lead, M. Ricardo told his readers, that such laws were pernicious; that they promoted early and improvident marriages; that

their tendency was that of changing wealth and power into misery and weakness; calling away the exertions of the laborer from every object, except that of mere subsistence, and to such an extent confounding all intellectual distinction, as to threaten that "at last, all classes should be infected with the plague of universal poverty." *

The successors of those gentlemen have assured their readers, that a poor law has "an irresistible tendency to vitiate the very essence and beauty of that Christian humanity whose function it usurps, by degrading charity from a voluntary gift to a legal obligation;" that it is "a socialistic mulcting of the rich or independent, for the benefit of the poor — a communistic decimation of the savings of the industrious for the benefit of the idle;" that labor is a mere commodity, like corn, calico, or broadcloth; that the notion of the laborer, that "if he is willing to work he is entitled to be fed," is as clear an absurdity as would be the assertion of the manufacturer, that he had a right to have customers for his cloth; that a poor law is "a virtual abrogation of natural law — standing between the cause and its consequence;" that "the sins of the father are visited upon the children;" that those "who bring into the world paupers, have made for themselves the hard bed they lie on" — having "sinned against the plainest laws of nature;" and, that the corrective is "privation and wretchedness," which are "certain to operate in the end, if only we do not step in to counteract it by regulations dictated by plausible and pardonable, but short-sighted humanity — thereby placing ourselves between the error and its consequences, and perpetuating the sin." †

As a consequence of all these teachings, marriage, as we see, has been declared to be "a luxury," in which the poor have no right to indulge — poverty and destitution have been treated as crimes — husbands and wives, parents and children, have been separated, with a view to convert relief into punishment — the result of all these measures being found in the facts, that at the close of thirteen years' trial of the new system, one in nine of the whole people of England were paupers, and that the poor law

* *Political Economy*, chapter on "Wages."

† *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1849.

system had been extended to Scotland and Ireland, where before it had remained unknown.*

Sad experience has thus, as we see, led to a course of operation directly the reverse of that advocated by the economists—common sense having taught the persons charged with the societary co-ordination, that abdication on their part must, inevitably, be followed by a toleration of mendicity, under which the cost would be greater, even, than at present — the open-handed and liberal members of the community paying a larger proportion of the increased quantity, while the grasping and the avaricious almost escape taxation. So long as there shall continue to be blind and dumb, helpless and unemployed, society *must* continue to provide for them; and the only question to be decided is, whether that which is the burthen of all shall be carried by all, or thrown upon the shoulders of a few. Pauperism may be increased by the abolition of poor laws, but it cannot be diminished. For the accomplishment of this latter, there is needed the abandonment of a system which looks to the cheapening of labor — a system whose professors teach, that "to enable capital to obtain a fair remuneration, wages must be kept down"; a system, by means of which the laborer is made a mere instrument to be used by trade; one, in fine, that tends to the destruction of moral feeling among both employers and employed.

Man becomes self-supporting in the ratio of increase in his power of choice between a variety of employers and employments. Throughout the British empire, that power diminishes — land becoming consolidated at home, while abroad the colonists are limited to the one pursuit of scratching out the soil, and exporting it to distant markets. In the former, there is little demand for labor, except in transportation, trade, and manufactures. In the latter, none except in trade, and that pursuit which there is

* "The so-called labor test, as it has hitherto been applied, has been characterized more by the irksomeness and repulsiveness of the relief, than the industrial nature of the employment. In 1835, the great era of the Poor Law Reform Acts, the rates reached £7,373,807, and in 1848, after thirteen years operation of the amendment, we find £7,817,429, and that every ninth person in our population is a pauper."—*Ibid.*

For the ten years preceding the repeal of the corn laws, say from 1836 to 1845, the gross amount expended in the relief of the poor was £46,766,097
From 1846 to 1855, it was £53,594,087

honored by the name of agriculture. In neither, can there be any freedom.

Again, Mr. McCulloch says of Smith, that although he had shown, in opposition to the commonly-received opinions, that it was "sound policy to leave individuals to pursue their own interest in their own way," he had erred in not saying "that in promoting such branches of industry as are *most advantageous* to themselves, individuals necessarily promote such as are, at the same time, MOST *advantageous* to the public"—his leaning to the system of M. Quesnay, making him "swerve from the sounder principles of his own system, so as to admit that the preference shown by individuals in favor of particular employments is not always a *true test* of their public advantageousness." He therefore considers Dr. Smith's preference of agriculture, and of the home trade, as "fundamentally erroneous." *

Some men prefer horse-racing, gambling, and speculation, to honest industry. Others seek to extend the sale of liquors, or to destroy the morals of communities by help of opium. A third class profits by the sale of injurious medicines, while a fourth devotes its energies to the extension of prostitution—thus affording evidence of its "preference" for those employments. Can, however, such preference be regarded as affording evidence that those pursuits are "most advantageous" to the public? Scarcely so, as we should think.—Why, however, is it, that so very large, and so rapidly-increasing, a proportion of the English people finds itself now compelled to engage in pursuits like these, that have no tendency towards augmentation of the quantity of things to be converted or consumed? Why is it, that the class of middlemen grows so rapidly as to leave but a very small proportion of the small production to be divided between the original producers, and the final consumers? † Is it because of any "preference," that women and children employ themselves in the "wasting shops"—working from sixteen to twenty hours per day, and under a temperature so excessive, that their lives are "being expended like those of cattle on a farm"? ‡ Is it not, on the contrary, because the system, now as in the days of Adam Smith, is based on the idea of promoting competition for *the sale* of labor, and

* *Principles of Political Economy*, "Introduction."
† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 436. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 474.

thus keeping laborers "sufficiently at the command of capital and skill"? * Does not such competition make the laborer, who *must* sell or starve, a mere slave to employers who may, or may not, choose to purchase the only commodity he has to sell? That it does so, cannot be doubted; and to talk, under such circumstances, of "preference" for any particular employment, is to make almost as sad a mistake as would be made, in speaking of the *preference* of the negro slave for one species of punishment over another.

How is it, that such a state of things has been brought about? By the long pursuit of a policy that has enabled the British manufacturer "to triumph over the cheap labor, contiguous material, and traditional art of the Hindoo"—gradually "supplanting the native fabrics" of Asia, "from Smyrna to Canton, and from Madras to Samarcand," and thus compelling the poor native to limit himself to the miserable task of scratching out, and selling, a soil of daily diminishing power.† Has he any "preference" for such employment? Is his so employing himself, any evidence that he prefers it, or that it is the "most advantageous" manner in which he might be employed? Is it not, on the contrary, quite certain, that he would prefer some other pursuit, and that the poor child, whose competition has driven him from his home, would manifest a similar preference, did it dare to do so? Why can it not? Because, under the system of *laisser faire*, the two competitors are compelled to try to underwork each other—thus perpetuating slavery where it exists, and extending it to regions where before it had been unknown, precisely as has been the case with laws providing for the maintenance of the poor. Adam Smith did *not* believe in the abdication, by the governments, of their power of so co-ordinating the movements of the individual members of a society, as to enable all to become more productive. His successors do—the result exhibiting itself in the fact, that "markets have become fields of battle," strewed with the corpses of slaves and paupers, while governments, whose theory is that of *laisser faire*, are compelled to the passage of laws limiting the hours of labor, and to the exercise of a constant supervision of the places in which laborers are employed. Look where we may, we shall find that governments become oppressive in the ratio of their abandonment of their proper province, that of so co-ordi-

* *Ibid*, p. 239. † *Ibid*, p. 362.

nating the societary movements as to diminish friction, and thus augment the powers of the whole.

Further, Mr. McCulloch is of opinion, that if Britain could, by means of improved machinery, "manufacture a sufficient supply of cotton to serve every country, and thus sink their prices below the cost of production"—becoming thereby enabled to extend throughout the world, the system which has so well been carried out in India, not only could it "have no permanently bad consequence, but the reverse."—He is also, as the reader has already seen, decidedly in favor of taxes on property in motion, and as decidedly opposed to taxes on that which has become fixed.* That understood, we may now inquire how the system thus proposed would operate. All the cotton of the world coming into Britain, all the cotton cloth for the world would go out therefrom, paying, at every step, a tax in some one or other form, and thereby augmenting the incomes of all engaged in collecting the taxes of trade, transportation, and conversion—and enabling the British Government and people to dictate, even more than now, the prices at which they would receive the raw products of the cotton producer, and sell the finished commodities to the consumers. The two becoming more widely separated, each and every step must be in the direction of declining civilization and approaching anarchy—that being the point towards which tends the doctrine of *laisser faire*, and at which all communities must inevitably arrive, that allow themselves to adopt it for their guide.

Mons. Bastiat tells his readers, that protective tariffs are but another form of *communism*—governments profiting of the aid of custom-houses for purposes of "levelling and spoliation."† This, however, is but another of the phrases to which we have above referred, but slight examination of which is required for showing that it has no real meaning.—Why is protection required? To enable people of all ages and sexes to combine their efforts for increasing the productiveness of labor. Against what is it required? Against a system that, says Adam Smith, seeks the extension of the market for manufactures, "not by their own improvements, but by the depression of those of all our neighbors, and by putting an end, as much as possible, to the troublesome

* See *ante*, p. 202. † *Protection et Communisme*, p. 37.

competition of such odious and disagreeable rivals."* We are told, however, that a new and more liberal system has been inaugurated — one more in harmony with the improved modes of thought of the present day. Is it so? For an answer to this question, we may turn to a recent official document before referred to, in which we are told that English capitalists voluntarily incur "immense losses" for the purpose of "destroying foreign competition," and thus "gaining and keeping possession of foreign markets" — large capitals being "the great instruments of warfare," by means of which the prices of raw materials may be reduced, while those of manufactured articles are sustained.† What is this but *a gigantic communism* — placing the fortunes and the happiness of the whole people of the world at the mercy of a distant nation, the basis of whose system is found in the cheapening of all the raw materials of manufacture, labor included? Had M. Bastiat studied the subject more carefully, he would, we think, have seen that the question to be settled by measures of protection is, whether a people shall support foreign governments or their own. — France, and all the countries that follow in her lead, support their own — Ireland, India, Jamaica, Turkey, Portugal, and the United States, supporting those of foreign countries, while deprived of revenue themselves.

Protection having in view the production of diversity in the modes of employment, and that alone, protective duties are temporary in their character — the necessity for them tending gradually to pass away, leaving commerce free. Revenue duties having in view only the maintenance of government, they have a character of permanence not existing in the other. Nevertheless, M. Bastiat sees little to object to in these latter interferences with commerce, while protesting against the former. In this, there is the usual inconsistency of the modern school.‡

The real import of the *laisser faire* doctrine is so well described

* *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV., ch. viii. † See *ante*, vol. i., p. 420.

‡ Here M. Bastiat errs in common with the free trade school generally — revenue duties at the gates of cities, and the ports of countries, being preferred by them to direct taxes, because they are "little felt."—(See *Dictionnaire de l'Economie Politique*, article "Octrois.")

M. Chevalier tells his readers, that, notwithstanding the collection of 500,000,000 francs of duties of customs, freedom of trade is an axiom of the British Government!—*Examen*, p. 163.

by a recent English writer, that we give it here in his own words. It is, says he, "nothing less than this — that government, divesting itself of every relic of moral character, of every claim upon those sentiments of reverence which the constitution of man in all ages has led him to feel for legal authority, should exercise no function but that of protecting the lives and properties of individuals. It means," as he continues, "that, the strong being prevented from enslaving the weak, and the poor from plundering the rich, in all other respects, every man, woman, and child, should be left to rely upon self. If infancy is abandoned, let it perish. If old age is neglected, let it perish too. If strong men habitually wither and die in the foul atmosphere of towns, which only a collective and authoritative force can purify, still let them perish. If the young, who in a few years will be the people of the land, are growing up with intellect and conscience torpid for want of culture, and passions stimulated by the sight of wealth, with mind and body depraved and debilitated by the premature and exhausting toil to which parental recklessness subjects them, even yet the sacred principle will not yield, but, with the coolness of an ancient inquisitor, while the tongues of flame were playing on the limbs of his victims, lays its hand upon the legislator, and tells him to be still — to let those victims go headlong down to the ruin which awaits them, because the partial evil will be the universal good, and all things will come right in the end. There is no doubt that the *laisser faire* dogmatism, though sometimes a cloak of selfishness, is often well meant. Indeed, it is never dangerous except when it is so. Its aspect is so hideous and revolting, that, except for the gleams of benevolence in its eyes, the world would have long ago chased it away as a monster. It is no doubt benevolent after its fashion. Torquemada did not love evil for its own sake; Pope Gregory XIII. was solicitous for the glory of God, when he ordered a thanksgiving for the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and Cromwell surely had noble ends in view, when he thought to shorten the way to them at Drogheda, by the slaughter of helpless women and their little ones. Neither the economical nor the religious fanaticism, therefore, when it is found to sanction acts of cruelty, should cause the actors to be viewed personally in the same light with those who violate moral laws from selfish impulses. But still, whenever benevolence

or policy, or a so-called social science, seeks to compass its object by tampering with those primary affections and sympathies which have been implanted in the heart of man, and with those moral laws which they disclose, the narrow and audacious presumption ought to be branded as rebellion against the supreme government of the universe." *

Look where we may, we shall find evidence, that the necessity for the application of intelligence to the co-ordination of the movements of the various members of the societary body, grows with the growth of wealth and numbers, and that the more wisely it is exercised, the greater is the growth of production — the more rapid is the progress of accumulation — the more equitable is the distribution—the longer is the duration of life—the more perfect is the development of local centres of action—and the greater is the tendency towards the creation of a sound morality, and towards the development of the real MAN, master of nature and of himself. †

We read in the *Arabian Nights* of a ship that had been carried by the current so near to a rock of adamant, that — her bolts being all drawn out — she fell to pieces. Such precisely *must* become

* LALOR: *Money and Morals*, p. 135.

† To all appearance, the railroad question is destined soon to furnish facts of high importance in reference to the necessity for the steady exercise of the societary powers. — The construction of such roads tends towards the annihilation of competition for the performance of the work of transportation — thereby creating monopolies that may be rendered most oppressive. Throughout Continental Europe generally, the several communities have, therefore, deemed it necessary to exercise a sound discretion in reference to the roads that might be constructed — while retaining a controlling power in regard to the terms upon which they should be required to do their work. The consequences of this are seen in the facts, that, while their charges are moderate, they have, with few exceptions, been profitable to all—giving fair dividends to their owners, while facilitating intercourse, and thereby giving value to both land and labor.—In Great Britain, on the contrary, it has been held, that the interests of the community were to be promoted by the largest competition for the construction of roads — the result now exhibiting itself in ruinous competition for business at one moment, and high charges at another — in the general ruin of those who have made the roads — in expulsion of the population, and consolidation of the land.—As a remedy for these evils under which they suffer, the railroad companies are now engaged in the creation of a sort of Congres — an *imperium in imperio* — that will, probably, and at no distant day, control the legislation of the country.

So is it, even now, in these United States — railroad companies already controlling the legislation of many of the States. The day for general combination having not yet arrived, but there are many evidences of its near approach.—When it shall arrive, it will furnish new proof of the fact, that of all governments the most exhausting and oppressive is that of the transporters.

the position of every community in which industrial development has still to be accomplished, and yet adopts the doctrine of *laisser faire* — manufactures being to the societary machine exactly what the bolts are to the ship. Turkey and Jamaica, Ireland and India, having been forced into its adoption, the result is seen in the facts, that the power of co-ordination has ceased to exist; that land and labor are almost valueless; that the over-population theory finds there its most available material; and that they steadily decline in their power to maintain commerce with the world — that decline being attended by corresponding increase in the proportions borne by the countries which follow in the lead of Colbert and of France.*

* Looking to the almost innumerable papers on various questions in social science, that crowd our daily, weekly, and other journals, and seeing the manner in which the words civilization, freedom, democracy, and the like, are used, the reader of Gœthe is forcibly reminded of the following passage, in his tragedy of Faust: —

"*Mephistopheles.*—'Here, again, it is best to attend but one master, and swear by his words. Generally speaking, stick to words; you will then pass through the safe gate into the temple of certainty.'

"*Student.*—'But there must be some meaning connected with the word.'

"*Mephistopheles.*—'Right; only we must not be too anxious about that; for it is precisely where meaning fails, that a word comes in most opportunely. Disputes may be admirably carried on with words; a system may be built with words; words form a capital subject for belief; a word admits not of an iota being taken from it.'"

Of all the terms in common use among modern economists, there is not even a single one in regard to the real value of which they are at all agreed, and hence it is, that we find them recommending the same treatment for diseases of an exactly opposite character. England suffers under the system denounced by Adam Smith, as certain to convert her whole people into a mass of shopkeepers and manufacturers. America suffers under one that almost forbids the existence of manufactures, yet is the *free trade* remedy prescribed for both.—What, however, *is* this freedom of trade? Does it consist in having but one market to which to go, as is the case with Ireland and India; or a thousand, as is the case with France and Belgium? *Can* there be any freedom of trade, in the absence of manufactures, and *can* manufactures be now built up, in the absence of protection? All experience says, that they cannot.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Of the Commerce of the World.

§ 1. THE man whose faculties remain undeveloped, can maintain but little commerce. His ideas being few in number, he can have little intercourse by means of speech or correspondence. His power over nature being small, he has few commodities to offer in exchange for those he needs. — The man of high development — the real MAN — on the contrary, can have commerce with nature in all her forms, animate and inanimate. Abounding in ideas, he is fully provided with the means of maintaining commerce with his fellow-men — giving them out at one moment by means of writing or of speech, and absorbing them at another by help of eye or ear. Go where he may, he finds occasion for augmenting his stock of knowledge — the power of accumulation being here, as every where, in the direct ratio of the rapidity of circulation.

So, too, is it with societies — their power to maintain commerce with the world being dependent, altogether, upon the development of the various individualities of their many members, and consequent development of the latent powers of the earth. Purely agricultural communities, like the pauper, maintain intercourse where they *must* — those which are highly developed doing so, on the contrary, where they *will*. Look, therefore, where we may, we shall find evidence of the truth of the great general principle, that the power to maintain commerce is in the direct ratio of the perfection of the organization—that, in turn, becoming more complete as the power of co-ordination is more discreetly exercised.

§ 2. Organized bodies grow from within, and the greater their growth, the greater is their power to absorb and digest the elements by which they are surrounded — applying them to their

own support, and afterwards giving them out in the form best fitted for general circulation. So is it with men — the man of high development seizing upon and digesting every new idea, and thus preparing himself for further commerce with those with whom he is connected. So, too, is it with societies — those in which trade, manufactures, and agriculture are combined in due proportions, being always ready to take in the productions, mental or material, of other climes — to combine them with their own, and thus give new value to the labors of all, whether near or distant.

Brute matter, on the contrary, grows only from without — being susceptible of no increase except by aggregation. — So is it with men — those whose mental faculties are torpid, being dependent upon their powers of appropriation, and the instrument they use being muscular force alone. So, too, is it with purely agricultural communities — constant exhaustion of the soil producing a necessity for appropriating other lands, to be in their turn exhausted.

Growing from within, highly organized communities find among themselves all the means required for increasing and extending their internal commerce — France, and all the countries that follow in her lead, making their own roads, creating their own local centres, and thus fitting themselves for a prosperous existence, were they even wholly debarred from intercourse with the outer world. — Purely agricultural communities, on the contrary, like Ireland, India, Portugal, Turkey, Brazil, and Mexico, find themselves compelled to go abroad when they seek to make roads — becoming, from year to year, more dependent upon foreign commerce, and the foreign traders by whom it is performed.

So, too, is it with the United States. At times, their policy has looked to home development, and then they have made roads, and created local centres, without the need of foreign loans. As a rule, however, their policy has been adverse to the promotion of internal growth — the consequences exhibiting themselves in a growing necessity for seeking abroad the means of making roads at home — in a growing dependence upon foreign trade and traders — and in a constant thirst for the annexation of distant lands.

§ 3. With growth of power in the individual man, for the maintenance of exterior commerce, the necessity for it declines — the

love of home growing with the increase of family ties, and with the love of science and of books. So, too, is it with societies — the necessity for exterior intercourse diminishing as the power for its maintenance is increased by means of diversification of employments, and development of the latent powers of their people, and of their various soils. Around us, every where, we find evidence that the powers of man are in the inverse ratio of his necessities — the former growing with every step towards increase of combination, and the latter doing so with every stage in the progress towards isolation.

Seeking proof of this, we may turn to any of the advancing communities of the world, past or present. The power of Athens grew with the development of internal intercourse. It declined, as domestic commerce became less rapid, and as her dependence upon external intercourse became more complete. — The great development of British external commerce followed closely upon the growth of the internal one — the latter having owed its existence to a protective system of the most stringent character. — French external commerce has almost quadrupled in the last thirty years — having grown from an average of 1,000,000,000 francs, in the ten years ending in 1835, to 5,000,000,000, in 1857.*—The

* The growth in the total amount of French imports and exports, in dollars, has been as follows:

1825 to 1833, annual average	$163,953,000
1844 to 1846, " "	350,000,000
1852 and 1853, " "	477,000,000
1857	1,065,000,000

Since the completion of her railroad connections with Belgium, Prussia, Germany, and Switzerland, France has attracted a large share of the ocean trade of the interior of Europe, diverting it from its former channels, England and Holland. Thus does the system which looks to internal development tend to triumph over that of the two European countries which look exclusively to trade.

How domestic and foreign commerce aid each other, and how extraordinary is the growth of that power which results from growing combination of action, is thus exhibited in a paper read at the meeting of the British society for the advancement of science, recently held at Leeds:

"There was reason to believe that during the six years, on railways alone, there had been actually expended in France nearly thirty millions sterling a year—an amount not far short of what led to our railway difficulties. There had also been the Russian war, a failure of the silk crop, and two partial failures of the harvest. How, then, had all this expenditure been kept up? . . . Here was the real cause. The official returns showed that, since 1845, the balance of trade had been very much more than one hundred millions sterling in favor of France — the demand for French goods having come from the United States and Australia, through the gold discoveries."

foreign commerce of Russia, in the free trade period ending in 1824, averaged, as we have seen, but $32,000,000. Growing gradually by means of measures promotive of interior growth, it had risen, at the opening of the Crimean war, to $75,000,000.

The domestic exports of Belgium, in 1828, amounted to only 156,000,000 francs. By 1850, they had become 263,000,000, and in 1856, 375,000,000 — the export of food from that little country, with its four and a half millions of people, having, thus, been greater than the American average, in the decade ending in 1855 — embracing, as it did, the periods of the Irish famine, and the very deficient crops of Germany and France. Belgium, however, follows the advice of Adam Smith, in combining her food and wool in the form of cloth, and thus enabling it to travel cheaply to the most distant countries.

Spain, impoverished as she has been by the "warfare" of the smugglers of Gibraltar, and by repeated revolutions, increased her exports from 71,000,000 reals, in 1827, to 166,000,000, in 1852.

Germany, as we have seen, increased her demand for cotton, from less than 400,000 cwts., in 1836, to almost 1,400,000 in 1851 — her total imports, in the same period, having risen from $105,000,000 to $185,000,000. — Sweden, too, followed in the same direction—exporting to the extent of more than $34,000,000 in 1853, against less than $14,000,000 in 1831.

In all these countries we find evidence that the power to maintain commerce with the world at large, grows with the growth of commerce at home—the power of digestion and assimilation being in the direct ratio of organization.

Turning now to Ireland, Portugal, Turkey, India, and Jamaica, we meet the reverse of this — the power to maintain exterior commerce gradually dying away, as the internal commerce ceases to exist. Looking next to Mexico, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and other portions of the Western Continent, in relation to which it was M. Canning's boast, that he had called them into existence, we find them to have declined in their importance — their power to make a market for the exterior world being, probably, less than it was when they were mere colonies of Spain.

§ 4. Coming now homewards, we may inquire what it is, that has given to the more than thirty States the power to maintain

any internal commerce whatsoever? Is it not a consequence of diversity in their modes of employment, resulting from the fact, that, while one portion of the country is fitted for raising cotton or sugar, others are better suited to raising wheat, rice, corn, barley, or grass; that while the soil of one is underlaid with coal, that of others is underlaid with lead or copper, marl or lime? That such is the case, is beyond all doubt. That without difference there can be no commerce, is shown by the facts, that the cotton planter of Carolina makes no exchanges with his fellow-planter of Georgia, and that the farmer of Illinois has little intercourse with his fellow-farmer of Indiana.

What, however, is the actual amount of commerce among the States? How much does Kentucky exchange with Missouri? What is the annual value of the commerce of Ohio with Indiana—of Virginia with Kentucky? Scarcely more, probably, than that of a single day's labor of their respective populations; and, perhaps, not even half so much.—Why is this the case? Is it not a necessary consequence of the absence of that diversity of employments *within the States*, which we see, every where, to be so indispensable to the maintenance of commerce? Assuredly it is. Ohio and Indiana are both employed in scratching out the soil, and exporting it in the form of food. Virginia and Kentucky have the same pursuits—selling their soil in the forms of tobacco and of corn. So, too, is it throughout by far the larger portion of the Union—millions of people being employed in one part of it, in robbing the earth of the constituents of cotton, while in others, other millions are employed in plundering the great treasury of nature, of the constituents of wheat and rice, corn and tobacco, and thus destroying, for themselves and their successors, the power to maintain any commerce whatsoever—foreign or domestic.

The commerce of State with State is, thus, but small—the reason being, that the commerce of man with his fellow-men, within the States, as a general rule, is so exceedingly diminutive. Were the people of Illinois enabled to develop their almost boundless deposits of coal and iron ore, and thus to call to their aid the wonderful power of steam, the internal commerce of the State would grow rapidly—making a market at home for the food produced, and enabling its producer to become a large consumer of cotton. Cotton-mills then growing up, bales of cotton wool

would travel up the Mississippi, to be given in exchange for the iron required for the roads of Arkansas and Alabama, and for the machinery demanded for the construction of cotton and sugar mills, in Texas and Louisiana.

The effect of this exhibits itself in the slow growth of American intercourse with foreign nations, as compared with that of other countries — the former having done little more than keep pace with that of population, while France, Belgium, and Sweden have increased at a rate thrice more rapid than the growth of numbers.* Examine, therefore, where we may, we meet with evidence of the great truth, that the power to maintain commerce with the world, whether by individuals or societies, grows in the ratio of the growth of their own individuality, and consequent independence of the exterior world.

§ 5. That the facts are as above they have been stated, cannot be questioned. Why should this be so? Let us inquire. — The obstacle to the maintenance of commerce, abroad or at home, is found in the tax of transportation — nearly all of which is paid by the community which exports the commodities of greatest bulk.† France sends abroad hundreds of millions of dollars worth of food, so condensed into silks and ribbons, laces and cottons, that the ships by which they could be carried are but few in number. India sends rude products only — requiring dozens of outward ships to pay for a single cargo inwards. — Central and Northern Europe follow in the lead of France — gradually emancipating themselves from payment of this exhausting tax, and thus qualifying themselves for becoming large consumers of the products of other countries. — Ireland, Jamaica, Turkey, and these United States — following in the lead of England — find, on the contrary, the tax of transportation to be a constantly increasing one, the results of which are seen in diminished production, and

* The domestic exports of the United States, for 1836, were $107,000,000
† Those of 1856, exclusive of the precious metals, were ... 265,000,000
— the population, in the meantime, having fully doubled.

Close neighbors to Spanish and Portuguese America, the exports to that vast country amount to only $13.000.000 — the cause for this being found in the fact, that the people of the United States refuse to regard domestic commerce as being the true foundation of an extended international intercourse.

† See *ante*, p. 433.

consequent diminution in the power to become customers to other nations.*

In all the countries which follow in the lead of Colbert and of Adam Smith, agriculture becomes a science, the land yields larger crops in each successive year, with corresponding increase of wealth and power.† In those which follow in the lead of England and her economists, the reverse of this is seen — agriculture ceasing to be a science, and their people becoming poorer and more enslaved. The first, import the precious metals. The last, export them. The first, find daily increase of power to maintain a specie circulation, as the basis of the higher and better currency supplied by banks. The last — gradually losing the power to command a circulation of any kind — are tending towards that barbaric system of commerce which consists in exchanging labor against food, or wool and corn against cloth.

The more valuable the labor of the individual, the greater is his power to be a customer to his neighbors. So, too, is it with nations — their power to benefit others being in the direct ratio of their ability to protect themselves. Here we have harmony — all communities profiting by the adoption, in each and every other, of those measures of co-ordination which tend to the promotion of internal commerce. The reverse of this, however, is taught in the British school — cheap labor and cheap raw mate-

* The weight of the tax thus imposed, increases as the prices of rude products decline. That those of American commodities do decline, has been shown in a former chapter. (See Chap. XXVI.) How this operates upon American farmers and planters is shown by the following facts. In 1834–5, when the raw produce exported amounted to $92,000,000, the shipping, domestic and foreign, that cleared for foreign ports, amounted to 2,030,000 tons. Six years later, in 1840–1, the amount was $98,000,000 — the quantity of shipping clearing for foreign ports having, in the same period, risen to 2,353,000 tons. In 1856, the total value of these exports was $230,000,000, while the quantity of shipping leaving for foreign ports amounted to little less than 7,000,000 tons—the increase in the former, in twenty years, having been but 150 per cent., while that of the latter had been little short of 350 per cent.

† Dr. Smith's preference for domestic over foreign commerce, is well known to all the readers of his great work. Each act of commerce making two demands for human service, he saw clearly, that the nearer the parties to each other, the more numerous must be the demands for service, and the larger the production. Therefore, did he assure his readers, that capital employed in the home trade gave four and twenty times "more encouragement and support to the industry of the country," than could be given by an equal amount in the foreign one.—See *Wealth of Nations*, Book II., chap. v.

rials, bringing with them universal discord, being there regarded as the essential objects of desire.

Real freedom of trade consists in the power to maintain *direct* commerce with the whole of the outside world. To have it, there *must* be diversity of employments—enabling the exporting country to send its commodities abroad in a finished shape. Centralization, such as is established by the British system, is opposed to this, and therefore is it, that it is resisted by all the advancing communities of the world. Protection being the form assumed by that resistance, its object may be defined as being, *that of establishing perfect freedom of commerce among the nations of the world.*

§ 6. The more that a community finishes its raw products — combining its food, its wool, its fuel, and its ores, into cloth and iron — the greater, as we see, is its power to exchange them with all the world. Is that, however, the highest point to which commerce may be carried? It is not — the ultimate object of all human effort being the production of the being known as MAN, capable of the highest aspirations.

The more perfect his development, the greater is his desire for knowledge; the greater is his love for literature and art; the greater is his desire to see for himself the movements of the world, and to learn from those who are capable of affording him instruction. Each and every stage of advance towards diversification of employments, tends towards development of the human faculties; towards fitting man for the higher enjoyments of life; towards elevating the character of his demands upon other communities — the products of mind, taste, and skill, gradually taking the place of those which have required for their production little more than mere brute force.

Looking now to Central and Northern Europe—to those countries which follow in the lead of Colbert — we see them all to be engaged in increasing the attractions of their respective local centres — Prussia and Bavaria, France and Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, now vieing with each other in the effort to render their various capitals, large and small, attractive of the taste, the intellect, and the wealth, of the world at large.

Turning thence to those which follow in the lead of England,

we find the reverse of this — Edinburgh and Dublin, Lima and Delhi, Lisbon and Constantinople, diminishing in their attractions from year to year. — So, too, is it in the United States — the attractions of local centres steadily declining, with corresponding growth of absenteeism, and belief in the divine origin of human slavery, and in the necessity for its continued existence.

Examine where we may, we shall find evidence of the perfect harmony of all real and permanent international interests — peace and commerce holding steady pace with that exercise of the power of co-ordination which looks to the removal of obstacles to combination, and to the creation of local centres of action, in which trade, manufactures, and agriculture, are combined in just proportions. Moving in that direction, the societary organization of the world at large becomes more and more in harmony with the arrangements of the physical world, and with the organization of man himself — the subordination of all the parts becoming more complete as the organization becomes more perfect. — War and discord, with their attendant insubordination, and with the decline of commerce, follow in the train of centralization — that being the direction in which we must seek for facts to be adduced in proof of the disease of over-population.*

* That *advantage* is to be derived from the pursuit of an honest international policy, and that *disadvantage* results from the pursuits of a dishonest one, are fully proved by the Chinese trade of the last thirty years. The opium war was closed by a treaty providing for the opening of certain Chinese ports, since which time, the course of trade, compared with that which previously had existed, has been as follows:

British Exports previous to the War.

1834	£842,852	1836	£1,326,388
1835	1,074,708	1838	1,204,356

For the period following the opening of the market in 1842, and the acquisition of Hong Kong, they have been as follows:

1845	£2,359,000	1853	£1 749,597
1846	1,200,000	1854	1,000,716
1848	1,445,950	1855	1,122,241
1852	2,508,599		

English journalists seek to account for the stationary character of the trade, by proving the difficulty of maintaining competition with America in cottons, and with Germany and Russia in woollens. A stronger argument in favor of protection could scarcely be adduced — the manufactures of these latter countries having owed their existence to protective measures of the most stringent character, and the power to compete for the sale of cloth in other lands, furnishing conclusive evidence of the cheapness with which the men who produce the cotton and the wool are supplied at home.

CHAPTER LIV.

OF THE SOCIETARY ORGANIZATION.

§ 1. THROUGHOUT nature, the rank and perfection of organisms are in direct proportion to the number and dissimilarity of the parts, proof of this being found at every stage of progress from the simplest composition of inorganic matter, up to the structure of MAN, in whom are reproduced all the forms and faculties of being, over which, for the service of his needs, it has been given to him to rule. This law not only marks the relative rank of classes of creatures, but it serves, also, to measure the respective positions of the individuals of whom the several classes are composed — the nearest approach to perfection being found in those men in whom the distinctive human qualities are found most active, and most developed. Following out the rule, those communities of men in which are found the largest variety of differences, and the most effective development of them into action, should present the nearest approach to perfection of societary organization. Seeking such communities, we find them in those in which the demands for human powers are most diversified — those in which men are enabled most fully to combine their efforts — rapid societary motion there stimulating into activity all the power that, thus far, has remained latent, and enabling their members to pass from the brutifying labors of transportation, through those of the workshop, to those of a scientific agriculture.

Subordination of specialities to a general intention — diversity of functions or uses, so combined as to produce a perfect harmony of related action—is, at once, the mark and test of organization.* The individual man is healthy and efficient within himself, in proportion to the vigor and exactness with which the bodily instruments of his will obey the governing brain — those charged with

* See *ante*, vol. i., p. 53.

carrying on his automatic life, meanwhile furnishing full support to his voluntary powers. Absolute subordination in the parts of a machine to the moving force, is the constant characteristic of inanimate organizations. In a watch, steam-engine, mill, or ship, all the parts are in prompt and complete obedience — their perfection being measured by the exactness of their subordination.

In societary organizations, we have the same law modified, but not repealed, by the liberty which accompanies human life — bringing with it responsibility to both God and man. The crew of a ship—the hands employed in a factory—the thousands of whom an army is composed—are organized and subordinated, that they may accomplish the work for whose performance they have been brought together. So, too, is it in civil government — subordination of the subjects being essential to the well-being and the progress of the community, and to those very individual liberties which it limits, as well as to the national order for whose security it has been designed — the most remarkable case of societary organization on record, being that under which the Hebrews sojourned in the desert, during the long period that intervened between the passage of the Red Sea, and their entrance into the promised land.

Throughout nature, the more perfect the organization, and the more absolute the subordination, the more harmonious and beautiful is the interdependence of the parts. A rock, or a lump of coal being broken, each and every portion remains as perfect as it had been before. Dividing a polypus into a dozen parts, the vital force is found existing in each and all, and to such extent, that each becomes again a perfect animal. Doing the same by man, he speedily passes into dust. — So, too, is it with societies — the mutuality of interdependence growing with every stage of progress, from that simplest of societary forms presented to view in the history of Crusoe and his Friday, towards that high state of organization in which tens of thousands of persons combine to satisfy the public want for a single newspaper — hundreds of thousands then profiting by its perusal at a cost so small as scarcely to admit of calculation.*

Throughout nature, the more complete the subordination, and

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 296.

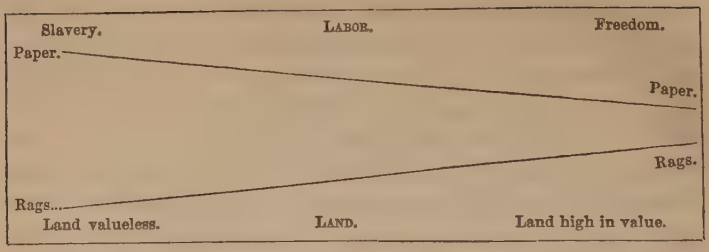
the more perfect the interdependence of the parts, the greater is the individuality of the whole, and the more absolute the power of self-direction. The rock is chained to earth, obeying but a single force; the bird, at will, rises in the air, or skims across the lake. The dog obeys his master; the master has power to direct himself, and nature too. The man in perfect health, with all the parts moving in perfect subjection to the directing brain, determines for himself if he will go abroad, or stay at home — the invalid, on the contrary, being compelled to keep his chamber. — So, too, must it be with society — its power for self-direction growing with the growth of interdependence among its various parts, and the latter becoming developed as the organization becomes more perfect, and the subordination more complete.

Organization and subordination, association and individuality, responsibility and freedom, travel thus together, throughout the social world.

§ 2. In man, the brain holds the office of co-ordinator of the whole system — the existence of a necessity for co-ordination on the one side, involving the duty of subordination on the other.

The more perfect the co-ordination of the whole, the greater is the development of each and every part—the co-ordinating power itself included. Failing to direct to the stomach a proper supply of nutritive food, the arms and legs lose their power, and the eyes become affected — the brain participating in the loss of strength, until at length life ceases to exist.

The more perfect the development of the various portions of the MAN, and the more numerous and marked the differences of the qualities that are developed, the greater must be the power to maintain commerce within himself, and with the exterior world — rapidity of circulation being an essential characteristic of the highest organization. — So, too, must it be with society — the more numerous the differences, and the greater the power of association, the more complete being the subordination, and the more absolute that respect for the rights of others, in which consists the most perfect freedom. For proof of this, we may now, once again, turn to the diagram already so frequently placed before the reader:



On the left, there are few differences. Societary organization having, therefore, no existence, force furnishes the only law, and the laborer is enslaved, while the land continues valueless. On the right, the differences being numerous, society has become organized — co-ordination and subordination thus growing together, and man becoming more free.

Looking now to early Attica, we see, in the many little communities by which the small and barren territory had been occupied, the first rude efforts at societary organization. The demand for human powers being very limited, differences were few in number — each and every man uniting in himself the various characters of sailor, trader, soldier, and mechanic. Interdependence among men had but very slight existence, and, as a necessary consequence, there was little among the communities of which they were a part — each and every of them being ready, at any moment, to invade the territory, and annihilate the rights of person and of property, in each and every other.—Tracing them thence onward, we find differences increasing as society becomes more developed — co-ordination and subordination keeping steady pace with the growth of wealth and population, until, at length, the well-formed societary body, with Athens for its head, appears upon the stage, with Solon for its legislator — exercising the power of co-ordination in giving to the people a constitution in which freedom on one hand, and subordination on the other, are provided for, in a degree never before equalled in the world.

As a consequence of this approach to order it is, that Athens now occupies in history a position more distinguished than has, even yet, been assigned to any community of either ancient or modern times.—The step thus made should, however, have been only preliminary to another, in virtue of which the interdependence

of the various little communities of Greece at large would have been promoted, and the subordination of each and all to a central power well established. Failing to carry out the idea here begun, Greece became a scene of perpetual war, and differences disappeared—the once free communities becoming resolved into masses of traders and soldiers on the one hand, and slaves on the other.

Comparing now the policy of Solon and Lycurgus, we find the tendency of the former to have been in the direction of the develevelopment of human faculties, and the *production* of differences, whereas the latter looked to the limitation of human pursuits, and the *prevention* of differences. In the first, the interdependence of the various portions of society, for almost a century after Solon, was a constantly augmenting force — stimulating all to effort, and producing that high development of which Athens was the scene. In the other, the system tended in the reverse direction — annihilating all desire for distinction other than that to be obtained by force or fraud, and closing by the reduction of society to two great classes, the great landholder on the one hand, and the slave on the other. In the one, subordination became, for a time, from year to year more perfect. In the other, it declined as the small proprietors diminished in number, until at length they wholly disappeared.

Crossing the Adriatic, we obtain a reproduction of Sparta, and not of Athens — fraud and force, and not a growing interdependence, being the foundations of Roman power. Those who would open for themselves the road to fortune, must use the sword, and that alone; and hence it is, that Roman history is but a record of the gradual disappearance of those differences among men, without which there can be no perfection of the societary organization. Early Italy presents for our examination numerous and prosperous cities, placed among fields that were owned by the men who tilled them. Imperial Italy, on the contrary, exhibits little beyond a single city, filled with paupers, traders, and bankers, and owned by great proprietors whose distant lands were tilled by slaves. As a consequence of this it is, that Roman history, from the days of the Tarquins, to those of Marius and Sylla, Cicero and Cataline, Antony and Octavius, is but a record of growing brutality and insubordination on the one side, and of declining power of co-ordination on the other — the directing

brain becoming weaker, as the land becomes consolidated, and the people more enslaved. — Examine that history where we may, we find a growing tendency towards the separation of the consumers and producers; towards augmentation of the proportion of the class of middlemen; towards diminution in the demand for any of the human faculties, except that one which man exerts in common with the beasts of the field — mere brute force. The result is seen in the fact, that, extended as was her empire, Rome contributes but little to the general fund of art or literature, while the little Attica constitutes the great treasury to which all resort who delight in either.

With the downfall of the empire, and the general ruin of towns and cities, the artisan and the mechanic almost entirely disappear — society becoming resolved into its original elements — insubordination becoming universal — and anarchy taking the place of the little order which had before existed. — Later, we find Charlemagne engaged in the effort at co-ordination, and seeking to command subordination—calling together assemblies composed of various portions of the people, and instituting laws which all, both great and small, were required to respect.—At his death, the power of combination suddenly disappears, and anarchy and insubordination take its place — the feudal system, as it existed in both France and Germany, recognizing fully the power of the master to command his slave, while *practically* denying the necessity of subordination on the part of the master himself. Here, again, we have a resolution of society into its elements, accompanied by a further and more complete disappearance of differences among its various portions — slaves and nobles abounding, and physical force furnishing the law, in obedience to which all are required to bend.*— Following French history downward, as the reader has already seen, we find a perpetual effort at the establishment of subordination, followed by repeated failures, consequent upon the omission of all effort at so diversifying the employments of the people, as to make demand for the qualities by the possession of which the real MAN is distinguished from the beast.†

* The insurrection of the *Jacquerie*, A. D. 1351, with its accompanying horrors, was a necessary consequence of the total disappearance of subordination from among the nobles of France, during the English war.—See SISMONDE: *Histoire de France*, vol. x., p. 530.

† See *ante*, vol. i., p. 252.

§ 3. Turning now to other portions of Europe, we meet with insubordination in the ratio of the absence of those differences, without which society cannot obtain its natural form, nor can men become free—striking evidence of this being presented by England in the days of the Plantagenets—Scotland, in those of the Stuarts —Denmark, in the period anterior to Frederic III.—and Poland, down to the day of its partition.

Tracing history onward, any and every where, we obtain evidence that, in every case of advancing civilization, as the latent human faculties have become more and more developed — as the power of association has grown in strength — as man has become more master of nature and of himself — as society has tended to take its natural form — as competition for the *purchase* of labor has grown — subordination has become more complete, while all have risen in the scale of being, and the man who labors has become more free. Examining, next, the movement of declining countries, we find the reverse of this — uniformity taking the place of difference — anarchy and insubordination replacing order — and the laborer becoming re-enslaved. — Looking now around us, we find that men have become more free in all the countries that have followed in the lead of Colbert — land having become divided, and the laborer having become more master of nature and of himself, in France, and in all the countries of Northern and Central Europe, with constantly growing tendency towards the development of that respect for the rights of others, without which there can be no real freedom.

Turning next towards those which follow in the lead, or under the direction, of England, we find, in Ireland, an insubordination resulting in destruction of life, property, and happiness, to an extent that has been nowhere else exceeded; in Jamaica, an unceasing state of warfare between the slave and his master, resulting in the ruin of both;* in Turkey, an almost entire disappearance of the societary organization; in Mexico, a great community that is being rapidly resolved into its original elements; in Spanish America generally, a constant series of wars, having for their object the determination of the question as to who shall control the societary movement; in India, a rebellion, attended with de-

* See DALLAS: *History of the Maroons*, London, 1805.

struction of life and property to an extent that cannot yet be estimated.*

Coming now to England herself, we find a constant war of classes — the capitalist holding, with Mr. Huskisson, that "to enable his capital to obtain a fair remuneration, labor must be kept down," and the laborer protesting against that doctrine as leading to the enslavement of his children and himself. As a consequence of this, "strikes," attended with immense loss to the community, and ending always in the defeat of the laborer, are of constant occurrence — the result being seen in the facts, that land becomes more and more consolidated — that the little landowner and the little manufacturer gradually disappear from the

* "I see you every where on the surface of the globe," says M. Michelet, speaking of the English in India, "but firmly rooted nowhere. The reason is, that you have every where been *gathering and sucking the substance of the earth*, but implanting nothing — neither sympathy, nor thought. Having brought no moral idea with you, you have founded nowhere. Your India, for instance, one of the finest empires that the sun has seen—what have you done with it? It has withered in your hands. You remain exterior to it; you are a parasite body that will be cast off to-morrow. You found that marvellous country provided with commerce and agriculture. What, however, except opium, now remains to be exported? No Englishman goes to India to settle there, and there is no marriage with the natives. The English will one day depart, leaving behind them no vestige, except the annihilation of Indian trade and industry, and the ruin of its agriculture."

The accuracy of the view thus presented by a distinguished Frenchman, is fully confirmed by the following extract from a letter of "an Indian official," given in a recent London journal:

"For years and years, we have been acting as if we were under no moral responsibility whatsoever — as if India were a thing made expressly for our mere worldly advantage, and for nothing else — *the natives of the soil no better than the wild beasts of the jungles, or being more helpless, only fit to be made hewers of wood and drawers of water, the slaves of the white man*—that any pretence on their part to a share of the inheritance God had assigned them, was rank treason — that opinions, customs, and usages, as old as these hills, and as fondly cherished as an Englishman's liberty, were to be given up, and cast aside, with as much ease as you would throw aside an old bonnet, if they did not square with John Bull's notions, or stood in the way of his selfishness and cupidity. This is exactly what we have been doing for the last twenty years — we have attempted many things which even the boldest and most daring of their own native princes would never have had the madness to venture on. *That cursed itch to annex; the vile and abominable corruptions, bribery, and extortion, practiced in our civil courts, and by the police; the dislike of the natives to our system of land tenure*, which, however fine and specious in theory, and to write on, or to make a speech on, in Parliament, was most distasteful to the native cultivators, and left them entirely at the mercy of merchants and money-lenders, and was simply ruin to the poor ryot. . . . All alike ignored their cries, and treated them with contempt, till at last they had recourse to the only mode of redress left to them—mutiny, insurrection, and rebellion! And I do say, for all the horrors and sad calamities which followed, England is responsible."

stage of action—that the power of association declines—and that the direction of the societary machine becomes more difficult with each successive year.*

In the United States, we find both the conditions above described — the desires of the Southern portion of the Union being in the direction of an exclusive agriculture, while those of the Northern one look towards a varied industry and an active commerce. — In the former, the growing insubordination manifests itself in a necessity for the enactment of laws, in virtue of which rights heretofore conceded to the slave are gradually withdrawn. In the latter, compelled, as it is, to follow in the lead of Britain, insubordination grows daily, with steady decline of morals, and in the respect to the rights of person and of property.†

All the facts of history may now be cited in evidence of the proposition, that the societary organization becomes more complete — subordination more perfect — and man more free — in the direct ratio of the approach of the consumer to the producer, the development of a scientific agriculture, and consequent approximation of the prices of the rude products of the earth, to those of the finished commodities into which they are converted.

§ 4. The more thorough the development of differences among men, and the more perfect the power of self-direction, the more complete becomes their interdependence; the greater is the tendency towards harmony in the relations of society, and mutual respect on the part of both laborer and capitalist; the larger is the production; the more rapid is the circulation; the more equitable the distribution; the more absolute the subordination; and the greater the tendency towards freedom for all mankind. The less, however, is the tendency towards the production of those "positive checks" to population relied upon by Mr. Malthus, and known to the world as war, pestilence, and famine.

That this is so, must be obvious to all who see in the individual man the type of that grand man to which we apply the term *society* — and who appreciate the fact, that this great law

* "We level the poor to the dust by our general policy, and take infinite credit to ourselves for raising them up with the grace of charity."— FONBLANQUE. See, also, *ante*, vol. i., p. 446.

† See *ante*, chap. xxviii., § 15.

governs matter in all its forms, whether in that of systems of mountains or communities of men.—Throughout our solar system, harmony of movement—interdependence—is a result of that local attraction which preserves a perfect independence. So, too, is it with nations, the tendency towards peace and harmony among them being in the ratio of their interdependence — that, in its turn, being in the direct ratio of their independence. As among individuals, the power of association grows with the development of individuality, and as this latter grows with the growth of the habit of combination, so does the tendency towards peaceful action among communities, grow with the growth of local centres, and with that of self-dependence — subordination to the laws of right and justice, among nations, growing with the growth of the power of self-direction and protection. — Here, as every where throughout nature, action and re-action are equal and contrary— harmony being the result of the perfect balance of these opposing forces.

The reverse of this, however, is what we are told in English books. From them we learn that universal peace is to follow in the train of a system that seeks a centralization of the manufacturing power of the world — thereby depriving the various nations of all ability to develop the latent powers of either earth or man — limiting them to the work of scratching out the soil and selling it in distant markets, and thus preventing the growth of agriculture. Under that system, interdependence in the bosom of the society dies away, while dependence grows, with corresponding tendency to the development of insubordination, and towards the production of the "positive checks" of the modern school. — The effort now being made towards the establishment of trading centralization — that system which is advocated by the present British school — tends to the general production of a state of things similar to that exhibited in France, in the days of the Jacquerie; in Germany, in those of John of Leyden and his Anabaptists; in England, in those of Henry VIII., when 72,000 criminals were hanged in a single reign; in Scotland, in the days of Fletcher; in Ireland, throughout the present century; and in India, at the present hour; that state of things in which insubordination comes as the companion of a division of society into two great forces — the very rich and the very poor,

the master and the slave. Hence it is, that it has given rise to the doctrine of over-population, which is simply that of slavery, anarchy, and societary ruin, as the ultimate condition of mankind — that, too, coming as a consequence of laws emanating from an all-wise and all-powerful Being, who could, if He would, have instituted laws, in virtue of which freedom, order, peace, and happiness, would have been their lot!

That these latter *have been* instituted — that the scheme of creation is not a failure — that it is marred by no such errors as have been indicated by Mr. Malthus — is proved by all the facts presented for consideration by the advancing communities of the world — the habit of peace, among both individuals and nations, growing with the growth of numbers, and the increase in the power of self-direction. The more perfect that power, the greater is the tendency towards progress — the wretched slave to nature gradually yielding place to the MASTER OF NATURE, in whom the feeling of responsibility to his family, his country, his Creator, and himself, grows with the growth of power to guide and direct the vast and various forces placed at his command. This last grows in all those countries in which the societary energies, represented by their co-ordinating centres, are most directed to the removal of obstacles to association and combination, and, therefore, most in accordance with those natural laws which constitute the Social Science.

CHAPTER LV.

OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

§ 1. THE simple laws which govern matter in all its forms, and which are common to physical and social science, may now briefly thus be stated:

All particles of matter gravitate towards each other — the attraction being in the direct ratio of the mass, and the inverse one of the distance.

All matter is subjected to the action of the centripetal and the centrifugal forces — the one tending to the production of local centres of action, the other to the destruction of such centres, and the production of a great central mass, obedient to but a single law.

The more perfect the balance of these opposing forces, the more uniform and steady is the movement of the various bodies, and the more harmonious the action of the system in which they are embraced.

The more intense the action of those forces, the more rapid is the motion, and the greater the power.

Such are the laws which govern masses and atoms, but there are other laws in virtue of which masses are reduced to atoms, ready to enter into chemical combination with each other — the tendency towards combination existing in the direct ratio of the perfect individualization of the particles thereby obtained. These laws are —

That heat is a cause of motion and force — motion being, in its turn, a cause of heat and force:

That the more heat and motion produced, the greater is the tendency towards acceleration in the motion and the force:

That the more the heat, the greater is the tendency towards decomposition of masses, and individualization of the particles of which they are composed — thus fitting them for entering into chemical combination with each other:

That the greater the tendency towards individualization, the more instant are the combinations, and the greater the force obtained:

That, the more rapid the motion, the greater the tendency of matter to rise in the scale of form — passing from the rude forms which characterize the inorganic world, through those of the vegetable and animal world, and ending in man:

That, at every stage of progress, there is an extension of the range of law to which matter is subjected, accompanied by an increase of the power of self-direction—subordination and freedom keeping steady pace with organization:

That last in the progress of development comes man, the being to whom has been given the power to guide and direct himself and nature too — his subjection to all the laws above referred to, being the most complete.

Studying him, we find —

That association with his fellow-man is a necessity of his existence — that being the condition upon which, alone, those faculties by whose possession he is distinguished from the beast of the field, can be developed:

That his powers are very various, and that the combinations of which they are susceptible are infinite in number — there being, throughout the world, no two persons who are entirely alike:

That the development of these infinitely-various faculties, is wholly dependent upon the power of association and combination:

That association, in its turn, is dependent upon the development of individuality:

That individuality is developed in the ratio of the diversity of the modes of employment, and consequent diversity in the demand that is made for the production of human powers:

That, the greater the diversity, the greater is man's power to control and direct the great forces of nature, the larger the number of persons who can draw support from any given space, and the more perfect the development of the latent powers of both earth and man:

That the more perfect that development, the more intense becomes the heat, the more rapid is the societary motion, and the greater the force exerted:

That the greater that motion and force, the more does man be-

come subjected to the great law of molecular gravitation — local centres attracting him in one direction, while great cities, centres of the world, attract him in the other:

That the more perfect the balance of these opposing forces, the greater is the tendency towards the development of local individualities, and towards the extension of the power of association throughout the interior of communities — with constant increase in the power of production, in the value and freedom of man, in the growth of capital, in the equity of distribution, and in the tendency towards harmony and peace:

That the law thus established in reference to the members of a community is equally operative among the communities themselves — the tendency towards peace and harmony among States, being in the direct ratio of the development of their respective individualities, and their power of self-protection:

That there is, therefore, a perfect harmony of individual and international interests, and that, leaving out of view all higher considerations, nations and individuals would find it to their advantage to yield obedience to the great command, which requires that men should do unto others as they would that others should do unto them — that being the road in which they must travel, if they would secure to themselves the most perfect individuality and freedom — the highest power of association — the largest command of nature's services — and the greatest amount of wealth and happiness.

§ 2. Of all the pursuits of man, the last developed is a scientific agriculture. — Of all equities, the last established is that between land and man — the latter then recognizing the fact, that the former is but a lender and not a donor, and that punctuality of repayment is the condition upon which, alone, the credits will be continued and extended. — Of all people, the last emancipated are the laborers in the field. — Of all knowledge, the last obtained is that of the minute machinery with which nature works, when she seeks to produce her greatest effects. — In full accordance with this it is, therefore, that a full appreciation of the advantages of harmony, peace, and respect for our neighbor's rights — and of the necessity for a proper exercise of the power of co-ordination on one side, accompanied by subordination on the other — comes

to man only with the growth of that real civilization which is, or should be, attendant upon increase in the number of persons occupying a given space — that increase of numbers being required for facilitating combination, and thus developing the various human powers.

Science, as we are told, is the interpreter of nature. It reverently inquires, *what there is*, and *why it is* that such things are.* It listens that it may know. It seeks for light. It knocks, that it may obtain communication — its duty being then performed when it has recorded the processes of nature, and accepted them as true. — That department which is denominated Social Science, treats of the laws which govern man in the effort for developing his own powers, and thereby obtaining entire control over the great forces of nature — at each step gained, turning her batteries against herself, with a view to make her subjugation more complete. The object of its teachers is that of indicating what have been the obstacles which, thus far, have prevented progress, and the means by which they may be diminished, if not removed. Careful study of those laws would satisfy—

Sovereigns, that the maintenance of peace, and a studious respect for the rights of others, was the surest road to power and influence for the communities in whose lead it is their fortune to be placed:

Nations, that every invasion of the rights of others must be attended with diminished power to protect their own:

Legislators, that their duty was limited to the removal of obstacles to association among the people with whose destinies they were charged, among the most prominent of which would be found those resulting from the failure to recognize the existence of a perfect harmony of international interests:

Capitalists, that between themselves and those they employ, there was a perfect harmony of real and permanent interests:

Farmers, that the road to prosperity for themselves and their children, was to be found in the adoption of measures looking to their emancipation from the oppressive tax of transportation, and to the development of the powers of their land:

Workingmen, that the more perfect their own respect for the

* The questions asked by mathematicians are, *how much* there is, and *where* it may be found.

rights of property, and the greater the tendency towards harmony and peace, the more rapid must be the growth of the productive power, with correspondent increase in their own *proportion* of the larger quantity of commodities produced:

FREEMEN, that true liberty is inconsistent with interferences with the rights of others, and that in the most perfect subordination is to be found the road to harmony, peace, and freedom:

FREE-TRADE ADVOCATES, that the more varied the production of a community, the greater must be the commerce in the bosom of nations, and the greater their power to maintain commerce with the world:

ADVOCATES OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS, that the road towards elevation of the sex, lies in the direction of that varied industry which makes demand for all the distinctive qualities of woman:

ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATES, that freedom comes with that diversification of pursuits which make demand for all the various human powers, and that slavery is the necessary consequence of a system which looks to an exclusive agriculture:

DISCIPLES OF MR. MALTHUS, that the Creator had provided self-adjusting laws, regulating the movement of population; that the treasury of nature was unlimited in extent; that demand produced supply; and, that the power to make demand increased with increase in the number of mankind:

PHILOSOPHERS, that war, pestilence, and famine, were the result of man's errors, and not of errors of the Creator — the Great Being, to whom we are indebted for existence, having instituted no laws tending to thwart the objects of man's creation:

REFORMERS, that nature always works slowly and gently, when she desires that man shall profit by her action, and that man would do well to follow in the same direction — one of the greatest of all precepts being found in those two most simple words — *festina lente*:*

* "The path of mere power to its object," says Schiller, "is that of the cannon-ball, direct and rapid, but destroying every thing in its course, and destructive even to the end it reaches. Not so the road of human usages, which is beaten by the old intercourse of life; that path winds this way and that, along the river or around the orchard, and securely, though slowly, arrives at last to its destined end. That," says he, "is the road on which blessings travel."

"The same general truth may be often seen exemplified in our republican legislation. There is a legislation, altering, reforming, innovating; but all

STATESMEN, that power and responsibility went hand in hand together; that upon their action depended the decision of the great question, whether those whose destinies had been committed to their care, should go forward in the direction of the real MAN, master over nature and master of himself, or decline in that of the mere animal having the form of man, treated of in Ricardo-Malthusian books; and that failure to qualify themselves for the proper exercise of the powers confided to them, was a crime, for the effects of which they must answer to their fellow-men, and to Him from whom that power had been derived:*

upon deliberate investigation, slow and cautious inquiry, and consultation in every quarter where light and knowledge may be gained. There is also the legislation of mere theory — sometimes the theory of the mere closet speculative reasoner — much oftener that of another sort of theorist, who calls himself a practical man, because he infers his hasty, general rules from his own narrow, single experience, (narrow, because single,) as a judge, a lawyer, or a legislator. Such legislation, when it prescribes great and permanent rules of action, resembles the railroad of the half-learned engineer, who runs it straight to its ultimate end, over mountain and valley, through forest and morass. Disregarding alike the impediments of nature and the usages and wants of human dealings, he attains his end by the shortest way, but at immense expense, with an utter disregard of private right and public convenience.

"A wiser and better way is that which, in adopting the improvements of modern science, applies them skilfully in the direction that experience has found to be the most easy, or which time, or custom, or even accident, has made familiar, and therefore convenient. That road winds round the mountain, and skirts the morass, turns off to the village or the landing-place, respects the homestead and the garden, and even the old, hereditary, trees of the neighborhood, and all the sacred rights of property. That is the road on which human life moves easily and happily—upon which 'blessings come and go.'

"Such may we make that road on which justice shall take its regular and beneficent circuit throughout our land — such is the character we may give to our jurisprudence, if we approach the hallowed task of legal reform in the right spirit—if we approach it not rashly, but reverently—without pride or prejudice—free alike from the prejudice that clings to every thing that is old, and turns away from all improvement; and from the pride of opinion that, wrapped in fancied wisdom, disdains to profit either by the experience of our own times, or the recorded knowledge of past generations."—VERPLANCK: *Speech on Judicial Reform.*

* "Nothing is more adverse to the tranquillity of a statesman (says the author of an éloge on the administration of Colbert,) than a spirit of moderation; because it condemns him to perpetual observation, shows him every moment the insufficiency of his wisdom, and leaves him the melancholy sense of his own imperfection; while, under the shelter of a few general principles, a systematical politician enjoys a perpetual calm. By the help of one alone, that of a perfect liberty of trade, he would govern the world, and would leave human affairs to arrange themselves at pleasure, under the operation of the prejudices and the self-interests of individuals. If these run counter to each other, he gives himself no anxiety about the consequence; he insists

CHRISTIANS, that the foundation of Christianity and of Social Science is found in the great precept—ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM.

that the result cannot be judged of till after a century or two shall have elapsed. If his contemporaries, in consequence of the disorder into which he has thrown public affairs, are scrupulous about submitting quietly to the experiment, he accuses them of impatience. They alone, and not he, are to blame for what they have suffered; and the principle continues to be inculcated with the same zeal and the same confidence as before."—*Quoted by* WAKEFIELD: *Preface to Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I., p. xci.

INDEX.

A.

Abandonment of the richer soils of India, i. 354.

Absence of machinery in the British West Indies, i. 299, 302.

——— of regular demand for labor, in purely agricultural countries, ii. 21, 156. In Ireland, iii. 30. In England, iii. 35. In Scotland, iii. 37.

Absenteeism, of the British West Indies, i. 297. Of Ireland, i. 334. Grows with the growth of centralization, iii. 229. Of Great Britain and the United States, iii. 229. McCulloch on, iii. 231.

——— and over-population grow together, i. 462.

Acceleration of the societary motion, i. 383, ii. 269.

Accumulation, of, iii. 48. How affected by increase or decrease in the rapidity of the circulation, i. 279, iii. 49.

Action and reaction essential to the existence of harmony, i. 46, ii. 268, iii. 464.

Acts of incorporation, effects of, iii. 415.

Adaptability of the procreative tendency in man, to the circumstances under which he exists, iii. 271, 286.

Adulteration of commodities, a consequence of the separation of consumers from producers, iii. 324.

Ad valorem duties. How they affect morals, iii. 207.

Advantages to the farmer, resulting from proximity of the market, i. 279, ii. 29.

——— of commerce over trade, as exhibited by Adam Smith, ii. 108.

——— of an honest international policy, iii. 454.

——— of co-operation over antagonism, iii. 153.

Advocates of woman's rights. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.

Afraia. A picture of Lapland life, ii. 457.

Africa. Course of settlement in, i. 133. Abandonment of the richer soils of, i. 143. Large proportion borne by movable to fixed capital in, iii. 55. Fertility of soil, and scarcity of population in, iii. 357.

Agriculture. The great pursuit of man, i. 221. Requires the largest knowledge, and therefore last in its development, i. 221. No words properly expressive of the great difference between that of the earlier and later periods of society, i. 229. Becomes developed as the market is brought nearer to the place of production, i. 272. The pursuit that is most exposed to danger from the events of war, ii. 26. Early development of, in Belgium, ii. 27. Absorbs a constantly-increasing proportion of the powers of an advancing society, ii. 27. Loses its gambling character, as employments become diversified, ii. 33. Declines as the market becomes more distant, ii. 35. Of Italy, ii. 35. Of France, i. 87, ii. 51, iii. 88. Of England, ii. 79, 93. Of Denmark, ii. 114. Of Spain, ii. 121. Of Russia, ii. 150. Of the United States, ii. 213. The last and highest of human pursuits, iii. 468.

——— and manufactures of England at the close of the 17th century, as exhibited by Andrew Yarranton, i. 399.

Agricultural communities. Little commerce of, i. 367. Causes of the weakness of, ii. 40. How they are taxed by the British system, ii. 88. Waste of labor in, ii. 101, iii. 22. Grow from without, iii. 447. The more their growth, the greater their dependence, iii. 447.

——— development and decline. How

they affect the prices of rude products, ii. 265, 267.
Agricultural risks diminish, as consumers and producers approach each other, i. 273.
Agriculturist becomes free, as employments become diversified, ii. 28. Last to be emancipated, iii. 468.
———, skilled, always making a machine, ii. 28.
Alabama. Effects of the cotton culture in, ii. 88. Exhaustion of the soil of, ii. 198, 242.
Allen. His *Philosophy of the Mechanics of Nature*, iii. 318.
Alliance, constant, of war and trade, i. 217. How it exhibits itself in France, ii. 43; in Great Britain, i. 377, iii. 462; in the United States, ii. 238.
All matter susceptible of being made useful to man, i. 178.
All men seek commerce: *some* men desire to perform acts of trade, i. 210.
America, the United States of. How the feeling of responsibility exhibits itself in, i. 59. Exhaustion of the soil of, i. 83, ii. 198, 212. Course of settlement in, i. 107. Abandonment of the richer soils of, i. 144. Conduct of, toward their weaker neighbors, i. 372. Population of, ii. 180. Extraordinary contrasts presented to view by, ii. 177. Tendency to association in, ii. 178. De Tocqueville on the liberty of, ii. 178. Tendency to dispersion in, ii. 180. Erroneous policy of, ii. 181. Early tendencies of the government of, ii. 182. How affected by the wars of the French revolution, ii. 183. Variable policy of, ii. 183. Navigation laws of, ii. 186. Failure to protect the farmers of, ii. 188. Decline in the prices of the rude products of the soil of, ii. 188, 197, 271. Phenomena observed in, directly the reverse of those of the advancing countries of Europe, ii. 190. Small export of food from, ii. 193. Loss to the farmers of, consequent upon the necessity for exporting food, ii. 194. How the laborers of, are affected by a rise in the price of food, ii. 195. Exhaustive effects of cotton cultivation in, ii. 198. Small productive power of the slave States of, ii. 199, Causes of decline in the prices of rude products of, ii. 202. Evidences of growing civilization not to be found in, ii. 204. Prices of raw materials and finished products become more widely separated in, ii. 205, 275. Tendency towards the extension of slavery in, ii. 206. Vast amount of power placed by nature at the command of the people of, ii. 208. How combination increases individual powers in, ii. 209. Dispersion of the population of, ii. 209. Great waste of power in, ii. 210, 278, 281. Erroneously held by modern economists to be specially devoted to agriculture, ii. 211. Waste of the constituents of food in, ii. 212. Lee, Dr., on the exhaustive effects of the policy of, ii. 213. Likely to stand with Greece and Rome among the ruins of the past, ii. 214. Growing centralization of, ii. 215. Consolidation of the land of, ii. 216. Stevenson on the emigration of, ii. 217. Causes of the growth of slavery in, ii. 218. Increase in the proportion of laborer's products absorbed by traders and transporters in, ii. 218. Growing power of both in, ii. 220. Revenue of, ii. 220. Effects of protection and free trade in, ii. 225, 274. Instability and its effects in, ii. 227, 273. Sales of public lands in, ii, 231. How those sales affect the prices of rude products in, ii. 232. Diminishing power of combination in, ii. 233. Unsteadiness of the societary movement in, ii. 234. Phenomena presented by the industrial history of, ii. 235. Great waste of capital in, ii. 235. High rate of interest in, ii. 236. Policy of, adverse to the creation of local centres, ii. 236. Warlike tendencies of, ii. 238. Diminution of rural population in the older States of, ii. 240. Manufactures almost stricken from the range of employments in, ii. 242. Consequent thirst for public office in, ii. 243. Decline of individuality in, ii. 245. Growing discord in, ii. 246. Increasing risk of loss by fire in, ii. 247. Recklessness in, ii. 248. Speculative and gambling spirit in, ii. 249. Growing demoralization of, ii. 251. Pro-slavery tendencies of, ii. 252. Mechanical ingenuity in, ii. 254. Frequency and rapidity of changes in, ii. 257. Phenomena of the last ten years of the history of, ii. 257. Growth of pauperism in, ii. 264, 277. Declining power of, ii. 264. Policy of, adverse to growth of civilization, ii. 271. Consumption of iron at various periods, in, ii. 276. Power of accumulation in, ii. 279. Growing dependence on the distant market, exhibited in, ii. 281. Taxation for the use of roads in, ii. 282. Consumption of cotton in, ii. 284. How the planter is taxed by free trade in, ii. 284. How immigration affects the farmers of, ii. 286. Ultimate cause of the phenomena exhibited in, ii. 287. How slavery is affected by the dispersive tendencies of the policy of, ii. 287. Declining individuality in the people and government of, ii. 289. Movement of the precious metals in, ii. 316. How

protection affects the supply of those metals in, ii. 317. How that supply affects the rate of interest in, ii. 322. High profits erroneously assumed to be the cause of high interest in, ii. 338. Relations of money and capital in, ii. 339. How both prices and interest are affected by the foreign policy of, ii. 352. Of banking in, ii. 419. Of production in, iii. 40. Large proportion borne by movable to fixed capital in, iii. 57. Phenomena of circulation exhibited in, iii. 95. Continuance of slavery in, a consequence of exhaustion of the soil of, iii. 98. Small product of slave labor in, iii. 99. Revenue system of, iii. 191. Operation of the *ad valorem* system in, iii. 207. Frauds upon the revenue in, iii. 207. Growth of centralization in, iii. 224. Competition for the sale of labor in, iii. 240. Its effect in exaggerating the evils of slavery in, iii. 240. Comparative demand for labor in the free trade and protective periods of, iii. 246. Policy of, like that of Great Britain, tends to destroy competition for the purchase of labor, or labor's products, iii. 254. Pro-slavery tendencies of both, iii. 261. Phenomena of population in, iii. 264. Vital statistics of, iii. 293. Supplies of food increase under the system which brings the market nearer to the farmer in, iii. 322. Necessity for emigration a consequence of the exhaustion of the soil of, iii. 337. Declining power of the older States of, iii. 338. Decline of agriculture in, iii. 340. Condition of woman in, iii. 383. Growing competition for the sale of female labor in, iii. 385. Of education in, iii. 397. Growth of juvenile crime in, iii. 398. Flexibility of the corporate principle in, iii. 419. Diminution of productive power in, iii. 432. Enormous tax of transportation paid by, iii. 433. Small amount of commerce of State with State, in, iii. 450. Absence of the power of combination within the States, iii. 450. Slow growth of power in, to contribute to the commerce of the world, iii. 451.

American Aborigines. Slow increase in the number of the, iii. 314. Their little tendency towards sexual intercourse, iii. 355.

——— policy adverse to the interests of the farmers of the world, ii. 202, iii. 254.

Analogies of natural law universal, i. 224.

Analogy of the two-fold life of man, to his two-fold life in society, iii. 404.

Analysis required in all departments of science, i. 27. The preparation for synthesis, i. 32.

Anarchy a consequence of the absence of differences among men, iii. 460.

Anatomy and Chemistry of the brain, not sufficiently developed to resolve the problems of Social Science, iii. 303, 403.

Anglo-Saxons. Their standard of value, ii. 295.

Animal propensities, general predominance of the, iii. 298.

Animals and vegetables mutually convertible into each other, i. 70.

Annihilation of Indian commerce, i. 350.

Anti-Christian character of the modern political economy, i. 232.

Anti-slavery advocates. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.

Appropriation, dependence of the early settler upon his powers of, i. 202.

———, of, i. 215, 234.

Approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products, furnishes the essential characteristic of civilization, i. 428. How exhibited in France, ii. 56. In Germany, ii. 131. Commerce and freedom grow with, ii. 269. How exhibited throughout Central and Northern Europe, ii. 275. Power of consumption grows with, ii. 276. Consequent upon increased rapidity of circulation, ii. 306. Grows with the growth of power to command the services of the precious metals, ii. 315. How decline in the rate of interest promotes the, ii. 350. How it affects the power of taxation, iii. 173. How it affects the condition of woman, iii. 369.

——— of man to man attended with diminution of the trader's power, i. 210.

Artistic faculty of Great Britain. Its slight development, i. 448.

Asia, abandonment of the rich soils of, i. 142.

Association, the first and greatest of the needs of man, i. 41. Indispensable to the existence of language, i. 41. Requires differences, i. 83. Its slight existence where employments are not diversified, i. 83. Makes of man the master of nature, i. 103. Every act of, an act of commerce, i. 198. Man's first desire, i. 263. Great natural tendency towards, in the United States, ii. 178. Its effects as there exhibited, ii. 209. The precious metals furnish the great instrument of, ii. 354. How it affects production, iii. 26. How it affects wages, profits, rents, and interest, iii. 116. Action of the co-ordinating power in removing obstacles to, iii. 409.

———, individuality, development, and progress, directly proportionate to each other, i. 61.

———, the power of, grows with the de-

velopment of individuality, i. 53. With increase of numbers, i. 98. Its growth in Athens, i. 240. In Spain, i. 251. Absence of, in Sparta, i. 245. Efforts of France to destroy the, i. 252. Increases as the differences among men become more numerous, i. 257. Grows in the ratio of the observance of the great law of Christianity, i. 259. Exercise of, prohibited by the British Colonial system, i. 286. Grows with division of the land, and increase in the proportion of fixed capital, iii. 92. How increase therein, tends to affect the growth of population, iii. 274. Protection, an effort for establishing perfect freedom in the exercise of, throughout the world, iii. 453.

Astronomy. Its dependence on chemistry, i. 16. Closely related to biology, i. 17.

Athens, growth of the power of association in, i. 240. Peaceful progress of, i. 241. Rights and duties in, i. 241. Subsequent tyranny of, i. 242. Splendor and weakness of, i. 243. Decline and fall of, i. 244. Of production in, iii. 26. Increase in the proportion of movable to fixed capital, in, iii. 55. Taxation of, iii. 178. Centralization in, iii. 228. Of woman in, iii. 370. Of the societary organization in, iii. 459.

Atmospheric air, the fountain from which all things spring, and the receptacle to which all return, i. 70.

Atoms, obedient to the laws which govern the masses from which they have been derived, i. 14.

Attraction and counter-attraction essential to the existence of harmony, i. 57.

Attractive force of cities, i. 42.

Australia, course of settlement in, i. 133. Peopled by convicts, iii. 345. Moral condition of, iii. 345.

Austria. Division of land and its effects in, iii. 84.

B.

Bacon. His tree of science, i. 21.

Balance of trade, payable in the precious metals, ii. 316. Necessary to all countries which do not themselves produce such metals, ii. 319, 476. How it affects the currency, ii. 435. How treated by Adam Smith, ii. 458–463.

——— of force among the vital organs, iii. 297.

Bank circulation, a nearly constant quantity, ii. 387, 390.

——— contractions, effects of, ii. 368.

——— deposits, causes which influence, and influence exerted by, ii. 387.

——— expansions, effects of, ii. 367.

Bank monopolies, injurious effects of, ii. 371.

——— notes. How they affect the supply of the precious metals, ii. 331. Absurdity of the English and American crusade against, ii. 334. How they increase the utility of money, ii. 370. Origin of, ii. 375.

Banker, ancient and modern, always in alliance with the soldier, i. 217.

Banking circulation regulated by the people, ii. 421.

———, English, instability of, ii. 372. How it affects the value of money, ii. 373.

Bank of England, the, ii. 366. Origin of, ii. 373. Capital and circulating notes of, ii. 375. Movement of, from 1796 to 1815, ii. 376. Circulation of, ii. 377. Resumption of payment by, and its effects, ii. 377. Subsequent expansions and contractions of, ii. 380. Saved from bankruptcy by the Bank of France, ii. 382. Parliamentary commission for inquiry into its management, ii. 382. Sir Robert Peel's Act for the regulation of, ii. 384. Injurious effect of the monopoly of, ii. 385. Circulation of, from 1832 to 1840, ii. 388; from 1841 to 1847, ii. 389; from 1852 to 1856, ii. 391. Destruction caused by, in 1841, ii. 388. Failure of the Act of 1844 to regulate the action of, ii. 386. Of all monetary institutions, the one in whose constitution we find least of the elements of stability, ii. 409.

——— of France, the, creation of, ii. 412. Monopoly of, ii. 413. Movement of, from 1819 to 1846, ii. 414. Tendency towards steadiness in the circulation of, ii. 414. Instability of deposits in, ii. 415. Power of, for controlling the societary movement, ii. 416. Heavy taxation for the maintenance of, ii. 418.

Banks, private, of England. Their numerous failures, ii. 431.

——— of Holland and Germany, ii. 363.

——— of discount, origin and effects of, ii. 364.

———, American. Gradual development of the system of, ii. 419. Proportion of loans to capital in, ii. 420. Tendency towards steadiness in the movement of, ii. 422. Number and capital of, ii. 427. Failures of, ii. 429. Trivial losses of the people by, ii. 429. Minute division of the ownership of, ii. 432. Advantage resulting from the existence of, ii. 433, 443. Localization of capital by means of, ii. 434. How they are affected by the free trade and protective systems, ii. 437. Movements of, subsequent to the crisis of 1837, ii. 439. Cause of the failures of, ii. 445.

Barbarism, a necessary consequence of the absence of the power of association, i. 52. British system tends to the production of, i. 438. Tendency of American policy in the direction of, ii. 199.
Basque Provinces, production and consumption of the, iii. 41.
Bastiat, M. His ideas of socialistic errors, i. 260. Erroneous views of, in regard to money, ii. 471. On the law of distribution, iii. 167. On competition, iii. 423. On communism, iii. 441.
Baudrillart, M. On the Ricardo theory of rent, iii. 163.
Beaujour, M. His account of Turkish manufactures, i. 312.
Belgium. Course of settlement in, i. 128. Development of individuality in, i. 55. Early development of agriculture in, ii. 27. Of education in, iii. 389. Foreign commerce of, iii. 449.
Better that the power of steam had no existence, than that it should be monopolized, i. 392.
Biology, close relation of, to chemistry, i. 16. How related to astronomy, i. 17.
Births in England, iii. 291.
Blackwood's Magazine, on the agriculture of France, ii. 78. On the consolidation of British land, ii. 80, 95.
Blanqui, M., on the condition of the French people, ii. 59. On over-production, iii. 44. Would regulate production, iii. 158. On the revenue system of Imperial Rome, iii. 180. On the necessity for measures of protection, iii. 427.
Boisguilbert on the state of France, under Louis XIV., i. 254.
Brace, Rev. Mr. His *Walks among the People of England*, iii. 242. On the juvenile crime of America, iii. 398.
Brain of the hunter tribes, activity of, iii. 300.
———, anatomy and chemistry of the, not sufficient definitely to resolve the problems of Social Science, iii. 303, 403.
——— and nerves. Special and general functions of the, iii. 297.
——— of the various races compared, iii. 301.
———, phosphorus of the, iii. 302.
———, subordination of the organs of the body to the, iii. 403.
Brain's control of the viscera graduated to the requirements of animal life, iii. 403.
Brazil. Exhaustion of the soil of, ii. 229.
British and American banks, comparison of the movements of, ii. 427.
——— American colonies, prohibitions of association in, i. 286.
——— and French colonial systems, differences of the, i. 307.
British centralization, growth of, i. 449.
——— colonial policy, ii. 73; destructive character of, iii. 335.
——— colonies. Their history one of a series of losses, iii. 223.
——— corn, effect of the export of, ii. 191.
——— corn-laws. Reasons given for their repeal, i. 440. Failure of the repeal to produce the effects predicted, i. 440.
——— India, unceasing wars of, i. 364.
——— peers, rapid extinction of, iii. 306.
——— policy, selfishness of the, i. 455.
——— ———, retrograde theories required for enabling British teachers to account for the effects of, i. 468.
——— ——— opposed to association and combination, ii. 394.
——— ——— opposed to the true interests of the British people, i. 423, iii. 242.
——— school of economical science. Had its origin in the teachings of Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo, i. 28. How it regards man, i. 29. Identity of its teachings with those of Carolina slave-owners, i. 410. Unchristian and retrograde character of its doctrines, i. 470. How the latter differ from those of Adam Smith, i. 470. Errors of the, ii. 37, 39, iii. 66. Causes of error in the, iii. 31.
——— society, real difficulty of, i. 437. Growing imperfection of, i. 452.
——— sword required for carving the way for British commerce, i. 377.
——— system, the, looks to monopolizing the machinery of conversion for the world, i. 291. Finds its product and exponent in the Malthusian theory, i. 466, iii. 306. As exhibited in Jamaica, i. 297; in Ireland, i. 326; in India, i. 360. Decline in the value of land, in the countries subject to, i. 378. Based exclusively upon the idea of trade, i. 372. Looks to taxing the producers and consumers of the world, by increasing the tax of transportation, i. 429. Increases the proportion of the products of labor absorbed by non-producers, i. 437. Tends towards slavery and barbarism, i. 438. Stoppage of the circulation, a necessary consequence of, i. 439. Destructive character of, has produced resistance, ii. 42. One of gigantic communism, iii. 441.
——— taxes paid by the countries that supply the raw materials of manufactures, iii. 188. Consequent poverty of those countries, iii. 189.
——— war upon the commerce of other nations, i. 421, ii. 110.
——— West Indies, destruction of life in the, i. 306.
——— writers on money, ii. 446.

Brougham, Lord. His declaration of the necessity for destroying the infant manufactures of other countries, ii. 128.
Bunsen, Chevalier, on Germany, ii. 146.
Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest one, the governing principle of the soldier and the trader, i. 209. The motto of England, i. 372.
Byles, J. B., on the effects of free-trade in Ireland, i. 323.

C.

Caird on English agriculture, ii. 75, iii. 93.
California, effects of dispersion, as exhibited in, ii. 240.
Campbell, Lord, on crime in England, iii. 399.
Capital. Declines in its power over labor, as men are more enabled to associate, i. 157. High charge for its use, in purely agricultural countries, i. 158. Charge for the use of, declines as men obtain power over nature, i. 169. Charge for, embraces no compensation for nature's services, i. 174. No deficiency of, in Ireland, i. 324. How it economises labor, ii. 17. Is consumed, but not destroyed, ii. 17. How its growth affects the proportion of labor wasted and economised, ii. 19. Grows, with economy of human power, ii. 102. Waste of, in the United States, ii. 235. Always abundant and cheap when the circulation is rapid—scarce and dear when it is sluggish, ii. 282. Various modes of compensation for the use of, ii. 342. Of what it consists, iii. 48. First step in the accumulation of, always the most difficult, iii. 49. Power of accumulating, in the ratio of the circulation, iii. 49. Definition of, iii. 50. Changes in the proportions of movable and fixed, iii. 51. Tends to become fixed, as the circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 52. Equalizing effects of, iii. 52. How centralization affects its division into fixed and movable, iii. 54. Division of, in various countries, iii. 55. Power of accumulating, not a result of saving, iii. 60. Always a result of economy of labor, iii. 61. M. de Fontenay on the accumulation of, iii. 63. Every waste of labor a waste of, iii. 65. How the policy of Colbert tended to promote the growth of, iii. 66. Error of the teachings of the British school in regard to the accumulation of, iii. 66. How protection affects the growth of, iii. 67. Errors of Adam Smith in regard to, iii. 68. Mr. J. S. Mill on the accumulation of, iii. 71. Accumulates most rapidly where, and when, the *rate* of charge for its use is lowest, iii. 119. Grows, with the growth of competition for the purchase of labor, iii. 234.
Capital and money, relations of, in Great Britain and the United States, ii. 340.
Capitalist, the. How he might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 469.
Capitalist's quantity increases, as his proportion diminishes, i. 176, iii. 112, 133.
——— proportion declines, with diminution in the cost of reproduction, and decline of value, i. 172; with the growth of the power of combination, iii. 119, 133; with increase in the rapidity of circulation, iii. 155.
Carbonic acid, perpetual circulation of, i. 73.
Carlyle, T., on Irish competition for the sale of labor in England, iii. 260, 342.
Carolinas, effects of the cotton culture of the, ii. 88.
Carthage. Wars, monopolies, and fall of, i. 246. Colonial system of, i. 285.
Causes of the decline of nations, i. 259.
——— of the decay of Ireland, i. 337; of India, Turkey, and Portugal, i. 366.
——— of the failures of American banks, ii. 445.
——— of the misery of Ireland, according to British teachers, i. 336.
Central America, course of settlement in, i. 120.
Centralization. Growth of, in Italy, Greece, and India, i. 46; in Spain, i. 48; in France, i. 49, ii. 66; in Britain, i. 51. Impoverishing effects of, i. 237. A necessary consequence of the British policy, i. 290. As exhibited in Jamaica, i. 297. Effects of, in India, i. 344. Growth of, in the United States, i. 372, ii. 215, iii. 224. Increases the quantity of money required for the performance of exchanges, ii. 358. Growth of banking, in the United States, ii. 439. Warlike tendencies of, iii. 214. Grows with decline in the rapidity of circulation, iii. 214. Diminishes the reward of labor, and increases the facility of obtaining soldiers, iii. 215. As exhibited in France, iii. 217. Increases, as land and labor decline in value, iii. 219. Taxation grows with the growth of, iii. 219. Grows in all the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 223. Causes sluggishness of the circulation, iii. 228. How it exhibited itself in Greece and Italy, iii. 228. Absenteeism grows with, iii. 229. McCulloch and Mirabeau on, iii. 231. Weakness of the State, a consequence of, iii. 232. Produces competition for the sale of labor, iii. 237. How it affects the wages of England, iii. 288. Produces compe-

tition for the sale of female labor, iii. 380. The more perfect the steadiness of the societary movement, the less is the tendency to, iii. 415. Opposed to real freedom of trade, and hence the necessity for measures of protection, iii. 453. Over-population a consequence of, iii. 454.
Centralization and decentralization alike necessary, in planets and societies, i. 43. How exhibited, in Europe and America, i. 45–51.
——— and slavery, growth of, in Turkey, i. 320.
———, slavery, and death, travel together, in both the moral and material world, i. 91, 239.
Cerebral power of woman abated by the reproductive system, iii. 303.
Changes in the place of matter, closely connected with the movements of the trader, i. 218. Small amount of knowledge required for effecting, i. 218. Necessity therefor declines, as men are more enabled to come together, i. 219. Demand upon the labor of the solitary settler for effecting, i. 263. Acceleration of the societary motion consequent upon a diminution in that demand, i. 267. Utility of commodities grows with that diminution, i. 269. The great obstacle to human improvements found in the necessity for effecting, i. 365.—(See *Transportation.*)
———, mechanical and chemical, in the form of matter. More concrete and special than changes of place, and require a higher degree of knowledge, i. 219, 381. Changes in the societary proportions consequent upon increase of the power for effecting, i. 384, 473, ii. 22. How human effort is economised by, i. 385. How they affect the economy of nature's gifts, i. 387. How they affect the societary motion, i. 389. Efforts at monopolizing the power to effect such changes, and their effects, i. 392. —(See *Conversion*, and *Manufactures.*)
———, vital, in the form of matter. The earth alone capable of effecting, i. 220. Power applied to producing, grows, as that required for transportation and conversion declines, i. 220. Economy of human force resulting from the growth of power to effect, ii. 17. Increase in the proportion of human effort that may be given to effecting, ii. 23. The larger that proportion, the greater the development of the latent powers of land and man, ii. 29.—(See *Agriculture.*)
——— in the societary proportions, i. 263, 384, 473, ii. 22, 29.
——— ——— ——— of Great Britain, i. 435.
Changes in the United States, frequency and rapidity of, ii. 257.
Charge for the use of money, of the, ii. 335.—(See *Interest.*)
Chastity of hunter tribes, iii. 299.
Chatham, Lord, would not permit colonists to make a hob-nail for themselves, i. 287.
Cheap labor, the condition of the British system, i. 239. How that of Ireland has affected the people of England, i. 422, iii. 260, 342.
——— female labor of Great Britain tends to deteriorate the condition of woman every where, iii. 382.
Cheapening of raw produce tends toward slavery for man, ii. 80.
Cheapness of raw produce in England, in the 14th century, i. 394.
Chemical and mechanical changes in the form of matter, of, i. 381.
Chemistry follows physics, in the order of development, i. 14. Its dependence on astronomy, i. 14. Lays the foundation of Social Science, i. 19. Treats of matter that is incapable of progress, i. 23.
——— and physiology, how related to each other, i. 15.
——— of the population question, iii. 302.
Chevalier, M. His definition of political economy, i. 260. On the condition of the French people, ii. 59. On capital and money, ii. 358, 478. His description of the condition of American women, iii. 384. His approval of the protective policies of Colbert, Cromwell, and others, iii. 429. Holds that French agriculture has ceased to be protected, iii. 431.
Chinese opium war, i. 237.
Circulation, the, how affected by protection, ii. 277. How the increased rapidity of, economises labor, and promotes accumulation, ii. 278. How it is affected by the precious metals, ii. 300, 342. A medium of, the master want of man, ii. 456. How production is affected by, iii. 44. How it affects the power of accumulation, iii. 49. Declines with the growth of centralization, iii. 214. Obstacles to, in France, ii. 348. Increases in rapidity as men become more numerous, and land becomes divided, iii. 75. Sluggishness of, in the early stages of society, iii. 76. Development of individuality stimulates, iii. 77. Rapidity of, increases as capital becomes fixed, iii. 78. Phenomena of, in Greece, Italy, Spain, and France, iii. 82. Becomes more rapid, as property becomes more secure, iii. 84. How Colbert's policy tended towards quickening, iii. 86. How the

British system tends towards retarding, iii. 89. Increased rapidity of, an evidence of growing civilization, iii. 92. Equality promoted by rapidity of, iii. 93. Becomes more rapid in all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert, iii. 94. Sluggishness of, in all the countries that follow in that of Britain, iii. 94. Phenomena of, presented by the United States, iii. 95. How American slavery is affected by sluggishness of, iii. 98. How dispersion affects, iii. 101. Adam Smith's views in regard to, iii. 103. How it affects the distribution of the products of labor, iii. 108.

Circulation of American banks, ii. 423.

——— of the Bank of England, ii. 388.

——— ——— ——— France, ii. 414.

Civil government, the analogue of the nervous co-ordination, iii. 403.

——— ———, office of the, iii. 405.

——— ———, designed both for the assistance and defence of societies, iii. 405.

Civil and municipal corporations of Greece and Rome, iii. 417. Guizot on, iii. 418. Of the middle ages, iii. 418. Of the United States, iii. 419.

Civilization. Requires association for its development, i. 227. Of Rome, i. 248. Early centres of, i. 382. Its essential characteristic, i. 428. Evidences of its decline in the United States, ii. 204. How it affects prices, ii. 302. Increases as consumption follows more rapidly on production, iii. 43. How affected by changes in the proportions of fixed and movable capital, iii. 59. How affected by division of the land, and increase in the rapidity of circulation, iii. 92.

Civilized communities export their commodities in a finished state, iii. 433.

Clay, C. C., on the effects of the cotton culture in Alabama, ii. 198.

Clèment, M. His error as regards the effect of the cheapening of food, iii. 424.

Cobden, Mr., on the condition of the rural population of England, i. 441. On Russia, ii. 167. On the wars of India, i. 377.

Coinage. How it affects the value of the precious metals, ii. 296.

Colbert, advent of, to power, ii. 46. Policy of, promotive of commerce, ii. 46. Say, Blanqui, and Thierry, on, ii. 47. Policy of, adopted in Central and Northern Europe, ii. 111. How that policy affects the growth of capital, iii. 66. How it affects the circulation, iii. 94. His full appreciation of the duties of a statesman, iii. 424. Held wealth to be a means, and not an end, iii. 424.

Colbert and Cromwell, their resistance to the monopolies of Holland, i. 391.

Colonial and trading system of Spain, i. 251.

——— policy of Greece, Carthage, Spain, and France, i. 285. Of England, i. 411.

——— systems of France and England, differences of the, i. 307.

Colonization upon rich soils, failure of attempts at, i. 117.

——— commences upon the poorer soils, iii. 328. Its gradual extension over the richer ones, iii. 330. Richer lands of the world as yet unoccupied, iii. 331. How may they be subdued? iii. 332. Exhaustion of the soil produces a necessity for, iii. 333. Of that of Greece, iii. 334. Destructive effects of the modern system of, iii. 335. Extent and effects of that of the United States, iii. 337. Necessity for, diminishes as the prices of rude products and finished commodities approximate each other, iii. 346.

Combination required for development of the individual faculties, i. 54. Essential to the growth of wealth, i. 187. Grecian tendencies towards, i. 240. How it increases human power, ii. 207. Diminishing power of, in the United States, ii. 233. Effects of, as exhibited in Athens, iii. 26. In Italy, iii. 27. In France, iii. 28. In England, iii. 36.

Commerce. Can have slight existence in the absence of differences among men, i. 198. Obstacles to, in the early periods of society, i. 203. Gradual development of, i. 203. Definition of, i. 210. Sought by all men, i. 210. Regards trade as an instrument to be used by man, i. 210. Tendency of, towards decentralization and freedom, i. 203. Tends to produce continuity of the societary motion, i. 214. Its place, in the order of development, i. 222. Every act of association an act of, i. 222. Natural history of, i. 224. Roots and branches of the tree of, i. 224. Decay of, in Spain, consequent upon the expulsion of the Moors, i. 251. Gradual growth of, i. 265. Grows with decline in the necessity for effecting changes of place, i. 269. Sacrificed at the shrine of trade, i. 289. That it may grow, employments must become diversified, i. 427. Grows with the growth of wealth and power, ii. 32. How affected by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 323. Becomes more free as capital becomes fixed, and taxation becomes more direct, iii. 201. Grows with concentration, and declines with centralization, iii. 212.

Commerce and Society, words that are only different modes of expressing the same idea, i. 198.
——— and Trade, usually regarded as convertible terms, yet wholly different, i. 210. Opposite tendencies of, ii. 210–221, 235–256.
———, as found in the relations of the sexes, iii. 368.
——— of the family. Its character, in the various stages of society, iii. 386.
——— of the State, the, iii. 401. Object of societary organization, the development of, iii. 409. Measures required for promoting, iii. 415. Grows with the growth of the power of association and co-operation, iii. 421. Increases, as land becomes divided, iii. 423. How Colbert's policy tended to promote, iii. 424. Hume and Smith on the exercise of the power of co-ordination, in reference to, iii. 425. Say, Rossi, Mill, Chevalier, and others, on the necessity for measures of protection, as promotive of, iii. 426. Grows with diminution of the tax of transportation, iii. 423. Substitution of mere phrases for ideas, by writers who hold to the doctrine of *laisser faire*, in reference to, iii. 435. Necessity for the application of intelligence to the direction of, iii. 444. Commerce of the world grows with the development of, iii. 445.
——— of the United States, how affected by the wars of the French Revolution, ii. 183.
——— of the world. Grows with development of the individualities of nations, iii. 446. Contributions to, of those communities which follow in the lead of Colbert, iii. 448. Of those which follow in the train of England, iii. 449. Grows with diminution of the tax of transportation, iii. 452.
Commodities, or things, not wealth to those who have not the knowledge how to use them, i. 181.
——— tend towards those places at which they are most utilized, ii. 344, 370.
Communism, in Russia, ii. 163. In France, iii 76. M. Bastiat on, iii. 441. Gigantic, of the British system, iii. 442.
Communistic tendency of the doctrine of *laisser faire*, iii. 441.
Communities that limit themselves to the export of raw produce, must end in the export of men, ii. 25.
——— prosper in the ratio of the utilization of their rude products, ii. 309.
Comparative circulation of the banks of America, France, and England, ii. 423.
——— physiology of procreation, iii. 302.
Comparison, inseparably connected with the idea of value, i. 151.
Competition, a war of hostile forces, iii. 421. M. Bastiat on, iii. 423.
——— for nature's services, promotes increase in the value of land and labor, iii. 254. Grows in the protected countries of Europe, iii. 255.
——— for the purchase of labor. Scarcely exists in the early stages of society, iii. 233. Grows with the increase of wealth and population, and with growing diversity in the demand for human powers, iii. 234. Trader desires to prevent its growth, iii. 235. The more rapid its increase, the greater the tendency towards freedom, iii. 235. Increases, as the prices of rude products and those of finished commodities approach each other, iii. 237. Grows in the despotic countries of Europe, iii. 241. British and American policy tends to prevent its growth, iii. 252.
——— for the purchase of rude products of the earth, iii. 250. Increases in the protected countries of Europe, iii. 251. Freedom grows with, iii. 251.
——— for the sale of labor, ii. 163. Tends towards slavery, iii. 235. Increases, as the range of employments becomes more limited, iii. 235. Grows in England, iii. 244; in the United States, iii. 246.
——— for the sale of female labor in England, and its effects, iii. 380. In the United States, iii. 385.
Composition of forces, law of the, i. 230.
Comte, M. His review of the development of science, i. 15. His erroneous method, in treating Social Science, i. 24. His error in regarding mathematics as both an instrument and a science, i. 25. Does not explain the past, and cannot, therefore, predict the future, i. 28. On the general relation of science and art, iii. 409.
Condition, the, of human progress, i. 280.
——— of the English laboring population, ii. 83, 93, 95, 98, iii. 394.
Conditions upon which, alone, the prosperity of nations can be secured, i. 422.
Concentration, tendencies of, iii. 209. Promotes the growth of commerce and the love of peace, iii. 212. Admired by Adam Smith, iii. 213. Grows with increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation, iii. 214. How it tends to augment the difficulty of making war, iii. 215. Its development in Greece, iii. 216. Increases, as land and labor acquire value, iii. 218. Pressure of taxation declines with the growth of, iii. 219. Tends toward the ultimate freedom of international commerce,

iii. 226. How it exhibits itself in the Prussian States, iii. 226. In France, iii. 227. Augments the powers of all, by producing increase of circulation, iii. 228. Strength of the State, grows with the development of the power of, iii. 232.
Consolidation of the land, in Italy, i. 247. In Great Britain, ii. 95. In Spain, ii. 119. In the United States, ii. 216.
——— of English land, and its effects, ii. 79, 80, 93, 98, 103, iii. 287.
Constant alliance of war and trade, i. 217, 364, 377, ii. 43, 238.
Consumers and producers come together, as employments become diversified, i. 83. Trader desires to prevent their approximation, i. 209. Wealth, freedom, power, and happiness, grow with their near approach to each other, i. 212.
Consumption, the measure of production, iii. 18. Where does it end, and where does production begin? iii. 18. Every act of, an act of production, iii. 19. Only a transformation, nothing being by it destroyed, iii. 367.
——— of iron in the United States, ii. 276. Of cotton, ii. 284.
Contemporaneous maturity of the reproductive function and the intellectual and moral powers, iii. 300.
Continental system. How it affected the growth of manufactures, ii. 107. Its effects, as exhibited in Russia, ii. 148.
Continuity of the societary motion, a test of civilization, i. 201, 213, iii. 38. How it affects the growth of wealth, ii. 18.
Conversion, of, i. 381. Requires a knowledge of the properties of things, whereas transportation looks only to their magnitude or weight, i. 381. Rapid progress in the arts of, i. 383. Economy of nature's gifts resulting from bringing the place of, near to that of production, i. 385. Commerce grows with increased facilities of, i. 388. The trader desires to increase the distance between the producer and the converter, i. 389. Freedom grows, as that distance is decreased, i. 390.
Co-operation, harmony the result of, iii. 421. Remarkable case of, iii. 422. Increases as land becomes divided, iii. 423.
Co-ordinating office of the nervous system, iii. 402.
——— power of the State, the, iii. 401. Required for facilitating combination, iii. 409. Its action in the social body, similar to that of the brain in the physical one, iii. 414. Limitation of its sphere of duty, iii. 415. Duties of, as exhibited by Colbert, iii. 424; by Hume and Smith, iii. 425; by Say, iii. 426; by Blanqui, Rossi, De Jonnès, and Mill, iii. 428; by Chevalier, iii. 429. Necessity for, grows with the growth of wealth and numbers, iii. 444. Disappearance of, in the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 445.
Co-ordination required in the ratio of development, iii. 406.
Coquelin, M., on money, capital, and banks, ii. 342.
Coral islands, formation of, i. 74.
Corn, prices of, in England, at various periods, iii. 315.
——— ———, remarkable reduction of the, in the United States, ii. 271. Contrast thereto, presented by Russia and Germany, ii. 151, 190.
——— banks of Norway, ii. 397.
Corporate and municipal governments, of, iii. 408.
Corporations, civil and municipal, of Greece and Rome, iii. 417. Of the middle ages, iii. 418. Of the United States, iii. 419. Principle upon which they are based, iii. 420.
Corrective, the, of excessive procreation, iii. 302.
Corruption, legislative, in the United States, ii. 240.
Cost of reproduction, the limit of value, i. 149.
Cotton, remarkable reduction in the price of, ii. 196. Production and consumption of, ii. 283.
——— culture. How it exhausts the soil, ii. 88.
——— growing States. Small production of the, ii. 199.
———, comparative consumption of, in protected and unprotected countries, iii. 241.
Corsica, course of settlement in, i. 132.
Country life. Its pleasures, as exhibited by Adam Smith, i. 195.
Course of settlement in the United States, i. 108. In Mexico, i. 118. In the West Indies, i. 120. In South America, i. 121. In England, i. 122. In Scotland, i. 124. In France, i. 126. In Belgium and Holland, i. 128. In Scandinavia, i. 129. In Russia and Germany, i. 130. In Hungary and Italy, i. 131. In Corsica, Sicily, and Greece, i. 132. In Africa and the Islands of the Pacific, i. 133. In India, i. 134.
Craniology, bearing of, upon the problem of population, iii. 301.
Credit. How it affects the productive power, ii. 348. Freedom grows with the growth of, ii. 349. American policy adverse to the existence of, ii. 437.
Crime in India, i. 355. In England, iii. 399. In the United States, iii. 398.

Crime, juvenile. In England, iii. 394. In the United States, iii. 398.
Cromwell and Colbert, resistance of, to the monopolies of Holland, i. 391.
Cultivation commences with the less fertile soils, i. 97. How improvement in, affects the progress of rent, iii. 141.
Curiales, Roman, duties of the, iii. 418.
Currency, what constitutes the? ii. 365. How it is affected by bank expansions and contractions, ii. 369. Furnishes the most potent instrument of taxation, ii. 411. How used by the French and other governments, ii. 411. Small proportion borne by the American, to the amount of exchanges, ii. 423. A sound system of, one of the first of societary needs, ii. 426. How affected by the balance of trade, ii. 435.
Custom grows into law, in favor of the laborer, in all the protected countries of Europe, iii. 258. Reverse of this, in the free trade countries, iii. 259.
Customs revenue of the United States, ii. 222.
Cuvier, M. Held that vegetables were the natural food of man, iii. 316.

D.

Dalhousie, Lord, on the dangers of the Anglo-Indian Government, i. 453.
Dangerous classes of society, of the, ii. 249.
Dangers of Great Britain, as described by Adam Smith, i. 415.
De Beaumont, M., on the social position of American women, iii. 384.
Decentralization. Tends towards freedom, i. 48. How it affects the quantity of the precious metals required for the performance of exchanges, ii. 359.—(See *Concentration.*)
Decline of power accompanied by growing magnificence of titles, i. 141.
——— of value, a consequence of diminished cost of reproduction, i. 152.
——— of Athens, i. 244. Of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Holland, i. 249. Of Spain, i. 252. Of Spanish cities, ii. 118.
——— of all communities that follow in the train of England, i. 373.
Declining power of self-direction, as exhibited by Great Britain, i. 452.
——— individuality of the government and people of the United States, ii. 289.
Decomposition of society, in all the countries that adopt the doctrines of the English school, i. 375.
Definite proportions, law of, as applied to Social Science, i. 199. As exhibited in changes of the societary system, i. 473, ii. 20, 22, 39.
Definition of political economy, by M. Chevalier, i. 260.
Definitions. Of Social Science, i. 63. Of value, i. 158. Of utility, i. 179. Of wealth, i. 186. Of trade, i. 210. Of commerce, i. 210. Of production, iii. 20. Of capital, iii. 50. Summary of, iii. 74. Of protection, iii. 453.
———, absence of, in politico-economical science, i. 37. Effect thereof, i. 262.
De Fontenay, M. On French agriculture, ii. 55. On prices in France, ii. 91, 329. On capital and its effects, iii. 62.
De Jonnès, M. His *Statistique de la France*, ii. 51. On the effects of protection, in France, iii. 428.
De Lavergne, M., on the agriculture of France, ii. 55, 68.
Demand, the cause of supply, iii. 21, 325.
Denmark. Few natural advantages of, ii. 111. Protective policy of, ii. 112. Economy of labor in, ii. 112. Division of land, and growth of freedom in, ii. 113. Agricultural progress of, ii. 114. Education in, ii. 115, iii. 389. Development of individuality in, ii. 115. Steadiness in the demand for labor in, ii. 116. Furnishes no evidence of the over-population theory, ii. 117. Revenue system of, iii. 194. Laing on the division of land in, iii. 279.
Dependence of trade upon war, i. 377.
——— of the English farmer of the 18th century upon foreign markets, and its effects, i. 406.
Depopulation drives men back to the poor soils, i. 139, 388. Effects of, i. 145.
——— and poverty of Turkey, i. 315. Of Ireland, i. 329.
De Quincey, on the Ricardo theory, iii. 137.
Despotism. Of Athens, as compared with that of Venice and Genoa, i. 409. Increases in its severity, as the masters become more numerous, i. 409.
Destruction of human life in the British West India Islands, i. 297, 304.
Destructive tendencies of the British trading system, ii. 41.
——— effect of distance from market, as exhibited in Russia, ii. 174.
——— effects of exclusive agriculture, as exhibited in the United States, ii. 212. In Brazil, ii. 229.
De Tocqueville, on the freedom of the United States, ii. 178. His *France before the Revolution*, ii. 313. His view of the French taxation of the last century, iii. 227.
Development begins in the stomach of plants, i. 67. Continued in that of animals, i. 71.
——— of human powers, effect of, iii. 19.

Development, early, of logic and mathematics, i. 12. Science later in, i. 13. Social Science latest in, i. 19.
——— of war and trade, i. 216. Transportation and manufactures later in, i. 218, 219. Agriculture follows manufactures in the order of, i. 221. Commerce latest in its full, i. 222.
Difference indispensable to the existence of association, whether in the physical or moral world, i. 53.
Differences. Power of combination increases with the growth of, i. 53. The greater their number, the larger is the productive power, iii. 43. Essential to the perfection of the societary organization, iii. 458. Anarchy and insubordination consequences of the absence of, iii. 460.
Difficulty of combination among the cultivators of the soil, ii. 27.
Direct taxation. Tends to supersede that which is indirect, in the ratio of the approximation of the prices of rude and finished products, iii. 192. Progress of, in Central and Northern Europe, iii. 193. Tendency thereto, grows with increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation, iii. 195. Cannot be resorted to, in purely agricultural countries, iii. 199. Power of, an evidence of advance in civilization, iii. 201.
Disappearance of Irish manufactures, under the Act of Union, i. 322.
——— of the middle classes of Spain, ii. 119.
——— of the small proprietors of England, ii. 79, iii. 287.
——— of the local institutions of India, i. 343.
Disease, the constant companion of early settlements, i. 99.
———, a broken balance of organic actions, iii. 298.
Dismal Science, the, i. 31.
Dispersion of men, a necessary consequence of the operation of the British system, i. 289. Effects of the, ii. 26. How it affects the productive power, iii. 39. How the circulation is affected by it, iii. 101. Remarkable tendency to, in the United States, ii. 180, 209, iii. 337.
Dissolution of society, in Ireland and India, i. 439.
Distinction between animal and vegetable life, i. 69.
Distribution. Of the law of, i. 169. How exhibited in France, ii. 57. Changes of, consequent upon the growth of wealth and population, iii. 110. Tendency to equality, a consequence of the law of, iii. 113. Harmony and universality of the law of, iii. 114. Changes of, in passing from purely agricultural communities, towards those in which manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, are combined, iii. 116. Phenomena of, as exhibited in the United States, iii. 118. Harmony of the law of, as exhibited by Mr. E. Peshine Smith, iii. 121. How it differs from the theory of the British economists, iii. 122. Hume and Smith on the law of, iii. 125, 127. Law of, as exhibited in the changes of power to demand rent for the use of land, iii. 131. Messrs. Bastiat and Ferrara on the law of, iii. 167, 168.
Distribution, between the people and the State, iii. 171.—(See *Taxation, direct and indirect.*)
Diversification of employments. Indispensable to the development of individuality, i. 53. Effects of, as exhibited by Adam Smith, i. 293. Required for the development of commerce, i. 427. Necessary to the growth of a real agriculture, ii. 27. How it is produced, ii. 273. Has no existence in the countries subjected to the British system, i. 367.
Diversity in the structure of nerves, corresponds to variety of functions, iii. 403.
Division of the land and its effects, in Denmark, ii. 114. In Spain, ii. 120. In Germany, ii. 141. In Russia, ii. 164. In Sweden, ii. 170. In France, ii. 50, iii. 278. How it affects the societary circulation, iii. 75. How it affects the growth of population, iii. 277.
Divisions of the organic and relative functions of the life of man, iii. 402.
Doubleday, T., on population, iii. 308.
Droz, M. His definition of wealth, i. 193.
Drunkenness in England, i. 425.
Dunoyer, M., on the various definitions of wealth, i. 193.
Dupin, M., on the cost of the wars of the French Revolution, i. 255.
Duration of life. Facts in regard to the, iii. 270, 281.
——— of English life, iii. 290.
——— of American life, iii. 295.
Dutch monopolies, of the, i. 391.

E.

Earliest abstract conception of nature's laws, i. 9.
Early ages of society, rude character of the implements of, i. 95.
——— settler, movements of the, i. 96. Commences always with the poorer soils, i. 97.
——— settlements, insecurity of person and property in, i. 139.
——— civilization of Norway, i. 50.

Early colonist, poverty of the, i. 263.
——— centres of civilization, i. 382.
Earth, the. Gives nothing, but is willing to lend everything, i. 83, ii. 25. Conditions upon which her loans are made, i. 83. Of the occupation of the, i. 94. Alone capable of producing vital changes in the forms of matter, i. 220. Constitutes the great labor-savings' bank, i. 221. The only machine capable of being improved by use, i. 221. That it may be improved, the consumer and the producer must come together, i. 83.
Economy of force, a consequence of instant demand for labor-power, iii. 25.
——— of human power in the ratio of the societary circulation, i. 379. How it affects the growth of capital, ii. 102.
——— of human effort resulting from improvement in the machinery of conversion, i. 385.
——— of labor consequent upon the growth of capital, ii. 17. How the use of the precious metals tends to produce, ii. 298. Exists in the ratio of the approximation of the consumer to the producer, ii. 278. Diversity of employments, the condition of, iii. 39. Capital grows with increased rapidity, with every stage of progress towards, iii. 61. How the policy of Colbert tended to promote, iii. 66. Errors of the British school in regard to, iii. 66. How affected by measures of protection, iii. 67.
——— of the earth's products, resulting from growth in the power of combination, i. 271, ii. 29.
Eden treaty, the, and its effects, ii. 49.
Edict of Nantes, the, revocation of, and its effects, ii. 47.
Education, of, in Denmark, ii. 115, iii. 389. In Spain, ii. 122. In Germany, ii. 144, iii. 389. In Sweden, ii. 172, iii. 389. In France, iii. 388. In Belgium, iii. 389. In India, iii. 391. In England, iii. 391, 395. In the United States, iii. 397.
Edward III., protective policy of, i. 392. That policy approved of, by Mr. McCulloch, iii. 396.
Effect of changes of the societary proportions, i. 259, 473, ii. 22. Of the absence of small farms in England, i. 447, ii. 93, iii. 288. Of sudden emancipation in Jamaica, i. 305.
Egypt, course of settlement in, i. 133.
Emigration from Great Britain, i. 440, iii. 335. Of the United States, iii. 337.
Employments, diversity of, indispensable to the development of agriculture, ii. 27. How they become diversified, ii. 273.—(See *Diversification of Employments.*)
Endless circulation of matter, the, i. 66.
Enforced moral restraint urged, as needed for protection against evils resulting from divine laws, iii. 360.
England, decline of individuality in, i. 56. Course of settlement in, i. 123. Colonial system of, i. 285. Prohibition of association among her colonists, i. 286. Rude character of her commerce, under the Plantagenets, i. 394. Phenomena then exhibited in, precisely similar to those of purely agricultural countries of the present day, i. 395. Irregularity in the prices of raw products in, i. 396. Resistance to Flemish monopolies by, i. 396. Statute of 1347, and its effects in, i. 397. Institution of poor-laws in, i. 398. Navigation laws of, i. 398. Yarranton on the state of, at the close of the 17th century, i. 399. His suggestions, as to the course of policy required by, i. 400. Dependence of the farmers of, upon the continental markets, and its effects, i. 404. Growth of manufactures in, i. 406. Farmers of, relieved from the tax of transportation, i. 407. Monopolistic measures of, i. 408. Their injurious and unchristian character, i. 408. Colonial policy of, i. 411. System of, looks to establishing the supremacy of trade and transportation over agriculture, i. 412. Origin of the doctrine of over-population, i. 413. System of, adverse to the interests of her own people, i. 422. Trivial advantage derived by, from the destruction of Indian commerce and manufactures, i. 424. Intemperance in, i. 425. Slow increase in the value of the land of, ii. 75. Exports of, ii. 81. Large import of food into, ii. 82. Small consumption of food by the laborers of, ii. 83. Import of raw materials into, ii. 84. Number of persons employed in the manufacture of, ii. 84. Rude character of the exports of, ii. 85. Consolidation of the land of, ii. 92. Agricultural wages of, ii. 93. Levelling of cottages in, ii. 92. Condition of the agricultural population of, ii. 94. Absenteeism of, ii. 96. Most useful facts in support of the over-population theory to be found in, ii. 105. Causes of the poverty of, ii. 208. Bank of, ii. 372. Joint-stock banks of, ii. 395. Private banks of, ii. 395. Heavy losses by failures in, ii. 409. Of production in, iii. 31. Growth of fixed and movable capital in, iii. 57. Division and consolidation of land in, iii. 79. Public debt of, iii. 90. Growth of centralization in, iii. 229. Brace, on the condition of the people of, iii. 242. Kay, on the social condi-

tion of, i. 425, 442, 447, ii. 94, iii. 157, 280, 289. Movement of population in, iii. 269. Infanticide in, iii. 289. Duration of life in, iii. 290. Marriages and births of, iii. 291. Prices of corn at various periods in, iii. 315. Condition of woman in, iii. 374. Rapid growth of female crime in, iii. 382. Education in, iii. 391, 395. Condition of laboring population of, iii. 394. Crime in, iii. 399. Pauperism a necessary consequence of the system of, iii. 348. Poor rates of, iii. 438. Insubordination in, iii. 462.
English centralization. How it affects the distribution, ii. 309.
——— children, mere instruments to be used by trade, iii. 396.
——— Economists. Their preference of trade to agriculture, ii. 37.
——— joint-stock banks, defects in the organization of, ii. 395. Excessive over-trading of, ii. 401.
——— land-holders, decline in the number of, i. 445, ii. 79.
——— private banks, numerous failures of, ii. 395.
——— social system. Cheap labor the condition of its existence, i. 239.
——— tenants, ruin of, ii. 78.
——— and American crusade against circulating notes, ii. 334.
Enlightened self-interest would lead us to desire the improvement of our neighbors, whether individuals or nations, i. 371.
Enormous loss to the farmer, resulting from distance of the market, i. 278.
Epitome of the aggregate man found in the individual man, iii. 404.
Equality, how increase in the supply of the precious metals tends to produce, ii. 345. Grows, as the circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 93. Tendency of the law of distribution to produce, iii. 121, 159, 167.
Equalization of soils, effect of growing human power in producing, iii. 333.
Equitable Pioneers' Society, remarkable case of co-operation presented by the, iii. 422.
Equities, last developed of the, that between man and the earth, iii. 468.
Erroneous policy of the United States, ii. 181, 185.
Errors of economists, in regard to money, ii. 339, 446–480.
——— of Messrs. Malthus and Ricardo, ii. 36. Causes of those errors, iii. 31.
Everett, E., on the violation of the rights of neutrals, ii. 183.
Every development of force involves a consumption of matter, i. 65.
——— act of association an act of commerce, i. 198.
Exchange, machinery of. Loss resulting from the necessity for its use, i. 187.
Exchanges, limited number of, in the early periods of society, ii. 295.
——— of service, the precious metals the instruments provided by nature for effecting, ii. 293.
Exhaustion of the soil, a consequence of dependence upon distant markets, i. 83. Effects of the, i. 281, ii. 212.
——— of the soil of Ireland, i. 326. Of India, i. 353. Of the United States, ii. 215. Of the older States of the Union, iii. 338.
Exhaustive policy of Great Britain, i. 380, 434, ii. 87.
Exodus of the Irish people, i. 328.
Export of food from Ireland, i. 337; from the United States, ii. 281; from Russia, ii. 152.
Exports of Turkey, i. 318; of Russia, ii. 149; of Sweden, ii. 169; of France, iii. 448; of Belgium, iii. 449; of the United States, iii. 451.
Expulsion of the Spanish Moors, i. 251.
——— of the British and Irish people, iii. 345.
——— of the people of the older American States, ii. 180, iii. 338.
Extinction of British peers, iii. 306. Of Roman patricians, iii. 307. Of the *Bourgeoisie*, iii. 307.

F.

Facts of history every where opposed to the Ricardo theory, i. 142.
Failures of American banks, causes of the, ii. 429.
——— of English banks, ii. 395.
Fall of Sparta and Carthage, i. 246.
Falsification of money in Greece and Italy, ii. 360. In France, ii. 361. In Scotland and England, ii. 362.
Famines, frequency of, in countries of declining population, i. 86. Constant occurrence of, in the early stages of society, i. 208, iii. 314. Of Spain, i. 250. Of Ireland, i. 328. Of Madeira, i. 310. Of Scotland, iii. 37. Of early England, iii. 138.
Farmer, taxation of, by the British system, i. 432, ii. 87.
———, the, near to market, always making a machine: the one distant from it, always destroying one, i. 272.
———, the American, not protected by his government, ii. 188.
Fecundity, in the inverse ratio of development, iii. 263. Graduated inversely as the rank of the animal, iii. 302.
——— and mortality, their relations to each other, iii. 304.
——— of slaves and drudges, iii. 299.

Fecundity, immense, of the lower animals, iii. 302.
Federative system of government, in the human system, corresponds to the political system of the United States, iii. 408.
Female crime in England, growth of, iii. 382.
Ferrara, Prof., on the law of distribution, iii. 149, 168.
Financial crises, seat and causes of, ii. 415, iii. 222.
First and heaviest tax on land and labor, i. 271, ii. 30, 63.
——— step towards obtaining power over nature, always the most costly and the least productive, i. 184, 375, 383.
Fitzhugh, on the effects of free trade on the Southern United States, i. 373.
Fixed capital. Changes in the proportion borne by it to that which is movable, iii. 51. Increase in the proportions of, an evidence of advancing civilization, iii. 59. Growth of, accompanied by increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation, iii. 93. Errors of British economists in regard to, iii. 166.
Flemish monopolies, and their effects, i. 392.
Food, effects of increased regularity in the supply of, ii. 21. Increased production of, in France, ii. 54. Small export of, from Russia, ii. 152; from the United States, ii. 193. How a necessity for the export of, affects prices, ii. 194. How the American laborer would be affected by increase in the prices of, ii. 194. Decline in American prices of, ii. 232. Irregularity in the supplies of, which attends the early periods of society, iii. 313. Regularity grows with the growth of wealth and numbers, iii. 314. Diminution in the demand for, accompanies increase in the supply of, iii. 316. Substitution of vegetable, for that of animals, iii. 316. Economy of, resulting from increase in the power of combination, iii. 318. Supply of, increases as the consumer and the producer come nearer together, iii. 320. Becomes more abundant in all the countries that adopt the policy of Colbert, iii. 321. How American and English policy affects the supplies of, iii. 321, 323. American production of, iii. 322, 432. Adulteration of, consequent upon the separation of consumers and producers, iii. 324. Increases in abundance as the prices of rude products and finished commodities more and more approximate, iii. 325.
——— and population, law of the relative increase of, i. 88, iii. 325.
Forbes, Rev. Dr., on the condition of Scottish laborers, ii. 96.
Force, a result of the consumption of matter, i. 65.
Foreign commerce of Spain, ii. 123. Of Germany, ii. 136. Of Sweden, ii. 169.
Formation of coral islands, i. 74.
——— of society, of the, i. 198.
——— of soils, i. 72, 75.
Fortescue, on the condition of the French people, in the 15th century, iii. 139.
France. Great increase in the agricultural products of, i. 87. Course of settlement in, i. 126. Abandonment of the richer soils, during the civil wars of, i. 143. Efforts of, to destroy the power of association among her neighbors, i. 252. Has abounded in machinery of war and trade, while destroying commerce, i. 253. Vauban and Boisguilbert on the condition of, under Louis XIV., i. 254. Poverty of the people of that period, and consequent weakness of the government, i. 255. Cost to, of the wars of the revolution, i. 255. Splendor of, always followed by exhaustion, i. 256. Farmers-General of, i. 256. Colonial system of, i. 285. Close alliance of war and trade exhibited in, ii. 43. Waste of force in, ii. 43. Commerce sacrificed to trade in, ii. 44. Parasitic races abounding in, ii. 45. Magnificence and poverty of, at the date of the advent of Colbert, ii. 46. His policy favored growth of the commerce of, ii. 46. Repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and its effects, ii. 47. State of commerce under Louis XV., ii. 48. Turgot called to the administration of, ii. 48. Eden treaty, and its effects on, ii. 49. Revolution followed by diminution in the restraints upon internal commerce, ii. 50. Agricultural progress of, ii. 51. Burthens of the agriculturists of, prior to the revolution, ii. 52. Increased production of food in, ii. 54. De Fontenay and De Lavergne on agriculture in, ii. 55, 68. Approximation of the prices of raw materials and finished products in, ii. 56. Changes in the distribution of labor's products in, ii. 57. Wages of labor in, ii. 57. Prices of wheat in, ii. 58. Blanqui and Chevalier on the condition of the people of, ii. 59. Extraordinary contrasts of, ii. 61. Errors of economists of, ii. 71. Growing equality of the lands of, ii. 64. Rapid growth of manufactures in, ii. 64. Extraordinary centralization of, ii. 66. Heavy taxation of, ii. 67. Undeveloped powers of the soil of, ii. 68. Greeley, H., on, ii. 68. Commercial policy of, in full accordance with the ideas of Adam

Smith, ii. 70, 104. Increase in the value of the land of, ii. 75. As a rule, feeds herself, ii. 80. Exports of, ii. 80, 311. Manufactures subsidiary to agriculture in, ii. 81. Small export of raw produce by, ii. 81. Finished character of the exports of, ii. 85, 99. Increase of laborer's proportion in, ii. 91. Growing independence of, ii. 98. How employments become diversified in, ii. 272. Tendency of the precious metals towards, ii. 311. Rapid advance of, prior to the Eden treaty, ii. 313. Difficulty of, not to produce, but to sell, ii. 348. Of banking in, ii. 410. Falsification of the coin in, ii. 410. Assignats of, ii. 411. Creation of the Bank of, ii. 412. Monetary centralization of, ii. 412. Local banks of, ii. 416. Of production in, iii. 28. Rapid growth of fixed capital in, iii. 56. Division of the land of, iii. 83. Stoppages of the circulation in, iii. 84. Mississippi scheme, and its effects in, iii. 85. Removal of obstacles to the circulation of, iii. 87. Its effect, as exhibited in the development of agriculture, iii. 88. Fortescue on the condition of, in the 15th century, iii. 139. Passy, M., on the agriculture of, iii. 140. Indirect taxes of the early periods of, iii. 175. Taxation of the *pays d'états*, and *pays d'élection*, of, iii. 227. Of concentration as exhibited in, iii. 227. Phenomena of population in, iii. 278. Augmented supplies of food to the people of, iii. 321. Condition of woman in, iii. 372. Of education in, iii. 388. Early corporations of, iii. 419. How protection benefits the farmers of, iii. 431. Contributions of, to the commerce of the world, iii. 448.

France and England, contests of, for the leadership of the world, ii. 73.

Freedom, growth of, in Athens, i. 241. Grows with the development of the power of association, i. 283. Growth of, in France, ii. 50; in Germany, ii. 145; in Russia, ii. 159. How concentration affects the growth of, iii. 225. How competition for the purchase of labor promotes the growth of, iii. 235.

———, real, of trade. Who has it, the French or the American farmer? iii. 434. The establishment of, the object of protection, iii. 453.

Freemen. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.

Free trade, as exhibited in Ireland, i. 324; in India, i. 361; in the Southern States of the American Union, i. 373; in Russia, ii. 148; in the United States, ii. 225. How it affects the supply of the precious metals to the United States, ii. 320. How it affects the currency, ii. 437. How it affects the societary movement of the United States, ii. 438.

Free-trade inconsistencies, iii. 442.

——— advocates. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.

French colonies, causes of the failures of, i. 117.

——— and British colonial systems compared, i. 307.

——— Revolution. Cost of the wars of the, i. 255. Initial measures of the, ii. 49.

——— and English agriculture compared, ii. 76.

——— and British systems, essential differences of the, ii. 72, 91, 102.

Friction. Production increases with diminution of, iii. 24.

Functions of the body. Scale of their subordination to the cerebral powers, iii. 403.

——— ———, voluntary, involuntary, and mixed, iii. 404.

G.

Garnier, Marquis. His approval of indirect taxation, iii. 202.

Gee, on Trade. Extract from, i. 290.

Genoa. Her history one of unceasing wars for trade, i. 249.

Germany. The home of European decentralization, i. 48. Federal system of, i. 49. Growing feeling of responsibility in, i. 59. Course of settlement in, i. 130. Rise and progress of manufactures in, ii. 125. Causes which led to the institution of the *Zoll-Verein*, ii. 127. Its gradual formation, ii. 129. Consequent approximation in the prices of rude products and finished commodities, ii. 131. Mines and furnaces of, ii. 133. Internal communications of, ii. 134. Agricultural progress of, ii. 135, 140. Foreign commerce of, ii. 136. Combination of the labors of the field and the workshop in, ii. 138. Science every where appreciated in, ii. 141. Division of land in, ii. 141. No complaints of pauperism in, ii. 143. Education in, ii. 144, iii. 389. Respect for rights of property in, ii. 145. Chevalier Bunsen on, ii. 146. Peasant proprietors and Revenue system of, iii. 194. Phenomena of population in, iii. 279. Contributions of, to the commerce of the world, iii. 449.

Gibraltar, a great smuggling depot, i. 237.

Gisborne, T., on English agriculture, extract from, ii. 35.

Glorification of Trade, by Great Britain, i. 457.

Glory, measure of, i. 209.
Gœthe, on the methods of science, i. 31. On difference, as the condition of development, i. 53. On the efficacy of mere words, iii. 445.
Gold, causes of its exclusion from circulation in Holland, ii. 347.
Government amid spontaneities, iii. 408.
———, corporate and municipal, iii. 408.
———, designed both for assistance and defence of societies, iii. 405.
——— finds its office in providing for the wants of its subjects, iii. 405. Regulative intervention of the brain in both the physical and social, iii. 403. Of civil, iii. 405.
Governments become oppressive in the ratio of their failure to exercise the power of co-ordination, iii. 440.
Gradual substitution of the vegetable and mineral kingdom for the animal one, iii. 317. How the supply of the wants of man is affected by it, iii. 318.
Graham, Sir James, regards man as a mere instrument to be used by trade, i. 474.
Gratuity of nature's services, i. 173.
Gravitation. Resistance thereto, in the direct ratio of organization, i. 89.
———, molecular. Subjection of man to the great law of, i. 42.
Great Britain. Prohibitions of the export of artisans and machinery from, i. 287. System of, based upon the idea of maintaining and increasing the tax of transportation, i. 288. Sacrifices commerce at the shrine of trade, i. 289. Condition of, as exhibited by Adam Smith, i. 415. Unceasing wars of, i. 419. Policy of, directly opposed to the teachings of Adam Smith, i. 421. Efforts of, to destroy the competition of other nations, i. 420. Large capitals the great instruments of warfare of, i. 421. Changes in the societary proportions of, i. 435. Emigration from, i. 440. Diminution of the rural population of, i. 441. Diminished power of employing small capitals in, i. 444. Growing centralization of, i. 444. Increasing proportion of labor's products absorbed by the traders of, i. 445. Gulf dividing the higher and lower classes of society, a constantly widening one, i. 446. Demoralization of the people, and strife for life in, i. 447. Decline of local centres, and growing centralization of, i. 449. Failure of the Reform Act in, i. 451. Montalembert on the dangers to society in, i. 451. Growing societary imperfection, and international immorality, in, i. 452. Declining power of self-direction in, i. 453. Dalhousie, on the dangers of Indian Government by, i. 453. Momentary expediency, the sole rule of action of, i. 454. Selfish policy of, i. 455. Rev. Sidney Smith on the taxation of, i. 456. Thornton on the condition of the people of, i. 456. Glorification of trade by, i. 457. Parnell on the cost of the colonies of, i. 457. Slight development of the artistic faculty in, ii. 85. Account of, with the world at large, ii. 86. Movement of, as compared with that of France, ii. 86. How agricultural nations are taxed for the maintenance of the fleets and armies of, ii. 87. Consolidation of the land of, ii. 95. Growing dependence of, ii. 97. Rude character of the exports of, ii. 100. Trading policy of, ii. 105. Export of corn by, and its effects, ii. 191. Power of, to command the services of the great forces of nature, ii. 207. Tendency of the precious metals towards, ii. 310. Becomes more and more a mere trader, ii. 311. Relations of money and other capital in, ii. 340. Diminishing power of, ii. 352. Small amount of capital employed in banking, in, ii. 406. Woman's condition in, iii. 382.—(See *England.*)
Great cities grow with the growth of centralization, i. 257.
——— obstacle to human development, i. 365.
——— men generally unprolific, iii. 306.
Greatest effects always the result of the most minute causes, whether in the physical or social world, ii. 354, iii. 309.
Greece. Tendency towards local association in, i. 45. Decline of individuality in, i. 55. Course of settlement in, i. 132. Colonial system of, i. 285. Division of the land of, and its effects, iii. 82. Development of concentration in, iii. 216.
Grecian colonization, iii. 334.
——— history, early periods of, i. 240.
Greeley, H., on France, ii. 68. On the manufactures of Russia, ii. 155.
Growing power of association, a cause of rejoicing to all, except the trader, i. 212.
——— equality of the various soils of France, ii. 64.
——— independence of France, ii. 104; of Russia, ii. 166.
Guillard, M. His *Statisque Humaine*, iii. 281.
Guizot, M., on Roman civilization, i. 248; on civil and municipal corporations, iii. 417.
Guyot, M. His *Earth and Man*, extracts from, i. 53, iii. 331, 333.

H.

Hamilton, Alexander. Treasury Report of, ii. 182.
Harmony, in both the physical and social world, maintained by means of balancing attractions, i. 57, ii. 268, iii. 464.
——— of all the real and permanent interests of man, i. 429, iii. 153.
——— of international interests, iii. 234, 252, 454.
Harmonies and compensations of population and subsistence, iii. 304.
Haxthausen, Baron, on the Russian Empire, ii. 153.
Higher animals, limited fecundity of the, iii. 302.
History of Science, i. 23.
——— of Venice exhibits a constant succession of wars for trade, i. 248.
——— of the United States, in the last ten years, ii. 257.
Holiness of home more fully appreciated, as men grow in power to command nature's services, iii. 387.
Holland. Course of settlement in, i. 129. Wars, trading monopolies, and decline of, i. 249. Revenue system of, iii. 180.
Horrors of the opium trade, iii. 336.
Hostility of classes in Great Britain, i. 446.
Household Words, on India, iii. 282.
How wars are gotten up in India, i. 237, 377.
—— war and trade feed each other, i. 237.
—— population makes the food come from the richer soils, i. 266.
—— the farmer profits by diversification in the demands for labor, i. 292, ii. 25, 28.
—— employments become diversified, ii. 272.
—— approximation in the prices of rude products and finished commodities affects the value of man, iii. 42, 59, 116, 118, 214, 236.
—— the growing power of association affects the relations of the sexes, iii. 368; of the family, iii. 387.
—— exercise of the power of co-ordination facilitates association and combination, iii. 409.
—— trade, politics, and science, affect procreation, iii. 308.
Human power, economy of, resulting from increase in the rapidity of the societary circulation, i. 379.
——— energies developed in the ratio of the growth of differences among men, iii. 108.
——— race. Solidarity of the, iii. 401.
Humble petition of the natives of India, i. 347.
Hume, David, on money and price, ii. 322, 326. Errors of, in regard to money, ii. 446. On the necessity for protecting manufactures, ii. 452, iii. 425, On interest, iii. 125.
———, Joseph, on the necessity for destroying the manufactures of other nations, ii. 128.
Hungary. Course of settlement in, i. 131.
Hunter state, little power of association, and slow increase of numbers, in the, i. 94.
——— tribes, chastity and infertility of the, iii. 299.
Huskisson, Mr., held, that "to enable capital to obtain a fair remuneration, labor must be kept down," i. 426.

I.

Identity of the teachings of the British school, and those of Carolina slave-owners, i. 410.
——— of the desires of the soldier and the trader, i. 261.
——— of the physical and social laws, i. 42, 199, ii. 269, 353, iii. 105, 244, 328, 329, 447, 456, 464, 466.
Immigration, growth and decline of, in the United States, iii. 247.
Implements, rude character of, in the early stages of society, i. 95.
Imports and revenue of Russia, ii. 160.
Inconsistencies of Hume and Smith, in regard to money, iii. 127.
——— of modern economists, iii. 124, 442.
Increase in the numbers of mankind, of, i. 64.
——— of numbers always in the inverse ratio of development, i. 92, iii. 263.
India. Course of settlement in, i. 134. How wars are gotten up in, i. 237. Early tendency towards association in, and local centres of, i. 338. Manufactures and commerce of, i. 339. Growth of centralization in, and taxes of, under the British rule, i. 340. Burke and Rickards on the conduct of the English in, i. 340. Sacrifice of the small proprietors, and subsequent ruin of the Zemindars of, i. 341. Macaulay, on the tyranny of the Company in, i. 341. Oppressive character of the revenue system of, i. 342. Slavery of, i. 343. Salt tax of, i. 344. Centralization and absenteeism of, i. 344. Humble petition of the natives of, i. 347. Trivial production and consumption of, i. 349. Disappearance of manufacturing cities, and annihilation of the commerce of, i. 349, 350. Waste of labor in, i. 351. Tax of transportation in, i. 352. Exhaustion of the soil of, i. 353, 376.

Abandonment of the richer lands of, i. 354. Wages and crime of, i. 355. Opium trade of, i. 357. Trivial value of land in, i. 358. Destructive character of the British system, as exhibited in, i. 360. Its tendencies, as exhibited by Mr. McCulloch, i. 362. Perpetual wars of, i. 377. Enormous taxation of, i. 426. Small consumption of British manufactures in, ii. 87. Rent of land, and Anstey on the taxation of, iii. 157. Education in, iii. 281, 391. Extreme poverty of the ryots of, iii. 282. Michelet, on English policy and its effects in, iii. 462. Causes of the rebellion in, iii. 462.

Indirect taxes. Causes of the necessity for, in the early stages of society, iii. 174. Tend to disappear, as property becomes fixed, iii. 175. Tend to increase, as trade acquires power, and land declines in value, iii. 180. Rapid growth of, in Great Britain, iii. 185. Must be maintained in all purely agricultural countries, iii. 198. Approval of, by economists of the Ricardo-Malthusian school, iii. 202. Governmental waste consequent upon the existence of, iii. 204. Protection, a measure of preparation for the substitution of direct taxation, iii. 207. Inconsistencies of the advocates of the doctrine of *laisser faire*, in reference to, iii. 442.

Individuality, one of the distinctive qualities of man, i. 52. Conditions of its development, i. 52. Essential to the existence of responsibility, i. 58. Growth of, in Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Ireland, i. 55. Decline of, in France, in the middle ages, i. 56. How it exhibits itself in the United States, i. 57. Grows with the growth of the power of combination, i. 57. Absence of, in the hunter and shepherd states, i. 95. Development of, in Denmark, ii. 115; in Germany, ii. 141; in Sweden, ii. 171. Decline of, in the United States, ii. 245. Becomes more developed as capital becomes fixed, iii. 92. Indispensable to increase of heat, motion, and force, iii. 107. Grows with the growth of interdependence, iii. 456.

Indivisibility of science, i. 33.

Industrial history of the United States, ii. 235.

Inequality of conditions, in the early stages of society, i. 207. Augments, with decline in the power to command the services of the precious metals, ii. 346. Growth of, in Great Britain, i. 442, ii. 98, iii. 288.

Infant, nutritive functions of the, independent of the brain, iii. 405.

Infant societies. Their independence of civil governments, iii. 405.

Infanticide in England, iii. 289.

Insecurity of person and property in the early ages of society, i. 139, 234; in Spain, i. 250.

Instability in the societary movement of the United States, ii. 227.

Instincts and sentiments, antagonism of, iii. 298.

———. Their independence of, and subjection to, the rational powers, iii. 403.

Instrument of association, known as money, of the, ii. 293.

Insubordination, a consequence of the absence of societary differences, iii. 460. Grows with growing competition for the *sale* of labor, iii. 461. Its growth in all the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 461.

Interchanges between the earth and atmosphere, necessity for, and conditions of, i. 85.

Interdependence grows with the growth of independence, iii. 456. Individuality developed with the growth of, iii. 456. Trading centralization looks to the annihilation of, iii. 464.

Interest. Always high in purely agricultural countries, i. 158, iii. 116. Causes of high rate of, in the United States, ii. 236, 324. How affected by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 309. Causes of decline in the rate of, ii. 335. Declines, as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, ii. 336. Prosperity inconsistent with an advancing rate of, ii. 337. Always high, when money is scarce, ii. 337. How affected by hoarding, ii. 345. Strength of communities increases, as the rate of, declines, ii. 349. Declines, as the prices of raw products and finished commodities approach each other, ii. 350. Tendency of, to rise, in countries that export raw materials, ii. 350. Of profits, wages, and, iii. 109. Rate of, diminishes, as men are more enabled to combine together, iii. 117. Hume and Mr. J. S. Mill, on the causes which determine the rate of, iii. 125, 128. Turgot on, iii. 130.

Internal commerce of Germany, ii. 134.

International immorality of Great Britain, i. 452; of the United States, ii. 238.

Involuntary emigration from the British Islands, i. 441, iii. 345.

Ionian Islands. Causes of the distress of the people of the, i. 369.

Ireland. Prohibition of association in, i. 286. Manufactures of, at the date of the Revolution of 1688, i. 320. Restraints upon the manufactures and commerce of, i. 321. Limitation of the

people of, to the production of raw materials, i. 321. Independent legislation, and protection, of 1783, i. 321. Centralization re-established by the Act of Union, i. 322. Consequent disappearance of manufactures, i. 322. Necessity for obtaining land, at any rent, i. 323. Waste of labor in, and wretchedness of the people of, i. 324. No deficiency of capital in, i. 324. Middlemen of, i. 325. Exhaustion of the soil of, i. 326. Waste land of, i. 327. Nothing but employment needed in, i. 327. Famines and poor-laws of, i. 328. Depopulation of, i. 329. Ruin of landholders of, i. 330. Natural advantages of, i. 331. Small value of the land of, consequent upon the heavy tax of transportation, i. 332. Absenteeism of, i. 334. Real cause of the decay of, i. 337. How over-population is produced in, i. 337. Diminished power of, to pay for British manufactures, i. 434. Diminished production of, ii. 76. Wages of, iii. 29. Waste of capital in, iii. 29. Value of land in, iii. 156. No competition for the purchase of labor in, iii. 240. Gradual disappearance of the real MAN from, iii. 283. McCulloch on the population question in, iii. 285. *London Times* on the exodus of, iii. 335. Of education in, iii. 391.

Islands of the Pacific. Course of settlement in the, i. 133.

Isolation, the real man cannot exist in a state of, i. 42.

Italy. Course of settlement in, i. 131. Abandonment of the richer soils of, i. 143. Consolidation of the land of, i. 247. Of production in, iii. 27. Division of the land of, and its effects, iii. 82. Of centralization in, iii. 229. Societary organization of early, iii. 459.

——— of the middle ages, decline of individuality in, i. 55.

J.

Jacquerie, insurrection of the, and its causes, iii. 460.

Jamaica. Prohibition of diversification of employments in, i. 295. Slave trade of, i. 296. Small proportion of labor's products received by the planters of, i. 296. Destruction of human life in, i. 297. Causes of the absenteeism of, i. 298. Poverty of machinery in, i. 299, 302. Waste of labor in, and heavy taxation of, i. 300. Destruction of value of land and labor in, i. 301. Of emancipation in, i. 305. Tax of transportation paid by the planters of, i. 305. Waste of capital in, iii. 39.

Jaques Cœur, origin of the fortune of, i. 258.

Jermann, on the condition of the Russian peasant, iii. 195.

Johnston, Prof., on the exhaustion of the soil of the United States, ii. 216. His *Chemistry of Human Life*. Extracts from, i. 78, 84, ii. 354.

———, Sir A., on education in India, iii. 281.

Joint-stock banks of England, ii. 398. Of London, ii. 402.

——— companies, iii. 415. Kent on, iii. 417. Early formation of, in Greece and Rome, iii. 417. Objects sought to be attained by the creation of, iii. 420.

Journal des Economistes, on the depreciation of gold, ii. 349; on the Ricardo doctrine of Rent, iii. 163.

Juvenile crime of England, iii. 394. Of America, iii. 398.

K.

Kay's *Social Condition of England, and the Continent of Europe*. Extracts from, i. 425, 442, 447, ii. 94, iii. 157, 195, 280, 289, 389.

Kent, Chancellor, on Corporations, iii. 419.

Kingsley, Rev. Mr., on the growth of slavery in England, iii. 244.

Knowledge last obtained, that of the minute machinery with which nature performs her greatest works, iii. 468.

Kohl, on the condition of the Irish people, i. 324.

L.

Labor. The first price paid for all things, i. 161. Proportions of, wasted and economised, in the various stages of societary growth, ii. 20. Waste of, in Turkey, i. 314; in Ireland, i. 337; in India, i. 351; in Jamaica, i. 300; in the United States, ii. 210. How the use of the precious metals tends to promote economy of, ii. 296. Waste of, in all purely agricultural countries, iii. 22. The commodity that all desire to sell, iii. 25. Waste of power resulting from absence of instant demand for, iii. 25. Of productive and unproductive, as exhibited by Mr. J. S. Mill, iii. 45. Always productive when it tends to enable man more thoroughly to direct the forces of nature to his service, iii. 46. Waste of, a waste of capital, iii. 65. Of competition for the purchase and sale of, iii. 232. The only commodity that disappears at the instant of production, iii. 233. Economy of, a consequence of rapidity of circu-

lation, iii. 234. Unskilled, favorable to fecundity, iii. 299.
Laborer, the. How he is affected by protection, ii. 276.
——— in the field, the last emancipated, iii. 468.
Laborers of the world. Solidarity of interests among the, ii. 87, iii. 454.
Laborer's share increases, as the cost of reproduction declines, iii. 112. Grows, with approximation in the prices of rude products and finished commodities, iii. 116; as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 155.
Labor-power, the only commodity that cannot be preserved, ii. 297.
Labors of microscopic insects, importance of the, i. 72.
Laing, Mr. S., on word-worship, i. 39. On the division of land and its effects, iii. 276. On the factory system, iii. 343. On the feudalization of British factories, iii. 345. On the condition of French and other women, iii. 373.
Laisser faire, absurdity of the doctrine of, iii. 435. Practice under it tends to promote competition for the *sale* of labor, iii. 440. Lalor on, iii. 443.
Lalor, J. His *Money and Morals*. Extracts from, ii. 21, iii. 443.
Land, value of, wholly due to human effort, i. 163. Proportion retained as rent, tends to diminish as man grows in power, i. 164. Price of, never equal to the cost of production, i. 165. Facts in reference to the prices of, in England, i. 165, ii. 75; in America, i. 166. Error of economists in regard to the cause of value in, i. 170. Trivial value of that of Turkey, i. 318. Increase in the value of that of France, ii. 75. Decline of the value of, in the United States, ii. 216. How the British policy tends to affect property in, iii. 89. Grows in value as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 93. Exhaustion of the, how it affects the movement of population in the United States, iii. 97.
———, division of, in France, ii. 78; in Russia, ii. 164; in Sweden, ii. 170; in Germany, ii. 141. Slow circulation of, in the early stages of society, iii. 76. Phenomena of circulation exhibited in England, Greece, and Italy, iii. 79, 82; in Spain and France, iii. 83; in Denmark, iii. 83; in Prussia and Austria, iii. 84. How the policy of Colbert tends to produce division and circulation of, iii. 86. Consolidation of, in all the countries that follow in the train of England, iii. 102. Advantages that result from division of the, iii. 102. Becomes divided, as there arises competition for the *purchase* of labor, iii. 248. How division of the, tends to affect the movement of population, iii. 276. Consolidation of, in England, iii. 287.
Land and labor, trivial value of, in Jamaica, i. 301.
——— ———, the ultimate payers of all taxes, iii. 186. Increase in value as the middleman's proportion diminishes, iii. 118. Increase in value as the prices of rude products and finished commodities more and more approximate, iii. 43, 59, 116, 187, 236, 369, 436.
Land-holders of Ireland, ruin of the, i. 329.
Land revenue of the United States, ii. 223.
Language, none, without association, i. 41.
Late appreciation of the advantages of peace and harmony among mankind, iii. 468.
Law, in science, demands a regular and uniform series of causes and effects, i. 23, iii. 267.
—— of molecular gravitation, as exhibited in Social Science, i. 42.
—— of the composition of forces, i. 230.
—— of definite proportions. Equally applicable in the physical and social world, i. 199. As exhibited in the changes of the societary distribution, i. 473, ii. 22, 40. As exhibited in France, ii. 57, 60, 65. In reference to wages, profits, and interest, iii. 109; to rent, iii. 131; to taxes, iii. 198.
—— of human life must be assumed to be in harmony with the Creator's design, iii. 268.
—— of the relative increase of food and population, i. 88, iii. 325.
——, organic, corrective of excessive procreation, iii. 302.
——, on the centralization of France, of the days of Louis XV., iii. 223.
Lawrence, A., on the cotton manufactures of the United States, ii. 246.
Laws of motion, equally true in physical and social science, i. 200.
—— of nature act always in the same direction. Oscillating movement of the Malthusian theory, i. 465.
Lee, Dr., on the exhaustion of American land, and its effects, ii. 213.
Legislative independence of Ireland, followed by the adoption of measures of protection, i. 321.
Legislators. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 469.
Liability, unlimited. Effects of, as exhibited in the movement of English banks, ii. 400; in the corporations of the Roman Empire, iii. 418. No such absurdity found in the scheme of creation, iii. 416.
Liberty limited by organic relation, iii. 406.

Liberty and order combined and secured, iii. 406.
Life, changes in the duration of, iii. 270.
——, duration of, in England, iii. 290; in the United States, iii. 295.
—— insurance of Great Britain, causes of the rapid increase in the, i. 447.
—— of man limited by man's disorder, and not by the divine order, iii. 273.
Limitation of liability, advantages of, ii. 397. As applied to joint-stock companies, iii. 415. Its full accordance with nature's laws, iii. 416. Found in the Roman civil and municipal corporations, iii. 418.
——— of man's power over matter, i. 64.
——— of the Irish people to the product of raw materials, i. 321.
Limits to the power of man, in regard to manufactures, ii. 38; in agriculture, none, ii. 38.
List, Prof., founder of the *Zoll-Verein*, ii. 125.
Literature, of, in Denmark, ii. 115; in Sweden, ii. 171.
Local centres, effect of, in the physical and social world, i. 43. How they tend to arise, i. 190. How regarded by Adam Smith, i. 295. Disappearance of those of India, i. 338. Decay of, in the British Islands, i. 51, 449. Growth of, in Central and Northern Europe, iii. 453. Decline of, in all the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 454. Of organic life, iii. 405. Of relative life, iii. 407.
Logic and mathematics only instruments, and not sciences, i. 10, 22.
London joint-stock banks, over-trading of the, ii. 402.
Loss from necessity for the use of machinery of exchange, i. 187.
—— by failures in England, ii. 409.
—— by fire, in the United States, ii. 248.
Lower animals, great fertility of the, iii. 302.
Lyell, on the condition of American women, iii. 384.

M.

Macaulay, Lord, on the British system, in India, i. 341. On the dangers which threaten civilization, ii. 106. His account of the origin of the Bank of England, ii. 374.
Machinery in India, taxation of, i. 343.
——— of war and trade, abundance of, in France, i. 253.
——— of exchange, loss from necessity for the use of, i. 187. Diminishes in its proportions, as men are more enabled to combine together, i. 188.
McCulloch, Mr., holds that the wagoner is as much a producer as the farmer, i. 260. That wealth increases most rapidly where profits are highest, i. 262. On the pauperism of Ireland, i. 333. On the tendencies of the British system, as exhibited in Asia, i. 362. His approval of the protective measures of Edward III., i. 396. Definitions of, i. 472. Holds that man must become more and more the slave of nature, i. 466. Teaches that trade and manufactures are preferable to agriculture, ii. 37. On the restoration of the standard of value, in 1819, ii. 379. Doctrines of, in regard to money, ii. 466. On the rate of profit, iii. 122. Inconsistencies of, iii. 124. Holds that the low wages of Ireland are the cause of over-population, iii. 129. On the growth of the productive power of England, iii. 138. His approval of indirect taxation, iii. 202. His objections to taxes on land, iii. 203. Finds in taxation a stimulus to production, iii. 205. On absenteeism, iii. 231. On the causes of excess of Irish population, iii. 285. His differences with Adam Smith, iii. 439. Holds that benefit to the world would result from the entire monopoly of the cotton manufactures by Great Britain, iii. 441.
Magnificence and poverty of France, at various periods, ii. 46.
Malcolm, Rev. H., on the opium trade, iii. 377.
Malthus, Rev. T. R. Differences between his system, and that of Adam Smith, i. 417. His definition of wealth, i. 193. His failure to observe the minuteness of the causes of nature's greatest effects, iii. 310. His opposition to laws for relief of the poor, iii. 436. How his disciples might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.
——— and Ricardo, the first to adopt the mathematical method in Social Science, i. 34. Disagreements among their disciples, i. 36.
Malthusian *Principle of Population*, i. 91. Its tendency towards establishing slavery as the ultimate condition of man, i. 232. Leads to the glorification of trade, i. 232. Appalling character of the doctrine, i. 464. The product and exponent of the British system of trade, iii. 311. Professes to furnish "one great cause" of the vice and misery of the world, iii. 349. Theory not in harmony with the facts of the past or the present, iii. 352. Its author haunted by the idea of an imaginary fact, iii. 359. Itself a mere form of words, having no real meaning what-

soever, iii. 360. Universal remedy of its author, for social evils, iii. 360. Tendency of the theory towards the production of recklessness and over-population, iii. 362. Relieves the rich and strong from all responsibility, iii. 365. Its unchristian character, iii. 366.
Man. How regarded in the British school, i. 29. How he should be studied, i. 30. Knows himself only as he knows external nature, i. 35. The subject of Social Science, i. 41. Essential characteristics of, i. 41. His first and greatest need, i. 41. His obedience to the great law of molecular gravitation, i. 42. Responsible to his Creator, and to his fellow-men, i. 57.
——, the most dependent of all animals, i. 41.
—— derives all his power from association, i. 69.
—— alone gifted with the faculties required for mastering nature, i. 71.
—— adds nature's powers to his own, as he becomes more enabled to command her services, i. 154.
——, increase in the value of, as compared with the precious metals, i. 156.
—— becomes more free, as the farmer and the artisan come more near together, i. 190.
——, the slave of nature, in the early ages of society, i. 208.
——, the, who must go to any market, must pay the cost of getting there, i. 278, ii. 192.
——, the ultimate object of all production, iii. 21, 453.
—— grows in value as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 93; as the prices of rude products and finished commodities more and more approximate, iii. 43, 59, 116, 187, 236, 369, 436.
—— attributes to himself all the utilities he develops, iii. 111.
—— turns against nature all of her powers that he qualifies himself to master, iii. 332.
——, of, the master of nature, iii. 465. Responsibility of, grows with the growth of power, iii. 465.
—— and land at one end of the scale of prices, and the most finished commodities at the other, ii. 268.
——, two-fold existence of, iii. 401.
——, division of the organic functions of, iii. 402.
——, division of the functions of the relative life of, iii. 402.
——, vegetable and animal, individual and relative life of, iii. 402.
——, the individual, an epitome of the aggregate man, termed Society, iii. 404.
Mankind, increase in the numbers of, i. 64.
Man's value grows with decline in that of the commodities he needs, i. 146.
——— great object, that of obtaining power over nature, i. 158.
——— progress in the direct ratio of the substitution of continued for intermitted motion, i. 201.
——— progress, in whatsoever direction, one of constant acceleration, i. 204.
——— life, a contest with nature, i. 263.
——— power grows with the substitution of vegetable for animal food, iii. 317.
——— organic and relative life, local centres of, iii. 405, 407.
Manufactures of Spain, i. 251; of Turkey, i. 312; of Ireland, i. 320; of India, i. 339. Decline of these latter, under the British system, i. 347; of France, ii. 64; of Denmark, ii. 112; of Germany, ii. 125; of Russia, ii. 149; of Sweden, ii. 167; of the United States, ii. 234.
——— decline in price, as the power of combination grows, ii. 302.
——— in France, the handmaids of agriculture: in England, the substitutes for it, ii. 311.
———, fall in the price of, in all those countries in which the supply of the precious metals has been increased, ii. 328.
——— always precede, and never follow, the creation of a scientific agriculture, iii. 333.
Manure, the necessity for, wholly overlooked by economists, i. 336. The most important of commodities, and the one that least bears transportation, i. 274, 277. Value of the, applied to the British soil, i. 275.
Market, how proximity of the, tends to the development of the utilities of matter, i. 386. Waste of nature's gifts, consequent upon distance from, ii. 387. Effects of proximity of, ii. 29.
Markets have become fields of battle, under the system of *laisser faire*, iii. 440.
Marriages in England, iii. 291.
Massachusetts, course of settlement in, i. 108.
Material character of the modern political economy, i. 192.
Mathematics an instrument, and not a science, i. 10. Early study of, i. 12. Must be used in Social Science, i. 33.
Matter susceptible of no other changes than those of place and of form, i. 64. Consumed in the production of force, i. 65. Endless circulation of, i. 66. The more rapid the circulation, the greater the tendency to improvement of its form, i. 80. Of changes in the place of, i. 218, 263. Of mechanical and chemical changes in the form of,

i. 219, 381. Of vital changes in the form of, i. 220, ii. 17. Tendency of, to assume higher forms, greatest at the lowest point of organization, iii. 263.
Mayhew, Mr., on the vagabondism of England, i. 443.
Mechanical and chemical changes in the form of matter, of, i. 219, 381. Change in the societary proportions consequent upon extension of the power to effect, i. 219. Require a knowledge of the properties of matter, and therefore later in development than changes of place, i. 381.—(See *Conversion.*)
——— ingenuity of the United States, ii. 254.
Medici, origin of the fortunes of the, i. 258.
Mental and moral faculties, varied effects of the, upon procreation, iii. 303.
Mercantile system, object of the, i. 418.
Metaphysical character of early science, i. 13.
Method, of, in science, i. 32. Unity of science, requires unity of, i. 33.
——— of Messrs. Ricardo and Malthus, i. 33.
Methuen treaty, and its effects, ii. 274.
Mexico. Course of settlement in, i. 118. Decline of, consequent upon the disappearance of her manufactures, ii. 314. No competition for the purchase of labor in, iii. 240.
Michelet, M., on the British policy in India, iii. 462.
Microscopic insects, importance of the labors of, i. 72.
Middle classes of England, disappearance of the, i. 447.
Middleman, the, always opposed to increase of the power of association, i. 235.
Middlemen profit by the separation of the consumers and the producers, i. 281.
——— of Ireland, i. 324; of Lapland, ii. 457.
Mill, J. S. His theory of Social Science, i. 28. On value in land, i. 163. On the changes of the societary proportions of England, i. 436. On the utility of money, ii. 299. On money, ii. 466. On productive and unproductive labor, iii. 45. On capital, iii. 71. On interest, iii. 128. On the occupation of land, iii. 165. On the Ricardo theory of Rent, iii. 166. On property in land, iii. 169. On customary rights, iii. 257. On the necessity for governmental interference for the development of industry, iii. 428.
Miller, Hugh, on the working of the British system, i. 438.
Mines and furnaces of Germany, ii. 133.
Mississippi Valley. Course of settlement in the, i. 115.
Missouri, of banking in, ii. 428.
Modern Economists. Errors of, i. 31, ii. 332, iii. 44.
——— political economy, material character of the, i. 192. Repulsive form of the, i. 196. Anti-christian character of the, i. 232. How it differs from that of Adam Smith, i. 284. Regards man as an instrument to be used by trade, i. 474.
Molecular gravitation, law of, as exhibited in Social Science, i. 42.
Momentary expediency, the rule of British action, i. 454.
Momentum of society grows with increase of the societary circulation, i. 388.
Monetary centralization of France, ii. 412.
Money, of. Regarded by some economists as dead capital, ii. 298. How the societary movement would be affected by its disappearance, ii. 299. Of the supply of, ii. 308. Hume, on the supply of, ii. 322. Extraordinary influence of, ii. 323. The indispensable machinery of progress, ii. 323. Like water, seeks the lowest level, ii. 324. Increase in the supply of, tends to lower the prices of finished commodities, while raising those of labor and land, ii. 327. Charge for the use of, ii. 335. Value of, declines with diminution of the cost of reproduction, ii. 335. Errors of economists in regard to, ii. 337. To society, what fuel is to the locomotive, and food to man, ii. 343. Most potent of all the instruments used by man, ii. 353. Of the trade in, ii. 356. The one commodity that is of universal acceptance, ii. 356. The indispensable instrument of association, ii. 357. Falsification of, by Athens and Rome, ii. 360; by France, ii. 361; by England and Scotland, ii. 362. Apparent abundance of, produced by bank expansions, ii. 368. Value of, how affected by expansions and contractions, ii. 368. Hume on, ii. 446. Adam Smith on, 453. McCulloch and Mill on, ii. 466. Bastiat on, ii. 471. Chevalier on, ii. 338, 478.
——— and Price, of, ii. 293.
——— is capital, but capital is not necessarily money, ii. 339.
———, export of, from Turkey, i. 316; from Portugal, i. 308; from the United States, ii. 438.
——— rents, effects of, ii. 78. Laing, Mr. S., on, iii. 284.
——— shop, or bank, among the most useful of societary instruments, ii. 445.
Monopolies of Holland, i. 249. Of the

manufacturing centres of the world, i. 390; of England, i. 408.
Monopolistic tendencies of trade and transportation, i. 282.
Monopoly of the land, a cause of war and discord, iii. 170.
Montalembert, M., on the dangers of British society, i. 451.
Moral restraint of the sexual function, iii. 300. Comes with growing self-respect, iii. 363. Teachings of the Ricardo-Malthusian school adverse to the growth of, iii. 366.
Morality, unknown in affairs of State, i. 370.
Morals of war and trade, identity of the, i. 216.
Mortality and fecundity, their relations, iii. 304.
Morton's catalogue of skulls, iii. 301.
Motion. Essential to progress, i. 60. Causes of societary motion, i. 61. In the material world, a consequence of physical heat: in the moral world, of social heat, i. 91. The more continuous, the greater is the force obtained, i. 200. Man seeks, therefore, continuity of, i. 201. No continuity of, in the movements of the isolated settler, i. 200. Causes of heat and force in the social, as in the physical world, iii. 105.
———, laws of. Their application to Social Science, i. 200.
Motto of England, the, i. 372.
Movable capital. Changes in the proportion borne by, to that which is immovable, iii. 57.
Movement of the precious metals, ii. 312.
Much philosophy required for observing facts that are very near to us, i. 14.
Municipal corporations of Greece and Rome, iii. 417; of the middle ages, iii. 418; of the United States, iii. 419.
Munro, Sir T., on the civilization of India, i. 375.

N.

Nations can permanently prosper only as they obey the golden rule of Christianity, i. 422.
———. How they might profit by careful study of the laws of Social Science, iii. 469.
Natural advantages of the Turkish Empire, i. 311; of Ireland, i. 331.
——— inclinations of man, according to Adam Smith, i. 195.
——— law, provisions of, tending to the production of international commerce, i. 410.
——— laws, universality of the, i. 20, 62, 224, ii. 269. Simplicity their essential characteristic, i. 105.
Natural laws, in relation to the growth of food and population, iii. 326.
——— laws, beauty and harmony of, iii. 320. Justify the ways of God to man, iii. 327.
——— poverty of Sweden, ii. 167.
——— tendency to rise in the prices of the rude products of the soil, i. 427.
——— wages, as defined by modern economists, i. 31, 419.
Nature, the master of isolated man, the slave of associated men, i. 103.
——— goes on adding perfection to perfection, from the Poles to the Tropics, iii. 330.
Nature's services, gratuity of, i. 173.
——— gifts wasted, in the absence of the power of association, i. 387, ii. 30.
Navigation laws of England, i. 398; of the United States, ii. 186. Adam Smith on the, iii. 426.
Nerves and brain, special and general functions of, iii. 297.
———, diversity in the structure of, corresponds to variety of their functions, iii. 403.
Nervous and generative powers antagonised by organic laws, iii. 301.
——— co-ordination, the analogue of civil government, iii. 403.
——— functions and sexual impulses, antagonism of the, iii. 300.
——— system, co-ordinating office of the, iii. 402.
Netherlands, early development of individuality, and of the power of combination in the, iii. 27.
New England, early standard of value of, ii. 295.
—— ——— banks. Movements of, ii. 424. Minute division of ownership of, ii. 432. Facility with which they are formed, ii. 443. Excellence of the currency furnished by, ii. 443.
—— Jersey, course of settlement in, i. 109.
—— settlements, waste of labor in, ii. 24.
—— York, course of settlement in, i. 108.
No natural reason why any community should fail to become more prosperous from year to year, i. 230.
Non-producers, their large absorption, under the British system, of the commodities produced, i. 437.
No private property in ever-moving matter, i. 79.
Norway. Local centres of, i. 49. Early civilization of, i. 50. Middlemen of, ii. 457.
Nothing but employment needed in Ireland, i. 327.
Nutritive functions of the infant independent of the brain, iii. 405.

O.

Obstacles to commerce, in the early periods of society, i. 203.
Occupation of the earth, of the, i. 94.
——— of the earth, according to Mr. Ricardo, i. 104. Error of Adam Smith, in relation to the, iii. 144.
Opium war, the, i. 237.
——— trade, i. 357. Extent and horrors of, iii. 336.
Oppression of trading centralization, iii. 220.
Order and liberty combined and secured, iii. 406.
Organic law, corrective of excessive procreation, iii. 302.
——— laws antagonize the nervous and generative powers, iii. 301.
——— laws adjust the reproductive function to the varying conditions of the human race, iii. 296.
——— life of the individual man analogous to the societary life of the race, iii. 404.
Organization individualizes, while promoting combination, whether in man, or in societies of men, iii. 405.
———, resistance to gravitation in the direct ratio of the, i. 89.
———, societary, subordination in the ratio of the perfection of the, iii. 455.
Organized bodies, whether in the physical or social world, grow from within, iii. 446. The more their growth, the more perfect their independence, iii. 447.
Organs of the body, and distribution of its functions, iii. 297.
——— of the body, relative subordination of, to the brain, iii. 403.
Over-population. How produced in Ireland, i. 337. Thornton on, iii. 363, 423.
———— theory, origin of the, i. 307, 413, 437. Finds its most useful facts in England, ii. 105. The doctrine of slavery, anarchy, and societary ruin, iii. 464.—(See *Malthusian Theory.*)

P.

Parasitic races of France, ii. 44.
Parliament of England, growth of power in the, ii. 45.
Parnell, Sir H., on the British colonies, i. 457, iii. 223.
Passy, M., on French agriculture, ii. 61, iii. 140; on the Malthusian theory, iii. 367.
Patent laws of Great Britain, extension of, over India, ii. 264.
Pathology and physiology of society, i. 231.
Pauper children of England, iii. 393; of the United States, iii. 394.
Pauperism. Of England, i. 417. No complaints of, in Northern Germany, ii. 143. Of the United States, ii. 264, 277. A privilege of freedom, in Athens, iii. 26. A necessary consequence of the cheap labor-system of England, iii. 438.
Peace of 1815, general ruin which followed the, ii. 107.
Peaceful progress of Athens, which followed the Solonian legislation, i. 241.
Peel, Sir Robert. His Bank Act of 1844, ii. 384. Its failures, ii. 387. Character of his mind, ii. 406.
Pennsylvania, course of settlement in, i. 110.
People of France, changes in the condition of the, ii. 58.
——— tyrant, a many-headed monster, i. 409.
Perfect harmony of all the real and permanent interests of men, i. 429.
Periods of greatest splendor in Athens, Rome, and England, ii. 106.
Perpetual warfare of Great Britain, iii. 377.
Person and property, insecurity of, in early settlements, i. 139.
Phenomena of the universe resolvable into matter and motion, i. 65.
——— of England of the 14th century, resemblance of, to those of agricultural communities of the present day, i. 395.
——— of growing and declining civilization of ancient and modern times, i. 459, 461.
——— of national progress, iii. 22; of decline, iii. 40.
Philosophers. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.
Phœnician monopolies, i. 390.
Phosphate of lime, importance of the, i. 81.
Phosphorus, unoxydized, in the brain and sperm-cells, iii. 302.
Phrases substituted for ideas, i. 39, iii. 435.
Physical and social laws, identity of the, i. 40, 54, 199, ii. 269, 353, iii. 105, 244, 328, 447, 456, 463, 466.
——— power, the only wealth in the early stages of society, i. 207.
——— science, developed from the abstract to the concrete, i. 13.
Physics precede chemistry in the order of development, i. 14. Their relation to chemistry, i. 14.
Physiology, dependence of, on chemistry, i. 15. Its relation to astronomy, i. 16.
——— and pathology of society, i. 231.
——— illustrates the societary functions of man, iii. 402.
Pisa, constant wars of, for obtaining a monopoly of trade, i. 249.

Place, of changes of matter in, i. 263. Necessity for, constitutes the great obstacle to human improvement, i. 365. That necessity increases, as employments become less diversified, i. 367.—(See *Transportation.*)
Plant, the, the ruin of the past, and the germ of the future, i. 67.
———, the, a manufacturer of soil, i. 78. The servant of the animal, i. 84.
——— and animal ordained to return their borrowed materials to mother earth, i. 82. Compliance with this order, the condition of human progress, i. 86.
Planter, the. How he is taxed by the British system, i. 432.
Planting States of America, small production of the, iii. 99.
Point, the, at which men and animals stand upon a level with each other, i. 79.
Policies of England and France, wide difference of the, ii. 44.
——— of England and Holland, resemblance between the, ii. 73.
Political Economy, a branch of Social Science. Treats of measures required for giving effect to natural laws, iii. 409. Errors of the modern system of, i. 28, 463, iii. 134.
——— system of the United States, corresponds to the federative system of government exhibited in the human body, iii. 408.
Polynesia, the trader the curse of, i. 369.
Poor-laws of England, institution of the, i. 398. Malthus and Ricardo on, iii. 436. English theory and practice in regard to, iii. 437. Extension of, to Ireland and Scotland, iii. 438. Necessity for, iii. 412.
Poor men cultivate such soils as they can, not such as they would, i. 139.
—— soils first occupied, i. 97; in the United States, i. 108; in Mexico, i. 118; in the West Indies and Central America, i. 120; in South America, i. 121; in England, i. 122; in Scotland, i. 124; in France, i. 126; in Belgium, i. 128; in Scotland and Scandinavia, i. 129; in Russia and Germany, i. 130; in Hungary and Italy, i. 131; in Corsica and Sicily, i. 132; in Greece, Africa, and the Pacific Islands, i. 133; in India, i. 134.
Population, of. Tends to increase as man is enabled to obtain vegetable food, i. 95. Brings the food from the richer soils, i. 139, 384, ii. 31. Effects of diminution therein, i. 145. Movement of, in France, ii. 45. Phenomena of, in the United States, iii. 100, 264. Tendency of matter to assume higher forms, and thus promote increase of, iii. 263. Period required for duplication of, iii. 264. Error of modern theories of, iii. 266. Creator's blunder in reference to, supposed to require "positive checks" for their correction, iii. 267. Facts in regard to, mistaken for the laws of, iii. 267. Growth of, in England, iii. 269. Inconsistencies of theorists, in reference to, iii. 270. Self-adjusting laws of, iii. 272. How increase in the power of association tends to affect the growth of, iii. 274. Operation of division of the land in reference to, iii. 276. How it is affected by growing feeling of responsibility, iii. 279. How cotter tenancy affects the growth of, iii. 279. Recklessness promotes increase of, iii. 286. English phenomena, in reference to, iii. 287, 290. American phenomena of, iii. 293. Pioneer life favorable to increase of, iii. 293. Causes of Malthusian error in regard to, iii. 310. Security against excess of, to be found in the development of the real MAN, iii. 311. Causes of apparent excess of, iii. 311. Natural laws regulating the growth of, iii. 312. *Westminster Review* on the law of, iii. 312. Increase of, causes extension of cultivation over richer soils, iii. 313. Effect upon, consequent upon the substitution of vegetable for animal food, iii. 316. Pressure of, upon subsistence, in the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 321. Laws by which the supply of food is adjusted to meet the wants of a growing, i. 88, iii. 325. Necessity for checks to, grows with growing excess of centralization, iii. 464.
Population, Malthusian theory of, i. 91, iii. 351.—(See *Malthusian Theory.*)
——— and sustenance, harmonies and compensations of, iii. 304.
——— and wealth of Portugal, i. 308.
———. How skilled industry affects the growth of, iii. 304, 305.
———, self-acting law of, tends to a harmony of conditions, iii. 305, 308.
———, testimony of craniology in reference to, iii. 301.
Portugal. Trading power of, i. 249. Splendor and decline of, i. 250. Splendor of, in the 16th century, i. 308. Manufactures abandoned by the government of, i. 308. Diminution of wealth and population of, i. 309. Stationary condition of, i. 310. Decline of agriculture in, and weakness of the government of, i. 311.
Positive and comparative wealth, difference between, i. 192.
——— knowledge of natural phenomena derived from direct observation, i. 9.

Positive checks to population, apparent necessity for, a consequence of growing centralization of trading-power, iii. 464.
Post Office, the. How it illustrates the difference between trade and commerce, i. 211.
Potential energy awaiting the command of man, iii. 107. Becomes developed, as man and matter become individualized, iii. 107.
Poverty and rapacity of Sparta, i. 245.
——— and depopulation of Turkey, i. 315.
——— of the French people, i. 255; of early colonists, i. 263; of the sovereigns of France, ii. 43; of France, under Louis XV., ii. 48.
Power for evil, in both the physical and social worlds, exists in the direct ratio of the power for good, i. 369.
——— of association grows with increase of numbers, i. 99. Exists in the direct ratio of the development of individuality, i. 257. Grows in all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert, ii. 175. Declines in all those that adopt the theories of the English school, i. 367. How it affects production, iii. 19; accumulation, iii. 58; circulation, iii. 77; distribution, iii. 119; taxation, iii. 199; the demand for food, iii. 319.
——— of combination, the distinguishing characteristic of civilization, i. 266. How affected by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 297.
——— of consumption. How affected by measures of protection, ii. 276.
——— of nature. How it exhibits itself to the savage and the man of science, ii. 353.
——— of progress, one of the distinctive characteristics of man, i. 60.
——— of the State grows with growing concentration, iii. 232.
——— placed at the command of the people of the United States, ii. 208; waste of the, ii. 210.
——— to command increased supplies of food and clothing accompanied by diminished necessity for either, iii. 318.
——— to maintain commerce increases with increase in the value of man, ii. 32, iii. 452.
Powers of man, and his necessities, always in the inverse ratio of each other —the two combined making a constant quantity, i. 208.
——— of nature become embodied in the man, i. 264.
Precious metals, the. Recommendations of, as standards of value, ii. 295. How their value is affected by the process of coinage, ii. 296. How human labor is economised by their use, ii. 298. How they affect the societary movement, ii. 299. To the social body what atmospheric air is to the physical one, ii. 300. How the supply of, affects wages and interest, ii. 309. Tend always towards those places at which they are most utilized, ii. 309. How their use tends to promote the freedom of man, ii. 309. Tendency of, towards Great Britain, ii. 310. Present movement of, ii. 311. Tendency of, towards those countries in which raw products tend most to rise in price, ii. 312; from those in which the price of such produce declines, ii. 313. Phenomena of the movement of, ii. 315. Their extraordinary power over the condition of men, ii. 320. Equalizing tendency of increase in the supply of, ii. 319, 345. How they may be attracted, ii. 325. The commodities that render the largest amount of service in proportion to their cost, ii. 325. How increase in the supply of, tends to augment the supply of food, ii. 329. Cannot become superabundant, ii. 330. Tend to leave those countries that do not use circulating notes, ii. 333. Supply of, in Great Britain and the United States, ii. 340. How the societary movement of France is affected by, ii. 341. Value of, declines, as their utility increases, ii. 345. Tend towards those countries which follow in the lead of Colbert, ii. 351. Constitute the great instruments of association, ii. 355. Universal acceptability of, ii. 357. Tendency of, towards steadiness of value, ii. 360. Movement of, in the United States, ii. 436, 480. Hume on the supply of, and its effects, ii. 446. Errors of Adam Smith in regard to, ii. 453. Turkey, the country whose policy is most in accordance with the advice of British economists in reference to, ii. 464. Mr. J. S. Mill on the services rendered by, ii. 467. M. Bastiat on, ii. 471. M. Chevalier on, ii. 478.
Predominance of the animal faculties of man, iii. 298.
Price, definition of, ii. 301. Phenomena of, ii. 267. Hume on, ii. 326.
Prices. Approximation in those of rude products and finished commodities, the essential test of civilization, i. 464; comes with growing civilization, ii. 301, iii. 43, 59, 187, 236, 369, 436. How that approximation affects production, iii. 42; accumulation, iii. 59; circulation, iii. 93; distribution, iii. 116.
———, how affected by measures of protection, ii. 274, 275.
———, how affected by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 315.

Prices, comparative, of Russia and France, ii. 150.
———, how affected by excess or deficiency of supply, ii. 192.
——— of finished commodities tend to fall, as agriculture becomes a science, ii. 267; contrary tendency, as agriculture declines, ii. 267.
——— of rude products, decline of, in the United States, ii. 189, 197, 273.
——— of Russian products, how they are affected by distance from market, ii. 173.
——— of agricultural products, how they are affected by the supply of the precious metals, ii. 329. Recession from each other of the prices of such products, and those of finished commodities, in the United States, ii. 205, 228.
———, phenomena of, observed in France, ii. 307.
Principle, first, of the trader, i. 210.
Principles, truths that are prior to all facts, iii. 354.
——— of Social and Physical Science, iii. 466.
Privileges of foreign merchants in England, in the 14th century, i. 394.
Problem, the, of Social Science, i. 34.
Procreation. Limited power of, among the hunter tribes, iii. 299. General laws of, iii. 302. The corrective of excessive, iii. 302. Comparative physiology of, iii. 302. How affected by the various mental and moral developments, iii. 303. Ratio of, governed by societary conditions, iii. 305. Prospective changes in the ratio of, iii. 305. How influenced by devotion to trade, politics, and science, iii. 308.
Procreative tendency, the. Being admitted to be a positive quantity, slavery becomes the necessarily ultimate condition of the mass of the human race, iii. 265. Not a positive quantity, iii. 267. Adaptability of, to the societary condition, iii. 271, 286. Is subject to no determinate rule of action, iii. 272.
Produce of French agriculture, prior to the Revolution, ii. 52. Great increase thereof, in the period that has since elapsed, ii. 54.
Producer and consumer. Come together as employments become diversified, i. 83. Approximation of the, the condition of progress, i. 221. Desires of both, directly opposed to those of the trader, i. 212, ii. 221, iii. 23. Waste resulting from separation of the, ii. 213. Production increases, as the two are brought together, iii. 21. Power of accumulation in the ratio of the approximation of the, iii. 49. Circulation becomes more rapid as the distance is decreased, iii. 93. How their approximation affects the value of land and labor, iii. 43, 59, 93, 116, 187, 215, 236. How it influences the condition of woman, iii. 369.
Production, cost of, not a measure of value, i. 156.
——— and consumption of India, i. 349
——— increases, as the necessity for the machinery of exchange diminishes, i. 189. Tendency of the British system to increase the necessity for the use of that machinery, and thus diminish, i. 286, 365.
———, of, iii. 17. Where does it end, and where does consumption begin? iii. 18. Every act of the one, an act of the other—the two being, therefore, measures of each other, iii. 18. Consists in reducing the forces of nature to the service of man, iii. 18. Grows in the ratio of the development of human powers, iii. 19. Man, the ultimate object of all, iii. 21. Grows with the growth of demand, iii. 21. Increases, as the trader's power declines, iii. 23. The less the friction between the consumer and the producer, the greater the, iii. 24. Increases, as men are more and more enabled to combine together, iii. 26. Growth and decline of, in Athens, iii. 26; in Italy, and the Netherlands, iii. 27; in France, iii. 28; of England, at various periods, iii. 31; of Scotland, iii. 37. Increase of, that follows the extension of cultivation over richer soils, iii. 38. Phenomena of, exhibited in the United States, iii. 41; in Spain, iii. 41. Diminishes as the market becomes more distant, iii. 42. The more numerous the societary differences, the larger the, iii. 43. Increases, as the prices of rude products and finished commodities approximate to each other, iii. 42. Civilization grows, as consumption follows more rapidly on, iii. 43. Increases, as matter tends more and more to assume its highest forms, iii. 43. Grows, as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 44. Errors of modern economists in regard to, iii. 43. Increases, as the absolutely-necessary wants of man diminish, iii. 318.
——— of sperm-cells regulated by mental activity, iii. 303.
Productive and unproductive employments, of, i. 193. Mr. J. S. Mill on, iii. 45.
Profit, high rate of, in purely agricultural countries, i. 158, iii. 116. Rate of, declines, as the societary circulation becomes more rapid, iii. 119. Capital

accumulates most rapidly where the rate is low, iii. 119. Reverse of this held by Mr. McCulloch, iii. 122.
Progress, power of, one of the distinctive characteristics of man, i. 60. Heat, motion, and force, essential to, in both the physical and social world, i. 60. Rate of, dependent on the rapidity with which consumption follows production, i. 61. The more instant the demand for human powers, the greater the tendency towards acceleration in the rate of, ii. 297.
Prohibition of manufactures in the British West Indies, i. 295; in the North American Colonies, i. 286.
Property, insecurity of, in the early stages of society, i. 234.
Proportion of labor's products assigned to the laborer increases, as that of the capitalist diminishes, i. 157, iii. 112, 210.
——— borne by machinery of exchange to production, diminishes as men are more enabled to associate, i. 189.
Proportions, law of definite, equally applicable in Physical and Social Science, i. 199. As exhibited in the societary distribution, i. 234, 263, 416, 460, ii. 20, 22, 39. As applied to profits, interest, freights, or rents, iii. 116.
——— of labor wasted and economised, in the various stages of society, ii. 20.
——— of trade and transportation, increase in, in the United States, ii. 218.
——— of money to commerce, ii. 358.
——— of the land-owners and the laborers, according to the Ricardo theory, iii. 135. That theory compared with the facts observed, iii. 150.—(See *Rent of land.*)
Pro-slavery tendencies of the United States, ii. 252.
Prospect of life increases, with the development of individuality, i. 259.
Prospective changes in the ratio of procreation, iii. 305.
Prosperity comes with diversity in the demand for human efforts, iii. 341.
Prostitution. The necessary consequence of a system based upon the idea of cheap labor, iii. 380. Of, in London, iii. 381. Of, in America, iii. 385. Dr. Sanger on, iii. 385.
Protection, of. Reasons for its adoption by Portugal, i. 308. Measures of, adopted in France, under the administration of Colbert, ii. 46. Their effect, in giving value to land and labor, ii. 47. Policy of, maintained by Turgot, ii. 49. Repudiated by the negotiators of the Eden treaty, ii. 49. Re-established by the Revolutionary government, and strengthened by Napoleon, ii. 50. Effect of, as exhibited in the progress of agriculture, ii. 51. Simultaneous adoption of, by the principal nations of Europe and America, ii. 111. In Prussia, ii. 128. In Russia, ii. 149. In Denmark, ii. 112. In Sweden, ii. 167. Operation of, in the United States, ii. 225. How the laborer is affected by, ii. 277. How it cheapens finished commodities, while raising the prices of rude products, ii. 274, 275. How it affects commerce, ii. 277. How it influences the movements of the precious metals, ii. 351. How it affects the currency of the United States, ii. 437. How it has influenced the societary movement of the United States, ii. 438. How it promotes the growth of capital, iii. 67. The necessary preparation for the substitution of direct for indirect taxation, iii. 207. How it promotes competition for the purchase of labor, iii. 246. How it influences the supply of food in the United States, iii. 322. How it affects the demand for female labor, iii. 383. How regarded by Colbert, iii. 424; by Hume and Smith, iii. 425; by J. B. Say, iii. 426; by M. Blanqui, iii. 427; by M. De Jonnès, iii. 428; by Mr. J. S. Mill, iii. 428; by M. Chevalier, iii. 429. Why is it needed? iii. 441. Its object, that of establishing perfect freedom of commerce throughout the world, iii. 453.
Protective policy of Spain, ii. 119.
——— ——— of England, origin and extension of the, i. 394, 398, 404.
Proximity of the market, indispensable to the growth of agriculture, ii. 29.
Prudence and foresight, recommended by writers who commence by expelling from the minds of their readers all feeling of hope, iii. 362.
Prussia, rapid advance of, in wealth and power, i. 49. Concentration, as exhibited in, iii. 226. Division of the land of, and its effects, iii. 84.—(See *Germany.*)
Prussian tariff of 1818, protective features of the, ii. 128.
Psychology follows Social Science, in the order of development, i. 22.
Public lands of the United States, sales of the, ii. 230.
——— revenue of Turkey, diminution in the, i. 312.
——— revenue of the United States, movement of the, ii. 222.

Q.

Quarterly Review, on English agriculture, ii. 33. On the condition of the juvenile population of England, iii. 394.
Question to be settled, that of progress, and not that of existing condition, ii. 73.

Questions asked by Mathematics and by Science, wide difference of the, iii. 469.
Quijano, M., on the cause of value, i. 174.

R.

Railroad corporations, growth of the power of, to control legislation, iii. 444.
——— systems of India and Ireland, tendencies of the, i. 368.
Rank of the animal, fecundity graduated inversely to the, iii. 302.
Rate, high, of profit in agricultural countries, iii. 116. Accompanied by smallness of amount, iii. 116.
Ratio of procreation governed by societary conditions, iii. 305.
Raudot, M., on the decline of France, ii. 62.
Raw material, definition of, ii. 303.
—— materials, prices of, tend to rise with the progress of civilization, i. 427, ii. 302. Their tendency to fall, in all the countries subject to the British system, i. 429. Approximation in the prices of, towards those of finished commodities, one of the most conclusive proofs of human progress, i. 464, ii. 301, iii. 43, 59, 93, 116, 369. Tend toward those places at which they are most utilized, ii. 308.
Real freedom of trade consists in the exercise of the power to maintain direct commerce with the outer world. Its establishment, the object of measures of protection, iii. 453.
Recklessness in the United States, ii. 248.
Reform Act of Great Britain, failure of the, i. 451.
Reformers, general error of, iii. 470. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 470.
Relations of the sexes, iii. 368. Slavery of woman in the early periods of society, iii. 368. Becomes more free, as man advances in wealth and power, iii. 368.
——— of the family, how affected by division of the land, iii. 387.
Rent of land, high proportion claimed as, in purely agricultural communities, i. 158. Diminution in the proportion of, an evidence of progress, i. 169. Increases in amount, as it declines in its proportion to the product, i. 176, iii. 133. Obedient to the general law of distribution, iii. 131. Changes in, consequent upon the growth of power to cultivate richer soils, iii. 133. Decline in its proportions, as labor becomes more productive, iii. 133. Examination of Mr. Ricardo's theory of, iii. 136–154. Error of Adam Smith in reference to, iii. 144. Diminution of its proportions admitted by Mr. Malthus, iii. 144. Changes in the, in England, since the time of Arthur Young, iii. 146. Diminution in the proportions of, in France, iii. 147. Mr. Ricardo's theory of, inconsistent with all the facts observed, iii. 154. Phenomena of Greece and Italy, in regard to, iii. 155. Proportions of, increase, as land becomes more and more consolidated, iii. 156.
Rents of Ireland, i. 323.
Reproduction, cost of, the limit of value, i. 149. Determines the value of all commodities, ii. 335, iii. 111, 133.
Reproductive function predominates in woman, iii. 298.
——— ———, adjusted to varying conditions of the human race, by organic laws, iii. 296.
——— ———, and intellectual and moral powers, mature cotemporaneously, iii. 300.
Repulsive character of the British trading system, iii. 347.
——— ——— of the modern political economy, i. 196.
Resistance to the system of trading centralization, how to be effected, ii. 101, iii. 453.
Responsibility, one of the distinguishing characteristics of man, i. 57. Absence of, in the early stages of society, i. 58. Becomes developed with the growth of individuality, i. 58. How it exhibits itself in Germany and the United States, i. 59. Individuality, association, and, develop themselves together, i. 60. Grows with the growth of wealth, i. 197; with division of the land, iii. 275. How it affects the growth of population, iii. 276. Grows with increase in the gifts of God to man, iii. 364. Malthusian theory transfers the burthen of, from the rich and strong, to the poor and weak, iii. 365. Of parent and child, iii. 387. How that of parents is manifested in Central and Northern Europe, iii. 388. How, in England, and in the countries that follow in her lead, iii. 391; in the United States, iii. 397. Becomes developed in the ratio of the approximation of the prices of rude products and finished commodities, iii. 400. Of the statesman, iii. 471.
Restraints upon Irish commerce and manufactures, i. 321.
Restrictions on French commerce, prior to the Revolution, ii. 50, 52.
Retrograde character of British policy and British theories, i. 469.
Revenue, public, of Russia, ii. 161; of the United States, ii. 224.

Revenue system of India, i. 342, iii. 182; of Athens, iii. 178; of Rome, iii. 179; of Holland, iii. 180; of Turkey and Sicily, iii. 181; of Great Britain, iii. 183; of the United States, iii. 191; of Denmark and Northern Germany, iii. 194; of Russia, iii. 195.

Ricardo, Mr. His theory of Rent, i. 104, iii. 134. His contradiction of himself, i. 105. Its apparent simplicity, but real complication, i. 106. Based on the assumption of an imaginary fact, i. 106, iii. 136. Being true, man must become nature's slave, i. 231, iii. 137. Not in harmony with the facts, i. 142, iii. 141. His several propositions examined, iii. 136–154. Growing discord a natural result of, iii. 151. His book the true manual of the demagogue, iii. 154. His error in regard to the fact upon which his theory is based, admitted by his disciples, iii. 160. M. Baudrillart on his theory, iii. 163. Insecurity of property resulting from admission of its truth, iii. 169.

———. His theory of the occupation of the earth, i. 104. Brings with it increasing dispersion and weakness — the real law being that of growing concentration and augmented power, i. 138. On the cause of value in land, i. 162. On the poor-laws, iii. 436.

——— and Malthus, the first economists to adopt the mathematical method, i. 33.

Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine owes its origin to the rejection of the advice of Adam Smith, i. 196. An effort to account for human errors by means of imaginary natural laws, i. 468.

Rich soils, last to be cultivated, abandoned as population diminishes, i. 139. Abandonment of, in Asia and Africa, i. 142; in Turkey, Italy, and France, i. 143; in America, i. 144. How the cultivation of, affects production, iii. 38. Great extent of, yet unoccupied, iii. 332.

Rickards, R., on the financial policy of India, i. 340.

———, G. K., on population, iii. 362.

Rights and duties, division of, in Athens, i. 241.

——— of property, respect for, in Germany, ii. 145.

Rivers never constitute the dividing lines of animals, or nations, i. 138.

Robbery and murder deified in the early periods of society, i. 216.

Roman empire, causes of the decline of the civil and municipal corporations of the, iii. 418.

——— patrician families, rapid extinction of the, iii. 307.

Rome. Splendor and pauperism of, i. 247. Consolidation of the land of, and trading operations in, i. 247. Civilization of, i. 248. Taxation of, iii. 179. Of woman in, iii. 371.

Roots and branches of the tree of science, i. 21; of the tree of commerce, i. 224.

Roscher, M., on the Ricardo theory of Rent, iii. 162.

Rossi, M. His definition of wealth, i. 193. Rejects the doctrine of *laisser faire*, iii. 427.

Rubbish plants mark the track of man, i. 84.

Rude character of English commerce in the 14th century, i. 394.

Rural population of England, emigration of the, i. 440. Condition of the, i. 441. Movement of the, in the United States, ii. 240.

Russia. Course of settlement in, i. 130. Commerce of, in its purely agricultural state, ii. 147. Operation of the Continental system, and free trade, in, ii. 148. Mordvinoff on the policy of, ii. 148. Adoption of the policy of Colbert by, ii. 149. Growth of manufactures in, ii. 149, 153. Agricultural progress of, ii. 150, 162. Prices of rude products in, ii. 151. Small export of food by, ii. 152. Baron Haxthausen on, ii. 153. Local combination in, ii. 155. Tegoborski on the productive forces of, ii. 156. Greeley on the manufactures of, ii. 155. Waste of human power in, ii. 156. Wages in, ii. 157. Improved condition of the agricultural labor of, ii. 158. Conditions necessary to freedom in, ii. 159. Increase of the commerce of, ii. 160. Communism of, ii. 163. Division of land in, ii. 164. Irregularity of prices in, ii. 165. Growing self-dependence of, ii. 166. Cobden on, ii. 167. *Westminster Review* on the waste of labor in, ii. 173. Revenue system of, iii. 195.

Russian farmer, dependent condition of the, i. 268.

S.

Salt tax of India, the, i. 344.

Same words used by economists to express widely different ideas, i. 262.

Savage, the, an irresponsible being, i. 58.

Saving, not the cause of growth of capital, iii. 60. Waste greatest, where it is most practised, iii. 61. Errors of economists in regard to, iii. 69.

Saving-funds for labor, produced by division of the land, iii. 102.

Say, J. B., on the cause of value in land, i. 163. His definition of wealth, i. 194. On the prospects of the working-classes, iii. 421. Rejects the idea of

the universal adoption of the doctrine of *laisser faire*, as applied to international commerce, iii. 426.
Scandinavia. Course of settlement in, i. 129.
Scheme of creation, the, not a failure, iii. 465.
Schiller, on the way by which blessings travel, iii. 470.
Schleiden, on the formation of soils, i. 77.
Schouw. His *Earth, Plants, and Man*, ii. 32.
Science and its methods, of, i. 9.
——— developed from the abstract to the concrete, i. 12, 215.
———, how developed, according to M. Comte, i. 15.
———, one and indivisible, i. 21, 38.
——— deduced from observation of the regular and uniform succession of causes and effects, i. 23. Requires laws, i. 35. The interpreter of nature, iii. 469.
——— welcomed by the agricultural population of Germany, ii. 141.
Scotland. Course of settlement in, i. 124. Clearances of population in, ii. 95, iii. 259. Strikes in, ii. 105. Production of, iii. 36.
Scottish banking, of, ii. 405. Its superiority to that of England, ii. 408.
Security of person and property essential to continuity in the societary action, i. 205. Grows with the growth of the power of association, i. 234.
Self-direction, power of, grows with the development of societary differences, iii. 463.
Self-help by the people, iii. 423.
Selfishness defeats itself, whether that of individuals or societies, i. 391.
Self-respect of the Danish people, ii. 114.
Semi-barbarous countries export their products in their rudest forms, iii. 433.
Senior, Mr., on the cause of value in land, i. 163. On the duties of an economist, i. 196. On the rate of profit in England, iii. 117.
Senses, the, give facts: Reason gives principles, iii. 354.
Sentiments and instincts, antagonism of the, iii. 298.
Sexual feeling diminished by activity of the nervous system, iii. 300.
——— function, moral restraint of the, iii. 300.
——— impulses and nervous functions, antagonism of the, iii. 300.
Shattuck, Mr. L., on American vital statistics, iii. 295.
Shepherd state of man, of the, i. 94.
Ships, wagons, sailors, and brokers, not commerce, i. 212.
Shop-keepers of England, proportion borne by the, in the societary distribution, i. 436.
Short duration of life, in new settlements, i. 99.
Sicily. Course of settlement in, i. 132. Taxation of, iii. 181.
Silver and gold, decline in the value of, as compared with man, i. 156.
Simplicity, the essential characteristic of nature's laws, i. 105. Total absence of, in Mr. Ricardo's theory, i. 105.
Simultaneous adoption of the protective policy, by the principal nations of Europe and America, ii. 111.
Sismondi, M. His definition of wealth, i. 194. On the effect of division of the land, iii. 104.
Skilled industry, how it affects the growth of population, iii. 305.
Slave, irresponsibility of the, i. 58.
——— trade of Jamaica, i. 296.
Slavery, of, in the early stages of society, i. 207, 209. Tendency of the English social system, in the direction of, i. 239. A necessary consequence of growing dependence on the trader, i. 283. The ultimate tendency of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine, i. 463, iii. 143. Tendency towards, in the United States, ii. 206. Causes of the movement in that direction, ii. 218. How promoted by the dispersion of population, ii. 287. How promoted by exhaustion of the soil, iii. 98. Grows with growing competition for the sale of labor, iii. 241. Tendency towards, in all the countries that follow in the train of England, iii. 259. Of English women, iii. 380.
——— in Rome, i. 247.
——— and centralization in Turkey, i. 320.
Slaves and drudges, fecundity of, iii. 299.
Sleeman, Col., on the absenteeism of India, i. 344. On the effects of British policy in India, i. 380.
Slow changes, in the early periods of society, in the forms of matter, i. 79.
Small coin, a saving-fund for labor, ii. 296. How it tends to give value to labor, ii. 297.
——— proprietors of India, ruin of the, i. 341.
——— proportion of the world yet occupied by man, iii. 330.
Smith, Adam, on the cause of value, i. 161. His error repeated by the modern economists, i. 162. His definition of wealth, i. 192, 194. His uniform opposition to trading centralization, i. 195, 294. His appreciation of the necessity for combination, i. 195. His advice rejected by his countrymen, and hence the necessity for the theory of over-population, i. 196, 295. On the

extension of commerce, i. 292. Regarded trade and manufactures as the handmaids of agriculture, i. 414. Opposed to the system which looked to the cheapening of labor and raw materials, i. 415. His view of its dangers, i. 415. Wide difference between his teachings and those of Mr. Malthus and his disciples, i. 417, 419, ii. 35. His lessons always in accordance with the best feelings of the heart, i. 471. Accordance of French policy with his ideas, ii. 70. His preference for commerce over trade, ii. 108. His errors in regard to money, ii. 453. On the balance of trade, ii. 458, 463. His error in regard to savings, as the cause of the growth of capital, iii. 69. On division of the land, and its effects, iii. 103. On interest, iii. 126. On the occupation of the land, iii. 144. Desired to produce competition for the *purchase* of labor: his successors seek to produce competition for its *sale*, iii. 206. On the benefits resulting from concentration, iii. 213. Doubted if animal food were necessary to man, iii. 316. On the effects of combination of action, iii. 421. His admiration of local centres of activity, iii. 425. On protection, iii. 425. Had no belief in abdication on the part of the co-ordinating power, iii. 440. On the superior advantages of domestic commerce, iii. 452.

Smith, Rev. Sidney, on British taxation, i. 456, iii. 179.

Smuggler, the, regarded as the great reformer of the age, i. 420.

Social and physical laws, identity of the, i. 42, 54, 199, ii. 269, 353, iii. 105, 244, 328, 447, 456, 463, 466.

——— condition of the English people, Kay on the, i. 425, 442, 447, ii. 94, iii. 280, 289.

——— force dependent on the rapidity of the societary circulation, ii. 300.

——— Science, teachings of, according to the British school, i. 28. Undetermined character of all propositions in, i. 35. Requires mathematical formulæ, i. 33. Can scarcely be said, as yet, to have existence, i. 35. Total absence of admitted definitions in, i. 37. Highly concrete and special, and therefore late in its development, i. 37. Obstacles to the progress of, i. 37. Definition of, i. 63. Identity of its laws with those of Physical Science, i. 42, 54. Essential difference between it and the modern political economy, i. 197, ii. 291. Political Economy, a branch of, iii. 409. Laws of, iii. 466. Object of the teachings of, iii. 469. How men of all conditions of life might profit by the study of, iii. 469.

Socialistic errors, of, i. 260, iii. 76.

Societary distribution, under the law of definite proportions, i. 472.

——— life of the race analogous to the organic life of the individual man, iii. 404.

——— motion, constant acceleration of the, i. 267, 270. Tends to increase geometrically, i. 383. The greater its rapidity, the larger is the proportion of human power given to developing the resources of the earth, ii. 27. Unsteadiness in that of the United States, ii. 234.

——— movement of countries that decline in wealth and population, ii. 39.

——— organization, of the, iii. 455. Multiplies force, iii. 420, 455. Subordination of the individual parts in the ratio of the perfection of the, iii. 455. Becomes more perfect as differences increase in number, iii. 458. Of Greece, iii. 458. Of Italy, iii. 459.

——— phenomena, most remarkable of the, ii. 297.

——— proportions, changes in the, i. 199, 200, 218, 220, 224, 234, 433, ii. 20, 22, 39. Effects thereof, i. 259.

Society. How theory abounds in the early ages of, i. 23. Of the formation of, i. 198. Commerce and, but different words for the expression of the same idea, i. 198. Consists in combinations resulting from the existence of societary differences, i. 198. Gradual production of, i. 203. The more natural its form, the greater the tendency towards rapidity of societary motion, i. 223. Tendency towards durability, grows with increase of motion, i. 223. Order, procession, and co-ordination of the various classes of, i. 224. Motion of, becomes more regular, as men are more enabled to combine together, i. 224. Gradual development of, i. 225. Identical with association and commerce, i. 291.

Soil, exhaustion of the, a necessary consequence of dependence on distant markets, i. 83. As exhibited throughout the United States, i. 83, ii. 198, 212.

Soils, cultivation commences always with the poorer, i. 97.

——, of the formation of, i. 72, 75, 76.

Soldier and trader, identity of the desires of the, i. 217, 218, 235, 239, 261. Power of association increases, as the necessity for their services declines, i. 235.

Solidarity of the interests of the various nations of the world, ii. 90, iii. 454.

Solidarity of the human race, iii. 401.
South America, course of settlement in, i. 120.
Southern Atlantic States, course of settlement in the, i. 116.
Southey, on the condition of English laborers, ii. 91.
Sovereigns. How they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 469.
Spain. Anarchy and insecurity of, i. 250. Famines and pestilences of, i. 250. Consolidation of, under Ferdinand and Isabella, i. 250. Growth of the power of association in, i. 251. Manufactures of, i. 251. Expulsion of the Moors, and decay of commerce in, i. 251, ii. 118. Colonial system of, i. 251, 285. Poverty and weakness of, i. 252, ii. 118. Recent progress of, ii. 120. Increase of foreign commerce of, ii. 123. Injurious policy of France and England, in reference to, ii. 124. Causes of the inability of, to retain the precious metals, ii. 314. Of production in, iii. 41. Destruction of capital in, iii. 56. Division of the land of, and its effects in, iii. 83.
Sparta. Absence of the power of voluntary association in, i. 245. Policy of, adverse to the growth of individuality, i. 245. Poverty, rapacity, and fall of, i. 245. Of woman in, iii. 370.
Spectator, the, on the waste of labor, under the present trading system, iii. 347.
Speculative and gambling spirit of the United States, causes of the, ii. 249.
Sperm-cells, production of, regulated by mental activity, iii. 303.
Splendor and weakness of Athens, i. 243; of Rome, i. 247; of Venice, i. 249; of Spain, i. 252; of Portugal, i. 308.
Standard of man rises with diminution of the middleman's share of labor's products, iii. 121.
Standards of value. Recommendations of the precious metals as, ii. 295.
States-General, disappearance of the, ii. 45.
Statesman, duties of the, iii. 471.
Stationary condition of Portugal, i. 310.
Statute of 1347. By promoting diversity of employments, it laid the foundation of the liberties of England, i. 397.
——— of laborers, iii. 32.
Steadiness of movement as necessary to the societary machine as to a watch, i. 214. One of the characteristics of civilization, ii. 226.
Steam-power of Great Britain, ii. 207.
Stevenson, A., on the exhaustion of the soil of the United States, ii. 216. On the decline of Virginia, ii. 217.
Strife for life in England, i. 447, ii. 91, 103.
Strikes, of, in Scotland, ii. 105.
Subordination and liberty combined, iii. 408.
——— of the parts indicative of high organization, i. 53. Grows with the development of individuality, i. 53. The test of the organization of the whole, iii. 455. Interdependence grows with the growth of, iii. 456. Found in the ratio of the perfection of co-ordination, iii. 457. As exhibited in Greece and Italy, iii. 458; in France, iii. 460. Freedom grows with the growth of, iii. 457. Grows with growing competition for the *purchase* of labor, iii. 461. Growth of, in all the countries that follow in the lead of Colbert, iii. 461. Decline of, in those that adopt the doctrines of the British school, iii. 463.
——— of the functions of the body to the cerebral power, iii. 403.
Summary philosophy of Bacon, i. 21.
Supply, a consequence of demand, iii. 21.
——— of money, of the, ii. 308, iii. 325.
Sweden. Natural poverty of, ii. 167. Commercial policy of, ii. 167. Import of raw materials into, ii. 168. Movement of population in, ii. 168. Foreign commerce of, ii. 169. Division of land in, ii. 170. Development of agriculture in, ii. 170. Prosperity of the people of, ii. 171. Progress of freedom in, ii. 172. Of education in, iii. 389.
Switzerland, phenomena of population in, iii. 277.
Symonds, on the condition of British hand-loom weavers, i. 457.
Sympathetic nerve, incorporating and separating offices of the, iii. 405.

T.

Tahiti, infanticide and immorality of, iii. 356.
Taxation. Early phenomena of, i. 206. Of Athens, i. 241. Of the British West India Islands, i. 300. Of France, ii. 66. Of Turkey, i. 313. Of India, under the native princes, i. 340; under the British rule, i. 343. Finds its most potent instrument in the power of regulating the currency, ii. 411. How that instrument is used in England, and how it tends to increase the inequalities of social condition, ii. 378. Little security obtained in the early ages of society, as compensation for, iii. 171. Proportion of, to production, diminishes, as men are more enabled to combine together, iii. 172. Necessity for indirect, in the purely agricultural period, iii. 174. That necessity diminishes, as property becomes fixed, iii. 174. Phenomena of, in France and England, iii. 175. Of the United States,

iii. 176. Of Greece and Italy, iii. 178. Becomes more direct as land grows in value, iii. 178. Indirect, of Holland, iii. 180; of Turkey and Sicily, iii. 181; of India, iii. 182; of Great Britain, iii. 183. Becomes more indirect, as middlemen increase in their societary proportions, iii. 185. Tendency in that direction exhibited by the United States, iii. 191. Opposite tendencies of Central and Northern Europe, iii. 193. Little security and heavy taxation, in all the countries that follow in the lead of England, iii. 196. Becomes more direct as labor acquires value, iii. 199. Diminishes in its proportions, as growing commerce diminishes the demand for the trader's services, iii. 201. Grows with centralization, iii. 219.—(See *Direct and Indirect Taxation.*)

Tax of transportation. Takes precedence of all other taxes, i. 271. As exhibited in Ireland, i. 321, 332; in the United States, ii. 282; in England, in the 14th century, i. 395; in India, i. 378; under the system of trading centralization, i. 437. British policy looks to augmentation of the, i. 445. Declines with growing civilization, and grows with growing barbarism, i. 460. — (See *Changes in the place of matter.*)

Tendency of the lower animals to disappear, iii. 319.

Testimony of craniology, in reference to population, iii. 301; of chemistry, iii. 302; of physiology, iii. 402.

Theories, abundance of, in the early period of society, i. 23.

Theory of Mr. Ricardo. Its tendency towards the establishment of slavery as man's ultimate condition, i. 231.

Thirst for public office in the United States, causes of the, ii. 243.

Thornton on the Turkish Empire, ii. 464.

———, W. T., on the condition of the Scottish people, i. 456. On over-population, iii. 363, 423.

Times, the, on the condition of the rural population of England, i. 442, 447. On cheap labor, as the condition of English prosperity, i. 239. On the exodus of Ireland, iii. 335.

Titles grow in magnificence, as real power declines, i. 141.

Tooke, T. His *History of Prices*, ii. 201, 205.

Trade, the curse of Polynesia, i. 368.

———, great extent of, in Rome, i. 248.

——— with Turkey in the 17th century, i. 312.

———, of, i. 206. Commences with the trade in man, i. 209. Definition of, i. 210. Tendency of, in the direction of centralization and slavery, i. 213. Real value of, declines under the British system, i. 370. Increase in the power of, the sole object of British policy, i. 372.

Trade, only the instrument by means of which commerce may be effected, i. 210. The latter declines, as the former grows in power, i. 211. Wide difference of their respective tendencies, ii. 210, 215, 219, 221, 235, 238, 241, 244, 245, 247, 251, 263.

——— and war, the most abstract of human pursuits, and therefore first developed, i. 215. Identity of the objects sought by both to be accomplished, i. 217, 235, 239. Their close alliance, i. 236. Close alliance of, in France, ii. 43.

———, to commerce, what mathematics are to science, i. 216.

———, spasmodic character of the movements of, i. 214.

——— in money, of the, ii. 356. Requires freedom, ii. 371.—(See *Banks.*)

Trader, the, always opposed to combination among his subjects, i. 206. Profits by changes of prices that are destructive of both producers and consumers, ii. 221. A necessity of society, and not a power, i. 261. Necessity for his services declines, as societary life becomes more and more a partnership, iii. 420.

———, the, and the soldier. The power of association grows as the necessity for their services declines, i. 234.

——— and transporter, growth of power of the, throughout the United States, ii. 220, iii. 444.

——— ———. Tendency of the British system to establish the supremacy of both, i. 412, iii. 444.

Trader's power, growth of the, attended by decline in the value of man, i. 211. Grows with decline of commerce, i. 376, ii. 238.

——— principle, to buy cheaply, sell dearly, and live at the cost of consumers and producers, i. 210.

Trading centralization, oppressiveness of, i. 316, 337, 357, ii. 87, iii. 220. Its primary object, that of producing competition for the *sale* of labor, and thus extending slavery, iii. 238. Seeks to destroy competition for the *purchase* of labor, iii. 250. Tends to the dissolution of society, and the production of anarchy, iii. 464.

——— monopolies of Athens, i. 242; of Carthage, i. 246; of Venice, i. 248; of Holland, i. 249; of the Netherlands, i. 390. Universal failure of, i. 391.

Tradition, all, carries early cultivation back to the poor soils, i. 137.

Transportation, increase in the necessity for, in Turkey, i. 315; in India, i. 352;

in Spanish America, Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands, i. 369; in the United States, iii. 452.—(See *Tax of Transportation.*)
Transportation, improvement in the modes of, in the absence of manufactures, facilitates exhaustion of the soil, i. 368.
Tree, the, of science, i. 21.
——, the, of commerce, i. 224.
Trivial value of land in India, i. 358.
Tull, Jethro, system of, ii. 25.
Turgot, on the beneficial effects of a reduction in the rate of interest, iii. 130.
Turkish Empire, the. Abandonment of the richer soils in, i. 143. Growing dependence of, upon the trader and transporter, i. 283. Its natural advantages, i. 311. Great value of the trade of, in the 17th century, i. 312. Diminished public revenue of, i. 312. Commerce of, how taxed for the maintenance of trade, i. 313. Declining agriculture of, i. 314. Depopulation and poverty of, i. 315. Constant drain of the precious metals from, i. 316. Trivial commerce of, i. 317. Small value of land in, i. 318. Growing centralization and slavery of, i. 320. Scarcity of money, and its effects, in, ii. 464. Revenue system of, iii. 181.
Tyranny of Athens, i. 242.
Two-fold existence of man, iii. 401. Analogous to his two-fold life in society, iii. 404.

U.

Ultimate slavery of man, the natural result of the Ricardo-Malthusian doctrine, iii. 143.
——— cause of the vice and misery of the world, iii. 354.
Unchristian character of the teachings of the modern British school, i. 470, 474.
Undeveloped powers of the soil of France, ii. 68.
Union and harmony, among men, grow with the growth of wealth, i. 265; among communities, the necessary results of a proper exercise of the power of co-ordination within themselves, iii. 452.
——— of Ireland and Great Britain, effects of the, i. 322.
Universality of natural laws, i. 20, 62, 137, 171, ii. 269, iii. 347.
Unlimited liability, as applied to corporations, effects of, ii. 396, iii. 418. A characteristic of barbarism, ii. 396.
Unproductive and productive employments, of, i. 193. Mr. J. S. Mill on, iii. 45.
Unskilled labor favorable to fecundity, iii. 299.
Uterine system, the, counteracts the cerebral, iii. 303.
Utilities developed, as men are more enabled to associate, i. 386; as the market is brought nearer to the land, ii. 29.
Utility, of, i. 176. Grows with the growth of wealth and power, i. 177. The measure of man's power over nature, i. 179. Always in the inverse ratio of value, i. 179. Increases, with increase in the power of association and combination, i. 180.

V.

Valley of the Euphrates, abandonment of the, i. 86.
Value, of, i. 147. Origin of the idea of, i. 148. Measure of, i. 148. Declines with the growth of human power, i. 149. Inseparably connected with the idea of comparison, i. 151. Definition of, i. 158. What do we value? why do we value it? how much is its value? i. 159. Inconsistencies of Smith, and other economists, in reference to the cause of, i. 161. How change of, tends to affect the distribution of labor's products, i. 169, iii. 133. Always in the inverse ratio of utility, i. 179. Declines with diminution of the cost of reproduction, ii. 335.
——— in land, cause of, according to modern economists, i. 162.
——— of land in Ireland, i. 332; in India, i. 358; in France, ii. 75; in England, ii. 75, 78.
——— of man, measured by the cost of reproduction, iii. 130.
——— of money, how affected by expansions and contractions of the currency, ii. 368.
———, tendency towards steadiness of, in the precious metals, ii. 360.
Values, wealth grows with decline of, i. 191.
Variable policy of the United States, ii. 185.
Varieties of compensation for the use of capital, ii. 344.
Variety in unity is perfection, i. 53.
——— of employments indispensable to association, i. 53.
——— of machinery in use among men, ii. 293.
Various races of men, brains of the, compared, iii. 301.
Vauban and Boisguilbert, on the state of of France under Louis XIV., i. 254.
Vegetable food, the use of, indispensable to increase in the power of association, i. 95. Increase in the supplies of, consequent upon the cultivation of richer

soils, iii. 315. Cuvier on, as the natural food of man, iii. 316.
Vegetable and animal, individual and relative, life of man, iii. 402.
Vegetation, monotonous character of, in the early ages of the world, i. 66. Object of, i. 67. Necessary to the preparation of the earth for man's residence, i. 67.
Venetian monopolies, i. 390.
Venice, constant wars for trade of, i. 248. Splendor and decay of, i. 249.
Verplanck, G. C., on the advantage of moderation in the pursuit of reform, iii. 471.
Virginia. Early standard of value in, ii. 295. Exhaustion of the soil of, ii. 216.
Virtue unknown in international affairs, i. 370.
Vital changes in the form of matter, of, i. 220, ii. 17.—(See *Agriculture.*)
—— heat required for obtaining command of nature's services, i. 79.
—— functions, balance of force among the, iii. 297. Preponderance of the, in classes of men, iii. 298.
—— organs, balance of force among the, iii. 297.
—— statistics of Europe, iii. 281; of England, iii. 291; of the United States, iii. 294.
Voluntary association, as exhibited in India, i. 338; in the United States, ii. 178.
Voluntary, involuntary, and mixed functions of the human system, iii. 404.

W.

Wages, of, iii. 109. Rise of, accompanies decline in the proportions of rent, and increase in its quantity, iii. 133. Increase of, resulting from growing power of concentration, iii. 215. How affected by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 309.
——— of Turkey, i. 313; of India, i. 355; of France, ii. 57; of Russia, ii. 157; of England, at various periods, iii. 33, 145; of field-labor in England, iii. 249. Extraordinary statements of modern economists in relation to, iii. 144.
War and its effects, of, i. 141. A result of poverty and weakness, i. 208.
—— and trade regard man as an instrument to be used, i. 214. The most abstract of human pursuits, and therefore first developed, i. 215. Close connection of, i. 236, ii. 43. Centralizing tendencies of, i. 238.
Warlike tendencies of centralization, iii. 214.
——— tendencies of trade, as exhibited in the United States, ii. 238.
Warrior, the, buys his slaves in the cheapest market, and sells them in the dearest one, i. 209.
Waste land of Ireland, i. 327.
——— materials, thrown by the plant back upon the land, i. 84.
——— of capital in India, i. 353; in all the countries that follow in the lead of England, i. 374, 376.
——— of force, in Great Britain, i. 462; in France, ii. 43; in Russia, ii. 156; in the United States, ii. 208.
——— of the constituents of food, in the United States, ii. 212.
——— of labor, in Jamaica, i. 300; in Ireland, i. 324; in India, i. 351; in Russia, ii. 173; in the United States, ii. 278, 281.
——— of labor, waste of capital, iii. 65.
——— of labor, resulting from distance of the market, i. 272.
——— of labor, in all agricultural communities, ii. 101.
——— of labor, in the absence of the power of combination, ii. 21; in the absence of diversity of employments, iii. 22; in the absence of rapidity of societary motion, iii. 38.
——— of nature's products, among isolated men, i. 271.
——— of power, resulting from loss of manure, i. 276; from distance of the market, i. 387, ii. 31; in Ireland and India, ii. 40; in the United States, ii. 210.
Water-sheds, and not rivers, constitute the dividing lines of animals and nations, i. 137.
Weakness of the community grows with the growth of magnificence of private fortunes, i. 258.
——— of the Portuguese government, i. 310.
Wealth. Of what does it consist? i. 29. Political Economy furnishes no reply to this question, i. 29.
———, of, i. 181. Commodities and things not wealth to those who have not the knowledge how to use them, i. 181. First step towards the acquisition of, always the most costly, and the least productive, i. 184. Consists in the power to command nature's services, i. 186. Grows in the ratio of the growth of the power of combination, i. 186; with increase in the power of association, i. 190; with decline of values, i. 191. Of positive and relative, i. 191. How defined by modern economists, i. 192. In the early ages of society, physical power constitutes the only, i. 208. Grows, as the power of the trader declines, i. 214. Spartan policy opposed to the growth of, i. 245.

Conditions necessary to increase of, i. 265. How the growth of, is affected by increase of continuity in the demand for labor, ii. 18; by supplies of the precious metals, ii. 301; by increase in the rapidity with which consumption follows production, iii. 21; by growing rapidity of the circulation, iii. 78; by changes in the mode of distribution, iii. 115; by concentration, iii. 214; by protection, iii. 424.
Wealth, most conclusive evidence of increase of, to be found in reduction of the capitalist's proportion, iii. 148.
——— and population of Portugal, i. 308.
——— every thing, and man nothing, in modern economical science, i. 30. Regarded by Colbert as a means, and not as an end, iii. 424.
Wealth of Nations, chief object of the author of the, i. 414. — (See *Smith, Adam.*)
Western United States, course of settlement in the, i. 113.
West India Islands, course of settlement in the, i. 120.—(See *Jamaica*).
Westminster Review, on the waste of labor in Russia, ii. 173. On the law of population, iii. 312.
What constitutes wealth? i. 181; production? iii. 18; capital? iii. 48.
What England needs, i. 444.
Whately, Abp., on the present state of Social Science, i. 37.
Whatever tends to deteriorate the condition of man any where, tends to do so every where, iii. 244.
Wheat, prices of, in France, ii. 58; in Germany, ii. 190; in the United States, ii. 271.
Whence flow the precious metals? ii. 333.
Where go those metals? ii. 333.
Wide difference in the character of French and British exports, ii. 99; between Social Science, and the Political Economy of the modern school, iii. 464.
Wise, Gov., on the wastefulness of Virginia agriculture, iii. 322.
With growing civilization, the tax of transportation diminishes, i. 460.
Woman. Always a slave, in the early stages of society, i. 207, iii. 368. Reproductive function predominates in, iii. 298. Cerebral power of, abated by the reproductive system, iii. 303. Power of, grows as employments become diversified, iii. 368. Condition of, in Athens and Sparta, iii. 370; in Rome, iii. 371; in France, iii. 372. Improvement in the condition of, resulting from division of the land, iii. 373. How manifested, in Central and Northern Europe, iii. 373. Condition of, in England, iii. 374, 379. Deterioration of condition of, in the countries that follow in the train of England, iii. 375. Effects of war upon, iii. 376. Of England, an instrument used by trade, for the degradation of the sex throughout the world, iii. 379. Of the United States, iii. 383, 385. *Times*, the, on the condition of, in France, iii. 380. Wrongs of, iii. 380.
Wonderful beauty of all natural arrangements, iii. 320.
Word-worship, universality of, i. 39.
Working-men, how they might profit by the study of Social Science, iii. 469.
World, the, word-governed, iii. 435, 445.

Y.

Yarranton, Andrew, first to suggest the measures which have led to the manufacturing greatness of England, i. 398. Remarkable predictions of, i. 403

Z.

Zemindars of India, ruin of the, i. 341.
Zoll-Verein, formation of the, due to the labors of Professor List, ii. 125. Gradual establishment of the, ii. 127.

THE END.

00220991 3

Date Due

S 8 - '47

330.1
C274p
vol.3 81939
Carey, H. C.
Principles of social
science.

330.1
C274p
vol.3 81939
Carey, H. C.
Principles of social
science.

WITHDRAWN
DREW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
MADISON, NEW JERSEY